

# THE MODERN REVIEW

A Monthly Review and Miscellany

Edited by Ramananda Chatterjee

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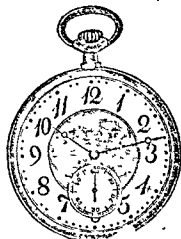
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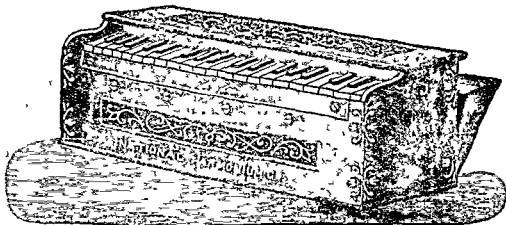
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# THE MODERN REVIEW.

JANUARY, 1917

WHOLE  
No. 121

## LETTERS

EXTRACTS FROM OLD LETTERS OF RABINDRANATH TAGORE

(Specially Translated for the *Modern Review*).

1.

Bandora, by the Sea,  
October: 1885

WE are in for a spell of heavy rain. It has been pouring for a week, and there is no sign of its stopping. Sitting, becalmed, in the glazed verandah closed in all round, I am enjoying it in a kind of way, comfortably wrapped up in myself, free from any intensity of emotion, all storm and turmoil outside.

The helpless, unsheltered sea heaves and heaves and blanches into foam. It puts me in mind of some tied-up monster, straining at its bonds, in front of whose gaping jaws we do build our homes on the shore; like playing with the mane of a captive lion, helplessly submissive; or smilingly watching a caged tiger lashing its tail. How immense its strength with swelling waves like the muscles of a giant!

From the beginning of creation has been this feud between land and water; the land slowly and silently adding to its domain and spreading a broader and broader lap for its children,—the sea receding step by step, heaving and sobbing and beating its breast in despair. Remember it was the sea which was once sole monarch, utterly free. The land which rose from its womb usurped its throne and ever since, the maddened old creature, with its hoary crest of foam, continually wails and laments, like King Lear, exposed to the fury of the elements.

2.

Sholapur,  
October: 1885

O most puissant sub-deputy sabib, you who are riding on the crest of the floods in

the Bengal country, do you perchance care to learn that we are returning home,—that this letter and ourselves will be delivered in Calcutta with next Friday's mail?

The chapter of our exile is at an end and we leave behind the unfathomable sky, the unfettered breezes, the spreading fields, and the undisturbed peace of this place, for Banstola Street,\* the Jorasanko Lane turning, those hackney carriage stables, those fly-infested sweetmeat shops, that dust, that rumble and rattle, that hurry and scurry, that bustle and hustle, into which we shall wholly give ourselves up. From our nest in these *Asoka* groves we go to our brickwork cage, there to be imprisoned with all the other captives of the Calcutta Municipality. Does this news gladden you?

Out of sight so long, my purdah-veiled room now comes back to me. But where are *you*, your umbrella, your old shoes reposing on the door mat? That fat little bolster of mine,—has she pined herself any thinner for the lack of us, I wonder? My books are peering out of their glass-enclosed zenana,—at whom? My empty-hearted easy chair is waiting there, night and day, with outstretched arms, but there is none to heed its silent call. The clock is ticking away, not given to much regard for others, absorbed in keeping count of the footsteps of time. And the harmonium? With its silent music muffled in its baize cover, it is at a loss to make out to what on earth the clock, perched on its bracket, is so busy keeping time. And lastly, the walls are looking on, wondering

\* A miserable roadway, then the only thoroughfare between Howrah Railway Station and the writer's family house in Jorasanko, Calcutta.

where the principal piece of furniture can have gone off to. In all that surging sea of humanity, which is Calcutta, the darkness of my poor bereaved room is the only solitude. I am within its closed doors rises the wailing call Rabi Babu u u, and Rabi Babu's answering cry goes forth from here. Come along!

Will it no longer be possible to have a sight of you in Calcutta? Have you for the rest of your life immured yourself in sub-deputy-dom abandoning all hope of emergence? Or is this a final plunge into the lake of Law with the burden of office round your neck? Must we alas, give up all hopes of having you with us in our skyward flights and be content with reminding each other. Srish Babu was such a good fellow!

## 3.

April 1886

Sub-deputy scribe—

Away to holy Gaya you have departed, but what pass is this to which you have brought me? The sight of you had become such a craving with me that now for want of it I am fretting like an opium-eater for his habitual dose. Indeed it is an opiate you have given me. The little pills of fancy with which you used to regale me so cleverly stirred up my dreams keeping me possessed with my Evening and Morning Songs while with closed eyes I blissfully-mused within myself and you must have had many a quiet laugh at my dreamy mutterings.

This self-sufficient intoxication with one's own visions was surely of opium—and this is what you wrought on me. You would never speak of yourself but always and over again throw me back into my poems my writings my words—and now spell-bound you kept me all the time! The English are charged with thrusting opium into Burma and China but you smuggled the stuff into my little den you fraud!

Now, after getting me into the habit you coolly walk away with your box of pills. And sitting alone in this awful heat I am left stretching and yawning. Could I but see your umbrella in the corner your shoes at the door even that would be a consolation.

From your letter I gather that your human life is not happy in the land of

spirits,\* and that your work is your only comrade, in other words, your inseparable sub-deputy ship is clinging to you like a shadow. You are not relishing this just now, but it is not impossible that in time you may come to have an affection for this devoted companion of yours.

As for me I have nothing particular to do at present so with unbuttoned tunic and relaxed body I am engaged in musing myself. Fortunately I can manage without the opium for a while as there are quite a collection of dreams bottled up in this bolster of mine and I have only to put my head on it for their intoxication to come streaming in. The burden of the *Balk* magazine seemed so long to have made my head impervious to everything else now that its doors are again open my fancies flit about with the south breezes.

If only you could give me a river-side garden—the river bank the shade of trees the open air of fields the mango blossoms the cooing of *koels* a spring coloured† scarf, a garland of *brakul* flowers hanging over my breast—and therewith yourself! The city of Calcutta and its political agitations are intolerable in this spring time. Where is your garden O Srish Babu, and where are you?

The Sanskrit poet has it that of separation and union the first is better for in the state of bereavement the whole world is filled with the beloved. But I cannot agree with that sage for rather than have a bevy of Srish Babus all over the world I would much rather have the one Srish Babu near at hand. I prefer the practical wisdom of the English saying, a bird in one's clutches is worth ever so many more in the bush. What say you Sir?

## 4

April 1886

A few days ago I was at G—Babu's where I led the conversation up to your *Spring Festival in Bengal*‡. I was astonished to find that they all agreed in praising it. The reason for my surprise was that it is one thing to enjoy and another to praise. A good thing is naturally pleasing no argument or criticism is

\* Gaya is the pilgrimage where rites for the benefit of departed spirits have to be performed. Tr

† The Spring colour is a primrose yellow. Tr

‡ Then coming out as a serial. Tr

necessary; but when it comes to praising, there is such a rush of *pros* and *cons* into the mind that to call a thing good becomes quite a difficult matter.

One has to consider by whom it is written, what there is in it, to what class it belongs and finally whether anything new has been said. And in the meantime a devastating horde of 'ifs' and 'buts' and 'may bes' swarm upon the scene and leave nothing enjoyably fresh within miles. Enjoyment is such a delicate thing, it pines and withers if you worry it with an elaborate array of reasons. Moreover professional critics have a habit of bearing false witness against themselves,—even when they are really pleased they labour to prove the reverse. But enough of the philosophy of criticism.

I am curious to know how the general reader takes it when your book is published. I should not be surprised if it gets liked, one reason being that you have created a living image of our ever-intimate Bengal,—a thing no other Bengali writer has succeeded in doing. After reading most Bengali books I am left with the feeling that future generations may well doubt whether, at the time of modern Bengali literature, there was any Bengal at all!

You may have heard of the American philologist who asserts that the Sanskrit language, for which Panini wrote his Grammar, never existed. He failed to find all Panini's roots in its literature and so came to the conclusion that the kind of mare's egg, which Panini was hatching, was never laid by any mare! There are languages of which the grammar has yet to be compiled, but who ever thought there could be a grammar of which the language was never invented?

So I am led to apprehend that the future may give rise to an antiquarian, who can conclusively prove that the country of which Bengali was the language had no existence. And in the torrent of his arguments poor Bankim Babu's beloved land of "pure water, sweet fruit and soft, cool breezes" will be swept clean away. They will say Bengali was an academic, not a popular language,—though they will probably fail in precisely locating that academy.

Anyhow in your works the landmarks of that same country of Bengal are distinct enough, and our belief in the geography of Eastern India is restored to us. The sons

and daughters of Bengal you have pictured do not act and talk academics; and we gain a real insight into their everyday life and conversation. This never happens in the writings of others, much less of poor, ignorant me.\*

But I must not make you too conceited. So here ends my critique.

5.

Gbazipur, 1888.

I have just got your letter. It is now past ten. The unbearable heat outside has compelled us to close all the doors and windows; it is quite dark; the *punkha* swings to and fro over our heads; and the terrible west wind comes through the moistened *khus-khus* grass screens, tempered and cooled. So we are not altogether badly off inside. And bending over that old desk of mine I am writing to you.

I have already read your *Phuljani* in the *Bharati*, and was on the point of writing to you then and there. But, I reflected, you are late enough with your replies as it is, and if you go on getting letters without the trouble of answering them, you will become much too pampered,—that is just the way friends get spoiled. So I thought better of it.

I like your stories immensely. There is no shadow of melodramatic falsity over them, and they give us pictures we get from no other writer. Don't you be going and getting entangled in historical or ethical complications. There are depths enough in the simple human heart; it is for you to go on telling us the ever-satisfying history of the little joys and sorrows of the daily life of ordinary people.

Bring into your pictures that untiring life-stream with its liquid song of human hopes and fears, unions and separations, flowing unheeded through the cool shades of mango topes, by the banks of village pools, to the cooing of *koels*, amidst the peace of morning and of evening. Accompany them with the music of the stirrings of hearts, sheltered by a peaceful nature in their nests among these shady groves, of which the yearning cry ever and anon rises to the skies with note of *koel* and yellow-bird. Do not allow any complex character analysis or unusual fury of passion to muddy its sweet limpidness.

I am confident that if you can keep clear

\* This was before the writer gained his experience of village life and began to write his own stories.

of the big and the elaborate you will attain a place with the best of our novelists. No one has voiced the particular joys and sorrows of the real Bengali of the interior—on you falls that duty.

Bankim Babu is the adopted child of the Nineteenth Century. Where he has portrayed the modern Bengali he has been most successful but where he has tried to picture the old type he has had to invent a great deal. He has drawn some big personalities like Chandrasekhar and Pratap but they might have belonged to any time and place and are not specially Bengali. No one I say has yet adequately told the life story of the patient, submissive, family-loving, home-clinging, eternally-exploited Bengali as he dwells in his secluded corner of this tremendously busy world.

## 6

Calcutta 1887

Courage! Fear not! Week shall come after week but *The Week*\* will come not. Be reassured therefore O my friends!

Just fancy what an awful thing I was on the brink of doing on the pretext of bringing out *The Week*. I was about to obliterate all the remaining weeks of my life! Month after month would have gone by with never a week in them to call my own. And every single day would have been after me with a big stick leaving me nowhere to turn. As King Harischandra gave his all to the ascetic Viswamitra only to lose heaven also in the end so would have been my plight—for no one has achieved immortality by writing for newspapers.

Spring has only just come in the south and is blowing if anything this is exactly the occasion for having a little music. One cannot at such a time keep an eye on the Pathan rising the Excise Department, the Salt Tax, Reuter's telegrams and such like plagues of this earth—and live such a sorry office as that of the world wide spy.

So long as youth is with us we are in touch with a few seasons of Spring, so instead of losing these I think I will bring out the newspaper in my old age. Then my life will no longer have an open door all music will have stopped and I shall be free to shout myself hoarse preaching politics. In the meantime I have much

that is important left to do let me finish that. What do you say?

I was charmed with the account of Ram Saratsundari in your letter. You are indeed fortunate in enjoying her affectionate regard. You will do well to write something about her life. Because there are so many things which obscure the vision of our ideal personalities we should take all the more pains to bring them into view.

## 7

October 1887

We have been spending a month at Darjeeling. Your letter was awaiting me in Calcutta and I got it on my return in all along proposing to write to you but Providence disposed otherwise. This time it was not my fault. I was down with an attack of lumbago and have not fully recovered yet. I have left my bed and is true but cannot sit up on a chair for any length of time.

With the exception of my middle portion the rest of my world is doing well. My wife and little girl are still at Darjeeling and I am suffering the pangs of separation alone in Calcutta. But whatever our poets may say I have discovered that these pangs are not a patch on the pangs of lumbago. Sandalwood paste\* does it no manner of good moonlight nights\* are terribly aggravating and as for the cool damp breezes of Malabar\* I am afraid to think of them.

Will you solve for me the problem why the sorrows of separation should be a fit subject for poetising and not those of lumbago? The small of the back is not a small thing that much I have realised. A man with a broken heart may yet stand erect but not he of the broken back. No call of love or country or the whole world for that matter can distract him from his turpentine rubbing. You have heard tell that gravity draws us by the middle, but I know by experience that this is the manner in which Mother Earth shows her affection for an afflicted son.

Anyhow, Srish Babu let me implore you to profit by this misfortune of a friend and never to be indifferent to the small of your back. The breaking of the heart is after all but a metaphor but the breaking of the back is so much a matter of fact that it

\* A weekly newspaper which was projected. Tr

\* The things in which the pangs of love seek consolation according to the old Sanskrit poets. Tr

effectually prevents my writing more to you.

You have asked me about early marriage; we shall discuss that another time. For the present, say I, let him marry early who will, but may none be afflicted with lumbago.

8.

July : 1887.

I have not been writing letters for many a long day; letter writing is not an easy matter. Day after day passes away, and age is steadily coming upon me. Two years ago I was twenty-five, and now I am in my twenty-seventh year. This is the event which continually recurs to me,—nothing else seems to have happened of late.

But reaching twenty-seven, is that itself a trifling thing,—to get past the meridian of the twenties on one's progress towards thirty? Thirty, that is to say maturity, the age of which people expect fruit rather than fresh foliage. But, alas, where is the promise of fruit? As I shake my head it still feels brimful of luscious frivolity, with not a trace of philosophy.

People are beginning to complain: "Where is that which we expected of you,—that in hope of which we admired the soft green of the shoot? Are we to put up with immaturity for ever? It is high time for us to know what we shall gain from you. We want an estimate of the proportion of oil which the blindfolded, mill-turning, unbiassed critic can squeeze out of you!"

It has ceased to be possible to delude these people into waiting expectantly any longer. While I was under age, they trustfully gave me credit; it is sad to disappoint them now that I am on the verge of thirty. But what am I to do, Srish Babu? Words of wisdom will not come. I am utterly incompetent to provide things that may profit the multitude. Beyond a snatch of song, some tittle tattle, a little merry fooling, I have been unable to advance. And, as the result, those, who held high hopes will turn on me their wrath;—but whoever did beg and pray of them to nurse these expectations?

Such are the thoughts with which I am assailed since one fine *Bysakh*\* morning I

awoke amidst fresh breeze and light, new leaf and flower, to find that I had stepped into my twenty-seventh year.

The fact is, so long as a person is not fully known, curiosity and imagination combine to give him an attraction for you. Up to this twenty-fifth year you cannot really know anybody, you cannot say what he will be or can be, his possibilities exceed his actualities. But at twenty-seven you have a fair idea of the man, you feel he has become what he has to be, that he will thenceforth go on much in the same way, that nothing is left which may take you by surprise hereafter. Many of his associates have dropped off, some are still around him, and those who have remained will stay on to the end. There is no chance of new ties, no danger of fresh separations. So with this begins a comfortable period of life. A man understands himself and also others, and has no need to worry over uncertainties.

The rainy season has come on here with thick clouds and incessant showers. Outside there is the continuous patter of rain, the rolling of thunder, the whistling of the wind; and occasionally the rattle of a passing hackney carriage. This is the time for friends to be together. I feel I should like to lean back on a bolster\* and chatter away with them, unmeaningly. But under the bothersome British regime such things are not to be. It has left room for thunder, storm and rain, and there is no dearth of hackney carriages: but the ogre has always its hundred and one office mouths open to swallow whole every one of our friends and deprive our soft bolsters of their rightful occupants.

Where are our pristine bolsters with their memories of the music and story and heart to heart talks of old, and where are you, and where am I? Wherefore, O best of friends, how ephemeral is this world! In this last observation you will find the moral of my letter, which please lay to heart and leave out the rest; and above all, be sure and write me an early reply.

\* A quilt or carpet on the floor, or on a raised divan, with big bolsters to lean on, is the usual furniture of a Beugal sitting room Tr.

\* April-May, the writer's birth month

(To be continued.)

## KRISHNAKANTA'S WILL

BY BANKIM CHANDER CHATTERJEE

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*Part the First*

## CHAPTER I

IN the village of Haridgram there was once a big zemindar whose name was Krishnakanta Roy. He was a very rich man, the annual income of his estate being nearly two lacs of rupees. This large property was acquired both by himself and his younger brother, Ramkanta Roy. They worked and earned money together carrying on a joint household, and their affection for each other was such that the one could never dream he might be cheated by the other. The landed property was all bought in the name of Krishnakanta.

To the younger brother, Ramkanta, a son was born whose name was Govindalal. After the birth of this child he resolved, for its sake, to propose to his elder brother that the property, which was in his name alone, should henceforth stand in both names as both had equal shares in it. Though he was quite sure that his elder brother would never do wrong there was, as he thought, no knowing but that after the death of their father, his nephew might try to trick their cousin out of his legitimate share of the property. He thought of this, and though his mind was made up to speak to his brother, he waited and waited for an opportunity till one day, being on a visit in one of his estates, he fell ill and died.

Now, Krishnakanta, who had the whole property in his name, could if he had been so inclined, have deprived his late brother's son of his right, but he was not the man to do wrong. He brought up his nephew along with his own sons taking good care of him and providing for his education. And in his mind he had resolved that he would leave him by will his brother's half share of the property.

Krishnakanta had two sons, Haralal and Benodelal, the latter being the younger of the two. Besides he had one daughter, who was called Soilabati. Now, the old

man had recently made a will in which he had mentioned that after his death Govindalal should get his father's half share of the property, while each of his two sons should have three sixteenths, and his wife and daughter one sixteenth each, of his own half share. Haralal was a pert and rather refractory son of his father. When he heard how the property had been disposed of he was greatly exasperated. "What's this!" said he hurrying to his father. "Our cousin has one half of the property and you give us only three sixteenths each!"

"That's all right," said Krishnakanta. "I have given him, as his due, his father's half share."

"What right had my uncle to the property?" said Haralal. "Who is his son to have a share in it? You give me a pittance, and I am expected to support my mother and sister into the bargain. Why should they have any share at all? Would it not have been just and reasonable if you had mentioned them in the will as being only entitled to maintenance?"

His words offended his father. "My son," said he, "the property is mine, not yours and I suppose I have a right to dispose of it as I like."

"You have lost your senses," cried Haralal. "I cannot allow you to do as you like."

"Haralal," cried his father in a passion, "am I to brook this impertinence from you? If you were a boy I would send for the good pedagogue and get him to give you a tanning."

"At school I remember to have singed his moustache and I will not spare the will you may be sure."

Krishnakanta uttered not a word. He tore up the will with his own hands, and in its stead had a fresh one made. In it he mentioned one half of the property as Govindalal's right and the other half he disposed of by giving five sixteenths to

Benodelal, and dividing the remaining three sixteenths equally among his wife, daughter and Haralal.

When Haralal came to know what his share was in the fresh will made by his father he left the house in a huff and went off to Calcutta. From there he wrote a letter to his father, the purport of which was as follows:—

"I purpose to marry a widow. The pundits here say that widow marriage is not forbidden by the shastras. However, I know you will be dead set against my marrying a widow. But if you will let me have one-half of the property and get the will registered at once I will give up my intention, otherwise not."

His father wrote back to say that he was an unworthy son, and that he would surely cut him off with a shilling if he carried out the intention he had expressed in his letter.

A few weeks after, however, news reached Krishnakanta that he had married a widow.

The old man tore up the will again: he wanted to make a fresh one.

Within a stone's throw of Krishnakanta's house there lived a man whose name was Brahmananda Ghose. He was a harmless man, and was a sort of protegee of Krishnakanta; for Krishnakanta liked him and helped him with money from time to time. Brahmananda was an excellent penman, and whenever there was a will or other document to be written he was, as a rule, asked to do it, for which he was paid something.

Krishnakanta tore up the will and sent for Brahmananda. "Come here," said he to Brahmananda, "after you have taken your meal. I want you to write a fresh will."

When Krishnakanta gave this injunction to Brahmananda Benodelal was there, and he said, "Why do you want to change the will again, father?"

"This time I want to disinherit your elder brother, and I am resolved to do it," said Krishnakanta in a serious tone of voice and looking very grave.

"Oh, that would be very cruel, father. You ought to think of his orphan child. You should not punish the innocent boy for the fault of his father."

"Well, I will give him one-sixty-fourth for his share in the property."

"Oh, that's almost nothing."

"How do you say so?" said Krishnakanta. "The income from my estate is nearly two lacs of rupees, and one-sixty-fourth or three pies' share means an income of upwards of three thousand rupees, and that's enough. I can't—I won't give more."

Benodelal tried hard to persuade his father, but the old man was firm.

## CHAPTER II.

After he had eaten his meal Brahmananda was preparing to take his accustomed nap when Haralal stood before him. When he saw Haralal he was rather surprised.

"Hallo! my dear sir, you are coming from Calcutta?" he asked.

"Yes," said Haralal, sitting down on the bed near him. "I arrived two days ago; I have been hiding somewhere. Father is going to make a fresh will, eh?"

"I am told so," said Brahmananda.

"This time he is going to exclude me altogether."

"Is he? But, I don't think he is in earnest."

"I know he is," said Haralal. "You write the will of course?"

"Why, I can't refuse, you know," said Brahmananda.

"Nobody wants you to refuse," said Haralal. "But come, I want to give you something."

"What? a drubbing?" said Brahmananda with a laugh.

"Damn you," said Haralal. "I am serious. A thousand rupees. Would you like to take it?"

"Where is the fool who will not like to take it if he can get it for nothing?"

"I don't mean, for nothing," said Haralal. "If you wish to get it you will have to earn it."

"How? By marrying a widow?"

"Why, what harm is there?"

"None at all. But the thing is I am too old to marry. Don't you think I am?"

"Well, apart from jokes," said Haralal, "I want you to do something—the thing I am here for, and which is of great importance to myself. A thousand rupees is a round sum, and I will give you a chance of earning it. I know you are fit man, or I wouldn't come to you." And he put a bundle of fresh currency notes in Brahmananda's hand. "I pay you five hundred



rupees in advance," he said, "and you must set about the business at once."

Brahmananda counted the notes in his hand. "What shall I do with this money?" he said, looking up to Haralal's face.

"You may hoard it, if you like."

"But what is it you wish me to do?" asked Brahmananda.

"To begin with, then," said Haralal, "make two pens so that both will write alike."

"That's easily done," said Brahmananda. And he made two pens, which he did so skillfully that when he wrote with them to test their reliability both writings were found to have exactly the same appearance.

"For the present," said Haralal, "put one of these two pens in your box. When you go to write the will take it with you, for you must write with this pen. The other should be used in writing what I shall dictate to you. You have good ink in your house of course?"

Brahmananda took out his ink pot, and taking a dip of ink formed a few letters with his pen.

Haralal looked closely at the writing. "This ink will do," he said. "Take your inkstand with you when you are going to write the will."

"Why, what's the good? You have pen and inkstand in your house," said Brahmananda.

"You must do as I tell you, and not question me," said Haralal. "You can easily understand that since I pay you so much money I have some motive in wanting you to take this pen and inkstand with you."

"Oh, certainly. I didn't think of it."

Haralal then placed two sheets of blank paper in Brahmananda's hand.

"Oh, this is just the sort of paper your father uses in writing documents," said Brahmananda.

"I know that and that is why I procured them," said Haralal. "Now write with this pen and ink what I am going to dictate."

Brahmananda wrote a will to Haralal's dictation. The purport of it was that Krishnakanta Roy willed three fourths of his property to his son Haralal, giving three sixteenths to Bendelal, and the remaining one-sixteenth

equally among his wife, Gobindalal, Soulabati and Haralal's boy.

"Now who is to sign this?" said Brahmananda when he had finished writing.

Haralal took the will from his hand, and wrote Krishnakanta Roy's name and the names of four witnesses in it.

"Why, this is a forged will," said Brahmananda.

"Yes," said Haralal, "but I will tell you what to do."

"What is that?" asked Brahmananda.

"When you go to write the will, take this concealed in your shirt pocket. Write what father will dictate. When, after you have finished writing, and the will has been read out and signed, you take it up to put your signature to it, which you must do with your back turned to all, you will take this opportunity of changing the will, which you can easily do. There can be no suspicion, for both wills must be very like in appearance, the writer and paper, and the pen and ink being the same in both cases. Then you give my will to father, and bring father's to me."

Brahmananda reflected a little, and then said, "It is a very clever idea to be sure."

As he was, however, silent for a while Haralal asked, "What is it you are pondering in your mind?"

"I dare not have any concern in this business," said Brahmananda. "Take your money back."

Haralal held out his hand to receive the notes, and he was just about to leave the room when Brahmananda called him back.

"When do you pay the rest?" he asked, finding it very difficult to overlook such a tempting offer.

"When the thing has been done, and you have brought my father's will to me," said Haralal.

The temptation, I must confess, is much too great to resist."

"You accept the offer then?"

"I cannot help accepting it," said Brahmananda. "But I think it is very difficult to change the will. I very much fear I shall be caught in the act."

"Well," said Haralal, "I will do it before your eyes, and let me see if you can detect it."

Haralal certainly possessed some skill in sleight of hand as in imitating another's

handwriting. He put the will in his pocket, and taking a piece of paper made as if he would write something on it, when in a trice the will in his pocket and the paper in his hand had changed places without Brahmananda's perceiving anything at all.

Brahmananda praised his dexterity of hand. "I will teach you how to do it," said Haralal to him. And he made Brahmananda practise the trick under his guidance for nearly a couple of hours until he had quite mastered it.

Haralal then took his leave, saying that he would call again in the evening.

When he had gone a great fear seized on Brahmananda. If he carried out what he had taken in hand, and was caught, he was sure to be dragged to court; and who knew but he might, for the gravity of his offence, be imprisoned for life. There could be nothing more foolish than to engage in such a risky affair as this. Though he thus debated in his mind he still wavered, but at last he resolved to have nothing to do with the business.

### CHAPTER III

Brahmananda returned home after dark, having finished the business of writing the will. Almost as soon as he set foot in the house he met Haralal, who had been eagerly awaiting his return.

"All right?" asked Haralal.

"I wish I could get the moon to give to you, but to wish is not to have," said Brahmananda with a sardonic laugh.

"You have failed to carry it out then?" again asked Haralal.

"Oh, I felt too nervous. I am very sorry I couldn't do it."

With this Brahmananda returned the forged will, and the bundle of notes to Haralal.

Haralal was in a great passion. He almost shook with rage. "Fool!" he exclaimed, "I least thought you would disappoint me. But you are worse than useless. To have failed to do what could be done by a woman! Shame on you! I am off; but should any one get the scent of what passed between you and me, I will not spare you."

"Oh, never fear," said Brahmananda. "I will not breathe a word of it to any one."

Leaving him Haralal went round and looked into the kitchen where Brahma-

nanda's niece, Rohini, was busied in, preparing the evening meal. At Brahmananda's house he was quite free to look in where he liked.

Rohini was young and handsome. She was a widow, but she never much cared to live as a high caste Hindu widow ought. She loved to pay attention to her person and dress, and she wore the few ornaments which she had got at her marriage. However, she certainly abstained from eating fish. In matters of food, like all other widows in gentle families, she was strictly a vegetarian. Besides her personal attractions, which were by no means inconsiderable, she possessed certain accomplishments; for example, she excelled in cookery, could use the needle with skill, and was known to have a knack in certain other things requiring ingenuity. She was liked by her neighbours, for she was useful to them. Her late husband's parents and hers had been long dead; so she lived under the care of her uncle, who being a single man, loved her as his own child for her obedience and for attending to every household work besides her regularly attending to the duties of the kitchen.

While she was engaged in cooking, a tabby cat, that lay near the door with her head resting between her fore paws, was looking wistfully at some fried fish held in a plate. Rohini's attention happening to be attracted towards her, she cast a menacing look at the animal. But the cat, instead of taking it as a hint for her to be off, took it as an invitation to come and have a taste of the fish. So she rose to her feet, and was just about to approach the plate when Haralal entered the kitchen. His sudden appearance and the creaking of his shoes put the cat to flight.

Seeing Haralal Rohini drew her veil a little over her face, and rising and standing with her eyes looking on the ground, asked, "When did you come home, uncle?" Rohini called Haralal uncle although she had no relation with him.

"I came yesterday. A word with you, Rohini," said Haralal.

She was rather amazed. "Will you take your meal here, uncle?" she asked.

"I can't say now; I may," said Haralal.

"Rohini," he said again, fixing his eyes on her, "do you remember when you took a journey to the Ganges to bathe? It was on a memorable occasion; and it happened that on your way back you were

separated from the people with whom you went."

"Yes," said Rohini with her eyes still fixed on the ground.

"You lost your way," he went on; "and you got into a field where you came in the way of some bad characters. You remember it well of course?"

"Oh yes, I do."

"Why were they after you? They had a bad motive. It was I who delivered you from their hands."

"You happened at that time to be riding across," said Rohini. "Oh, I can never forget it. How I wish I could do something to show my gratitude to you."

"Yes, you can do something for me, Rohini, if you wish to. There cannot be a more opportune time for it than the present. I am sure you can do it, for it is not a difficult thing to do. Now, will you do it for me? Say, will you?"

"Yes, I will," said Rohini. "I can even lay down my life, if necessary, to do you service."

"Bravely spoken. I am right glad to hear that you are ready to serve me. Well, you may have heard that father has made a fresh will in which he has excluded me altogether from any share in his property. Here is a false will I have prepared just as if it were made by my father. All you have to do is to bring me his will, putting this in its place. You can do it, I know, for you are very intelligent. Besides you are quite free in our house, and my father likes you very much."

Rohini shuddered. "Oh, I cannot do that," said she; "no, not even for all the property of your father. Anything but that, and I will most willingly do it."

"Don't decide so hastily," said Haralal. "It is not too much I ask of you, and you know you are in debt to me."

"Oh, I can't do it. It is against my conscience," said Rohini.

"You women are worthless," he said a little vexed. "It is all talk with you."

"I cannot steal the will," said Rohini. "Have we not eaten your father's salt? Would you have me be faithless to him?"

When Haralal saw that it was useless to try to induce her by argument, he said, "Here, Rohini—here is a thousand rupees for you. You must do it for me. You must—there's a good girl."

Rohini declined the offer with thanks.

"What you propose," said she, "is highly objectionable, and therefore I must refuse to do it."

"Rohini," sighed Haralal, "you are nothing to me; so I should not be surprised at your refusing to do what I ask of you. Had my wife been living now I should have had no need to ask you. She would have done it for me, I know she would."

Rohini smiled.

"What makes you smile?" asked Haralal.

"The mention of your wife," said Rohini, "puts me in mind of the report that you wish to marry a widow. Do you really mean to do so?"

"Why, yes; but it is difficult to find one to my liking."

"I may tell you what we think," said Rohini. "We can never like to see you remain a widower all your life. You ought to marry again, if not for your own sake, for the sake of your child at any rate. We should be happy indeed to see you take a wife. And we don't care whether it be an unmarried girl or a widow you choose for your partner in life."

"Widow marriage," said Haralal, "is not forbidden by the shastras."

"I am told so," said Rohini.

"Why don't you marry again, Rohini? I have no objection to you, not at all, for you are young, handsome and useful."

Rohini blushed, drew her veil so as to completely hide her face, and sat down again to mind what she was about.

"Well, it is useless to wait any longer, so I must be off," said Haralal, fetching a deep sigh. And he had walked up to the door, and was just about to leave the kitchen when Rohini called to him, saying, "I cannot bear to see you go disappointed. You may leave the will. I shall see what I can do."

Haralal's face grew bright. He returned and put the will and the bundle of notes in her hand.

"Take your money," said Rohini. "If I do it, I will do it for your sake, not for the sake of your money."

Haralal gave her many thanks; and he took his leave, saying that he was very pleased with her.

#### CHAPTER IV.

At about eight o'clock that night Krishnakanta Roy was reclining on a

luxurious couch in his bedroom, smoking a curly pipe with a golden mouthpiece, and dozing under the influence of his favourite intoxicating drug, opium, of which he usually took a large quantity. He was in a drowsy state, between sleeping and waking, and dreaming of odd and strange things. He dreaded that Haralal had bought the whole of his property at a nominal price of Rs. 50. Again it seemed to him that he had lost all his goods and money and landed property, and was worse off than a man in the street. At another time he thought that somebody had stealthily entered the room with the intention of filching his opium, which he always kept safely locked up in his chest of drawers. While he was in the midst of one of such dreams, Rohini entered the chamber very softly. "You are sleeping, grandpa?" she said, approaching the bed with a cautious tread. Rohini called him grandpa and loved to cut jokes with him.

"Who are you? Nundy?" said Krishnakanta. "When did you leave the hills? Where is your master?"

"Who do you mean, grandpa?" asked Rohini.

"Who do I mean? I mean your master—your master, the chief of the gods, whose abode is among the snow-capped mountains. What a noodle you are, Nundy!"

"Why do you want him?" again asked Rohini.

"Tell your master I cannot lend him the money he wants except on good security. Do you understand?"

"Oh, are you dreaming, grandpa?"

This roused Krishnakanta from his dream. "Who are you? Rohini?" he asked, watching her narrowly from under his half-closed eyelids. "You look charming to night, lassie. I am not so old as you think. Have you any objection to me?"

"None at all," said Rohini with a laugh.

"Oh, so glad. What do you want? Come for opium, I suppose?"

"What have I to do with opium?" she laughed. "But I know you can't spare any of your opium. It is more precious to you than gold and silver."

"Then what are you here for?" said Krishnakanta.

"Uncle says that he thinks you forgot to put your signature to the will."

"How is that? I am sure I didn't."

"How am I to know? He says it was

an oversight, and that is why he has sent me to you."

"It is very strange. I well remember I put my signature, and I think there can be no mistake about it."

"What's the good of talking?" said Rohini. "Had you not better look at the will to make sure?"

"Well, then take that light there," said Krishnakanta to her. And he rose and took a key from underneath the pillow on which he had been resting his head, and opened a little fancy box with it. Out of it he took a curious key and opened a drawer while Rohini was holding the light, and having groped for a while drew out the will with a rather shaky hand. Then from another box he took out his spectacles, and having fixed them on his nose with some difficulty, for he felt a little drowsy at the time, looked for his signature in the will.

"Here you are," he exclaimed. "Here is my signature, Rohini. I think I am not too old to remember anything."

"Certainly you are not," said Rohini with a smile. "But I will go now and tell it to my uncle." With this she left him and was quickly gone.

It was midnight, and Krishnakanta was fast asleep in his bed. Suddenly he awoke and thought he found the room was dark. Usually a lamp burnt all night in his room; and he seemed to wonder why there was no light. Presently he thought he heard a sound of the turning of a key. It even seemed to him that somebody was moving in the room, and that he came and gently handled the pillow on which he was resting his head! But he was so deeply under the influence of opium that he could apprehend nothing clearly. He was not quite sure there was no light in the room, for he was so drowsy that he could hardly open his eyes. When he opened them for a moment he thought the room was dark; but he imagined that he was in jail. Presently it seemed to him that he heard a creaking sound, and he thought it was the warder locking up the cell. After a little time he woke up again. He felt for his pipe, but could not find it. "Here, Hari," he called for the servant who slept near his master's bedroom at night.

Krishnakanta slept in a room half way between the inner and the outer part of his house. He called and dropped off into sleep again. Within this short space of

time his will was removed and a false will was substituted in its place

(To be continued)

Translated by

D C Roy

## AFTER THE WAR IN INDIA

By DR SUDHINDRA BOSE M A, PH D, LECTURER IN THE STATE UNIVERSITY OF IOWA, U S A, AUTHOR OF 'SOME ASPECTS OF BRITISH RULE IN INDIA'

THESE are cataclysmic times threatening to take the world back to the midnight of barbarism. We are witnessing the most horrible man-made calamity since the world began, the Christian nations of Europe are rending one another with the fury of the wild beasts of Africa. It is such a savage brutalizing struggle that it beggars all description. With cannon and rifle fire with flaming liquids and poisonous gases countries have been devastated towns and cities left in black ruins thrones shaken in the dust, nations trampled down and peoples wiped out like so many figures on the board. Sacred treaties between governments have been blown away in the blast as if they were but shreds of paper. The whole fabric of international relations is tottering and is on the verge of collapse, and the end is not yet.

Dreadful as is the catastrophe, it promises to inaugurate an enlightened era for Europe. If the French Revolution achieved only a partial emancipation of European nations who can deny that the present war will complete the process? Men who are intimately in touch with the inner European political circles do not hesitate to say that whoever wins Poland will be free. Indeed the Czar of Russia has already declared his intention, apparently with the approval of the allies to restore the ancient boundaries of Poland and give its inhabitants a complete autonomy. The Czar has also suspended the Russianizing campaign against Finland and promised a more liberal policy towards the Finns. Thus Russia the strongest citadel of reaction has started full speed on a process

of entire renewal." This is only a small beginning. The war will also produce many beneficent results for France and England. They will have—to quote Lincoln's phrase of other days—a new birth of freedom. And what of Germany?

Nowhere will the ideals of democracy," assures Count Herman Keyserling the distinguished Russian philosopher "gain more grounds than on German soil." It may be therefore that even such a frightful disaster as this war is a blessing in disguise for Europe.

But what will be the destiny of India after the war? In the terrible tempest of blood and iron which has burst upon Europe, India as a member of the British empire has found herself ranged on the side of England. And already India has contributed mightily with immense sacrifices of blood and treasure to English success. Indeed the gold the blood, the spirit of Hindustan, as it appears at this distance, have become essential to the triumph of allied arms. No nation can, however afford to be led into a war for empty sentiment for mere motives of self-abnegation and self-denial. The days of the knight-errant are over. Wars of sentiment do not belong to the twentieth century world life. They belong to the time of King Arthur's Round Table. The modern war can find its justification in the protection and advancement of national interests. And since Indians may not be particularly keen about constituting themselves as an evangelist agency the questions to be asked in India are: What will Hindustan obtain as the equivalent of her great contributions? How should her sacrifices be transformed into substan

tial benefits? Will she gain any political advantages? Will she be better able to defend her economic interests against foreign aggressors? These straightforward questions should be answered fairly and squarely.

The conflict in Europe is no excuse for neglecting our own affairs in India, where, as ex-viceroy Hardinge said in his farewell dinner at Delhi, "we do not feel the shock of battle, as the nations of Europe." The conditions of India demand a thorough scientific study. Some men, it is true, will not listen to this. They prefer to hang up every question till doomsday, if they can. They are not able to see beyond the end of their noses. Leaving things to their fate for an indefinite period is not a man's sized way of meeting a duty.

Of the host of problems which crowd into one's mind, the question of Indian immigration is of vast importance. Indians are still being *humiliatingly discriminated against* and their national honor and dignity openly flouted in Australasia, South Africa, and Canada. Just now\* a new Asiatic Exclusion bill is before the United States Congress. Japan and China, through their ambassadors at Washington, have lodged vigorous protests with the American government against the measure, and demanded that their subjects should be allowed to enter the United States *on the same terms as Europeans*. To add insult to injury, the bumptious Japanese ambassador, Viscount Chinda, brazenly declared that one of his chief objections to the exclusion bill is to the lumping of Japanese and Indians in the same sentence. It is humiliating to Japan, Chinda contended, to be classed with the people of India! Could impudence go any further? President Wilson being over-anxious to placate the Japanese government is exerting a strong influence upon Congress to meet the wishes of Nippon. And at this writing (May 29), the Senate Committee on Immigration has decided to yield to the dictation of the Japanese ambassador. The committee has voted unanimously to record an amendment striking out the exclusion clause held objectionable by the island empire, and substituting therefor a provision barring from the United States practically all Asiatic

peoples except Japanese. If Congress accepts the amendment of the committee, which is a foregone conclusion, the Japanese, alone of all Asiatics, will be entitled to admission into this country. A signal victory to cunning Japanese diplomacy and to power of arms! Now, who was conserving Indian interests in Washington? The British ambassador? He has not raised his little finger against the exclusion legislation.

Our domestic problems are just as serious as foreign. Take the matter of liquor traffic. The British chancellor said the other day that the empire is fighting Germans, Austrians and liquor, and that the most dangerous is liquor. He is right. Alcohol wastes motherhood, debauches fatherhood, and slays manhood. The demon rum kills the baby, deforms the child, weakens the man, increases the death-rate, produces crime and poverty, and transmits its evil effects to generations unborn. Oh, the pity of it all! The liquor traffic must go. Nay, it is already going. Even Russia with its elementary civilization has blotted out the liquor trade. All European nations are giving the subject such earnest consideration as they never did before. On this side of the Atlantic, Canada is putting severe restrictions on drinking. With the exception of Quebec, every province in Canada has taken steps to restrict, if not prohibit, the liquor business. And the chances are that by the spring of 1917 the whole of the Dominion will be under prohibition. The pot house and run hole have been for years making ugly spots in English manhood. Realizing this, the King of England in last April, a year ago, put a bar on wine, spirits, and beer at all his palaces. The English Government, too, is putting the clamps down on liquor traffic. According to a statement given out April, 1916, by Lord D'Abernon, head of the government's central liquor control board, "the drink evil in England has been cut in two in less than a year. It is often said, Man 'cannot be made sober by an act of Parliament,'" his lordship stated, "but my belief is that under a really effective system of regulation three-fourths of the drunkenness which prevailed before the war would never exist."

There is, then, a world-movement toward suppressing liquor. But how does India stand in this movement? Statistics

\* This article was written in May, 1916, but was delayed in transmission Editor, M R

show an alarming increase of the consumption of intoxicants. They are sending hundreds and thousands to their untimely deaths. Has not the time come to call halt? Has not the hour struck to overhaul the Indian excise policy?

Sociologists the world over are at one that poverty is a social disease, and that poverty is as unnecessary and inexcusable as malaria, yellow fever, or bubonic plague. Nevertheless, poverty is India's real sore spot, real weakness. At this moment hundreds of our people are being slain by famine right in our own country. Can we for one moment forget the terrible sufferings, the awful death agonies of these innocent victims? Indians have a duty to themselves to their children, and to their nation. There is no law, it is a commonplace to remark, higher than the law of self-preservation. Charity and good deeds should begin at home, though they need not and should not end there. Why then should any one prate about 'long distance' philanthropy is more than I can understand. It reminds me of the story of the sentimental American lady found wildly weeping because she had just heard how cruel they were to cats in Persia in the thirteenth century! If the press reports can be relied upon, the people of Hindustan are expending a great deal more emotion upon war-stricken Belgium than famine-stricken India. How unnatural! Enlightened patriotism should open its heart and its purse to relieve the sufferings of India first. When will it be time to be a true Indian, to cherish our own blood, to settle our own dark problems of misery and wretchedness before tinkering with pretentious world problems in a distant foreign country?

This frightful monotony of the horrors of sword and bayonet cannot go on forever. Some day it must come to an end. What will then be to-morrow of the commercial world be? The Russian Finance Minister, M. Barte, has remarked that the real war has not yet started. The war against Germany will only begin in earnest when peace is signed. It will mean a hard business war, a fierce economic struggle, a ruthless commercial nationalism, a remorseless financial imperialism. In this back to back wide-reaching conflict for commerce there will be—to use the language of war—offensive all along the front and no quarters given or asked. The

American and European nations are already laying plans for gigantic international commercial warfare. In the United States the subject is being studied and worked out with red-hot passionate interest. They have already formed a mammoth organisation to finance and conduct large commercial and industrial enterprises in foreign countries. This concern, which goes by the name of American International Corporation, is capitalised at Rs 150,000,000. The activities of this world-ambitious organization will mark the formal entrance of the United States as the star player in the drama of world-wide commercial supremacy.

Europe is just as wide-awake as America. The most casual observers find that the continental powers in Europe are seriously considering the question of trade after the war. In all probability there will be a central Zollverein with high protection, which will dominate the trade of Central Europe and the Near East. In Germany various societies have been organized to forward her commercial possibilities. The one which seems to be most flourishing is that which concerns China. Baron Mumm von Schwarzenstein, for a long time minister to China, founded in 1914 a German Chinese Society. Its purpose is to promote a better understanding between Germany and the Orient, especially to encourage trade between China and Germany. Can any one doubt that Germany and Austria will take up in the near future the commercial contest with the tremendous energy, scientific skill, and thoroughness which has made Germany an unequalled example of efficiency?

England, too, is alive to the gravity of the situation. In the very midst of this terrible struggle she is preparing for her future; she is planning an aggressive commercial advance upon all markets, which do not, of course, exclude those of India. England is re-organising and re-constructing her economic organisation from an aggressive nationalistic point of view. Contrary to impressions in this country, England is not anywhere near prostration. Her basic financial and economic resources are immense. Sir George Parish in his recent statement on British financial and commercial condition reports that Great Britain's income has increased nine billion rupees since the beginning of the war, that it is now forty-five billions, and that despite

the withdrawal of approximately four million men into the army; "if allowance were made for the increase of the country's gold stock; the nation would be found to have succeeded in meeting virtually the whole of its expenditure out of its income without needing to draw upon its accumulated capital worth mentioning."

Stop for a moment and think also of Japan, which has gained in financial conditions since the commencement of the war, and will profit even more enormously from world commerce at the end of the war. She is making money out of war, enlarging her navy, and increasing her shipping line. Already in Japan forty-three ships are being built—thirteen over 7,000 tons, three of 5,000, and seventeen of 3,000. In addition to these, six new steamers, each of 13,000 tons are to be constructed for American service. The Sun Rise Empire with the aid of a special tariff and a government merchant marine is doing its utmost to capture and hold the trade of the Orient. Just as Uncle Sam is exerting every nerve to occupy a dominant position in the trade of South America, so Nippon is doing the same in regard to Asia. What is India going to do to save herself from Japan?

From this Hindustan should "take note"—as the diplomats say—of how almost every country is preparing for the fiercest trade rivalry. India must expect to be the subject of aggressive commercial invasion. Can India see this vivid danger which is looming straight up in front of her eyes? Can she afford to go into a future in which such great forces will be struggling without putting herself into a state of economic preparedness? Does not she know from her past experiences that, as the Germans put it, if she does not become a hammer she will become an anvil for other nations? Let India get ready for the days immediately ahead of her when peace has come back to earth and Europe resumes once more its task of commerce and industry. The upheaval of the European war has served to reveal to us the wide range of profitable industries which have become the monopoly of our foreign competitors. We are confronted with an opportunity to enlarge our industrial undertakings and make ourselves independent of foreign markets. Now is the time to get back of the *Swadeshi* movement. Such an opportunity may never

come again. We should, therefore, identify ourselves with world progressivism. We should adopt every means to mobilize our economic resources on a basis of efficiency. Improvements in general arts, manufactures, agriculture are no longer to be neglected because they are new, 'untried' or foreign. Whatever is most serviceable, most useful, for our purpose we must welcome with both hands. No one can do all these things for us. We have to do most of them for ourselves. It is our national "must."

New channels should be created for Indian trade, and new markets conquered for Indian industry. So far the private enterprise of Indian merchants, considering everything, has done fairly well. There is, of course, room for them to do more. At present they will hardly be able to accomplish a great deal unless their efforts are supported and seconded by the government in a practical way. It can, for one thing, subsidize Indian steamship lines, just as the Japanese government has done. They will give Indian merchants quick and direct communication with the ports of Africa, China, and Japan.

The aftermath of the war may bring India rich harvest, if she knows how to defend her interests and advance them skilfully. She cannot, however, hold her own in the mighty combat if she retains her present archaic commercial policy. To this day, Lancashire mills are being protected by duties on Indian goods. How long will India continue to become the dumping grounds for foreign goods?

The country is in need of a tariff policy suited to its condition, which should be divorced from foreign interests. Even now commercial alliances of the most far-reaching consequences are in the making. What is India doing to obtain strategic positions in the world-wide warfare of trade? The first thing necessary for India is to formulate national commercial legislation, to build a scientific tariff system which will allow her to favor free trade when it ought to be favored, and oppose it when it ought to be opposed. India, like Australasia and Canada, should have the right to determine her own fiscal policy.

In France the colonial reformers have proposed that their great dependencies, Madagascar and Indo-China, should have their own tariff systems with particular reference to their own needs, and not to



the avarice of French nationalistic traders. This liberal policy, which might have been enacted into law if it were not for the war, will doubtless have its earliest trial as soon as circumstances permit. Here is a lesson that the rulers of India may well borrow from France.

Disregarding its own privations, its own heart-aches, the Indian nation is giving its whole energy to the war, India by offering the best of its manhood and its wealth has established a legitimate claim to self-government within the empire. The prevailing impression in America is that England is almost under a moral obligation to India to give her a programme of constitutionalism. India has earned her title to emancipation from bureaucracy. Instead of concentration in a few hands, the government should be shared by a larger number of Indian people

who will thus have an opportunity to gain the experience and training necessary for self-government. The world to-day, points out the disinterested American, is advancing toward democracy. China has felt it, and so have Turkey and Persia. And the allies, it is understood, are fighting for it. When will come India's turn?

After the war clouds clear off, the Indian people will have much work to do. They will be aided in this by their common foundation of national unity and self-affirmation. To be sure India, like America, possesses for its people a hundred strains. Nevertheless, India as well as America have a national unity in diversity. Conscious of this new life, new energy, new national loyalty every Indian with intensified patriotism should rise to the thought of MOTHER INDIA, THE MIGHTY AND THE INDIVISIBLE.

## LIFE ASSURANCE AS AN INVESTMENT

By G. S. MARATHEY, M.A., A. I. A., ACTUARY.

I SHALL now turn to the question of Insurance as an investment. Before proceeding, however, I must warn the readers against Dividing Society or Provident Business, which is sometimes wrongly called Insurance. Provident Funds are highly unreliable things for investment, for the majority of the members of such funds shall not be able even to get back the premiums they have paid. These funds have no Actuarial Basis and their prosperity continues so long as the number of members is increasing. The more rapid the increase, the larger the amount that can be paid in claims. As soon as the number of members diminishes, the amount paid for a claim becomes smaller and smaller. The Chief Actuary to the Government of India, Mr. Meikle, has clearly expressed his disapproval of such Funds, in the Actuarial Blue Book of 1914.

When considering Insurance as investment, there are two points of view, (1) Death happening early and (2) Death happening late. Every individual has a different opinion according to his own circum-

stances, about how much importance to attach to each of these points of view. Persons who are already financially well equipped, or those who are only tolerably well off but who have a highly hopeful temperament and expect to live very long, would not attach much importance to the first point of view, viz., early death; while persons who cannot save enough to make adequate provision for their families, or those who are greatly impressed by instances of young people being suddenly cut off in the prime of their life, would attach great importance to this point of view. To those who attach little importance to the benefits of Life Assurance in case of early death, the investment point of view is it is not very tempting, except in the light of compulsory saving. For in the case of many persons, if the money paid as premiums had not been utilized in that way, it would have been spent, partly at least, in enjoyment or decoration, and only a part, if at all, would have been invested for making provision for the future. Even to those people however, who

ignore the benefits due to early death it may be worth mentioning that in a good company, all the money paid in premiums is in most cases received back with a little simple interest as will be seen from the Table given below. The majority of persons in this world however who earn their livelihood and have other persons dependent upon them are such that in the case of their early death their survivors or families would find Insurance money a great help and means of support and in some cases it would mean an escape from starvation or from degrading menial service or from servile dependence upon some unsympathetic relation or friend.

Even in the case of those who have made some provision for their families it may happen that their available funds may be locked up or unexpectedly spent in litigation protracted illness or social and religious festivities. It is desirable therefore that even ordinarily well to do persons should get their lives insured. In the Western countries the lives of great kings and of members of their families are insured for big amounts.

To show the benefits of Life Insurance as an investment from all points of view I give below a table deduced from the Rates of the Oriental Government Security Life Assurance Company of Bombay. I have selected the rates of this Company because they are the highest among all Indian Companies and also because this being a company of considerably long standing we can form an idea of the Rate of Bonus to be taken for calculation. At the time of its last valuation the compound Reversionary Bonus declared by this Company was at the rate of 15 per thousand per annum for Whole Life policies and 12 per thousand per annum for Endowment Assurance policies. To be on the safe side however and to avoid the charge of expecting too much I shall calculate on the assumption of a compound Reversionary Bonus at the rate of 12 per thousand per annum all through or, to state more accurately at 60 per thousand per quinquennium (i.e. five years).

The period of Endowment Assurance in the Table is 20 years. For convenience of illustration I have assumed that the annual premium being paid in all cases is 100 the Sum Assured being proportionately increased.

In the Table is given the sum (including

Reversionary Bonus) that would be payable if death happens (1) immediately after paying the First Premium (2) at the end of 5 years (3) of 10 years (4) of 20 years (this includes surviving twenty years in the case of Endowment Assurance) (5) and of 40 years.

The Table also gives for purposes of comparison the total amount (without interest) which has been paid in premiums during the respective periods as well as the total amount if these payments of premiums had been accumulated at one and a half per cent compound interest.

Method of Investment	Entry	Immediate Death	End of 5 years	End of 10 yrs.	End of 20 years	End of 40 years
Whole Life	20	363	3991	4230	4753	6000
	30	2947	3171	3300	3720	4696
Assurance	40	2180	2311	2449	2702	3474
Endowment	20	1975	2040	2163	2431	Discontinued
Assurance	30	1850	1947	2064	2319	continued
20 years	40	1681	1789	1888	2122	at end of 20 years
Amount paid a Premium	100 500 1000 2000 4000					
Amount of above at 1½ per cent	100 523 1086 2347 5508					

The premium being fixed the higher the entry age (at the time of taking out policy) the smaller the sum assured (given in column one above).

From the above table it would be seen that only if a person of advanced age takes out a Whole Life policy and succeeds in living very long there is a fear of the money paid in premiums not coming back in full. (Such persons should go in for a Limited Payment Whole Life Policy). In all other cases the money is received back with some interest even in the event of a long life. In case of early death the amount received is ever so many times greater than the money paid. If any other Company charges smaller premiums and gives larger bonus the return would be in a still larger ratio. The rates of English Companies (for residents of England) are smaller than those of the Oriental while generally they give Bonus at nearly 15 per thousand per annum. The return therefore is much greater in that country in similar cases.

#### CONCLUSION

Summarizing we see that the advantages of Insurance are (1) Freedom from

anxiety about the state of the survivors in case of sudden death (2) Large pecuniary gain in case of premature death (3) Compulsory saving of money which would otherwise have been squandered away (4) Exemption from Income Tax on the amount paid as premiums The disadvantages are — (1) Locking up a large amount of capital (2) Pecuniary loss if circumstances make it impossible to continue paying the premiums (In such cases the policy can be mortgaged and the loss can be avoided) (3) Loss of interest in case of long life

It can be seen on consideration that the advantages far more than counterbalance the disadvantages

There is one more consideration which some people may think worth being included in the advantages viz the **Element of Charity** in Life Assurance This can be set off against disadvantage No 3 for it arises only in the case of those who live long From the explanations which I have previously given it would have been evident that the pecuniary benefits obtained by the survivors of those who die early are offered at the cost of those who live long These pecuniary benefits in most cases go to those who are really needy and they come to them as a boon and a blessing Since these benefits however really come out of the payments made by those who live long the latter are certainly entitled to the Punyam or merit and the blessings of the beneficiaries would fall on the heads of those among the long lived policy holders

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who do not grudge the loss of interest and are thankful to God for giving them long life and easy circumstances

A very great objection to Insurance comes from Orthodox Ladies Such a Lady thinks that if her husband gets insured a wish might arise in her mind owing to some hidden weakness that the husband should die or at least she is afraid that others might suspect her of hatching such a wish She would find however on her husband actually taking out a policy that her fears were absolutely groundless while on the other hand she would come to love her husband the more for looking to her welfare Really speaking it is the duty of a devoted wife to keep the mind of her husband free from anxiety and if there are children she would be doing a great injustice to these children if she objects to her husband's getting his life insured

I shall finish by giving one or two quotations

Professor De Morgan the Great Mathematician says — There is nothing in the commercial world which approaches even remotely the security of a well-established Life Office

Samuel Smiles the celebrated moralist writer says — To bring a family into the world and then to leave the family to the alms of relatives or to the charity of the public is nothing short of crime done against society as well as against the unfortunate individuals who are the immediate sufferers

## THE TRUE FISCAL POLICY FOR INDIA

**A**MONG the many interesting and widely significant phenomena which have followed in the train of the present war few are more remarkable than and few so utterly beneficent as the great and steady impetus that it has given to the various countries to become as far as possible industrially autonomous and self contained The German and Austrian factories and warehouses have for a long time past been supplying most of the cheap

er manufactured commodities and since the outbreak of the war there has been practically a complete stoppage of all kinds of imports from the enemy states The various countries have accordingly been thrown on their own resources and each nation has tried its best to devise ways and means as to how it could in the easiest and in the most profitable manner to itself cope with the situation The industrial possibilities of each nation have been taken stock of the amount of war material available

ascertained and the means to convert the raw into finished products adopted the capitalists have pressed upon the Government for co-operation and intervention in the popular behalf and in a measure this stoppage of imports from the Central States of Europe has acted as an eye opener to the industrial potentialities of these several countries.

Perhaps no other country has with such agility and with such apt steadiness taken the time by the forelock as Japan has done and now is the time and opportunity for India also. And if she misses it perhaps there may not occur the like chance for a long time to come. She has slept long enough and her arts and industries have lain dormant for generations and generations and yet nothing in a tangible and useful way nothing of any practical and substantial value has so far been done either by the people themselves or by the Government. Truly the Government have started the Industries Commission and we are very grateful to the Imperial Government for this great sympathy towards us but its report will come up a year hence and a year will make it too, too late for India. She may be left behind if she but lags a month a day and she may be shut to all future chance of industrial regeneration.

## II

What indeed could the Indian Government do? The Government here can and ought to do for Indian trade what the Constitution did for the United States in 1789 what the French Republic did for France in the early nineteenth century what the German Government freeing itself from centuries of disunion and dependence did for the several states composing the new United Germany—what in a word a host of other Governments Serbia Rumania Belgium Switzerland and Russia have done for the respective countries. Our Government must grant us Protection. Protection in a comprehensive sense and support the Home industries through an active initiative in their struggles against the withering foreign competition. There is no use postponing the consideration of fiscal questions to a post war period. This plea for Protection has again and again been raised by Indian politicians economists and statisticians and has again and again been poohpooed

by the Anglo Indian 'friends of India'. And the Government have always shelved or shirked the question. Many of these 'friends' who have at least not Indian but British or Anglo Indian enterprise have missed no opportunity when they could cry down this unanimous wish of the country to have protection for their industries as the view of superficial economic students and they carried on a virulent propaganda for free trade as if that must be the universal trade policy. And therefore it is necessary no less than timely that we should discuss the subject in all its aspects much mooted as it already is.

## III

In advocating protection we may appear to be a bit antedated in our notions of economics but there is this to be strictly understood that the conditions of trade in India are entirely different from those of the United Kingdom. If England thrives and prospers with a Free Trade policy surely it is no argument much less a binding that India too can and must flourish only under free trade. In fact there are circumstances where a protection is not only justified but absolutely imperative. Sidgwick an advocate of Free Trade recognised that, protection in certain cases and within certain limits would probably be advantageous to the protecting country and even perhaps to the world if only it could be strictly confined to these cases and kept within these limits. Even Adam Smith concedes that. That this monopoly of the home market frequently gives great encouragement to that particular species of industry which enjoys it and frequently turns towards that employment a greater share of both the labour and stock of the society than would otherwise have gone to it, cannot be doubted. Marshall goes further and while feeling the necessity of protection to immature industries and deeming it a very great national good he warns the nations with immature industries against adopting England's system pure and simple. A protective duty is essential when a nascent industry needs help and no other help is possible. Truly India is a country with immature industries and to let absolutely no other help than what could be guaranteed through an active and comprehensive protection is possible.

## IV

In fact it is certain that the peculiar circumstance of India require that such a restraint upon importation, as Adam Smith would call it, should be levied and without delay and without any kind of scruple that it is not so levied in the United Kingdom India requires her own trade policy because her own trade, economic and social conditions are very peculiar. We have yet to train our workmen, and the giving of industrial education to illiterate labourers is neither easy nor immediately profitable. Industrious habits, application and business ways of punctuality and regularity—these qualities have yet to be well developed in them, before they can hold their own against their western competitors. We have to import machinery of all kinds and get versed in their mechanical details. We have to improve still our means of interchange and our notions of credit, marketing etc., as at present they are but hazy and vague. Added to these, there is the general "non commercial temper" of the Indian who rather than start any untried experiment will allow his money to rust unused. Initiative is yet wanting and boldness of speculation is not to be looked for. Indian capital is shrinking, reticent. Against such heavy handicaps, we have already to contend, and these are serious enough. But when the fierce competition of Germany and Austria, of United States, Japan and Lancashire also comes into play, we are helpless like the veriest children. These extraordinary conditions necessitate the adoption, with regard to India, of a policy that is not merely cut and-dry but one that will suit all her circumstances and help her out of her disadvantages most easily. Evidence from empirical conditions as also from the literature bearing thereon strongly points to the harmfulness of a policy of free trade in India, whatever it may be in the United Kingdom and however beneficial its effects might have been there.

In fact even in England it has repeatedly been discussed whether it is possible to continue her free trade principles and whether, if so possible, it is advisable to do so. Since 1902, when among the budget expedients for broadening the basis of taxation and raising money to meet the Boer War deficits, Sir Michael Hicks Beach imposed a regulation duty of 1sh on corn, the tariff movement has been having an

increasingly larger number of supporters and followers among the Englishmen. Mr. Chamberlain has drafted his scheme of tariff duties and among the modern economists as opposed to the more conservative ones who adopt the following of Adam Smith and Mill, there is a small school of theorists like Professor Cunningham and Ashley who are in favour of tariff. The present war has added to this body a larger number of tariff advocates.

Even in the very heyday of free trade advocacy, in Lancashire itself, usually considered the stronghold of free trade doctrinaires, free trade in an absolutely pure form never flourished. The countervailing duties on Indian cotton are by no means consistent with free trade, pure and simple. Indeed unalloyed free trade is a myth and fiction.

All progressive countries save the United Kingdom have adopted protectionist policy and have thriven under it. The history of protection in America is an encouraging record. Begun in 1789 with the adoption of the constitution, it has become more and more popular, as also, more and more beneficial. The struggle between France and England in the first decade of the nineteenth century, and the participation therein of the United States of America herself in the second decade necessitated a protective policy that will also be a revenue policy, and this confirmed for ever and irrevocably the protective system adopted a quarter century prior to it. In Germany also, the history of the tariff policy is one of great and greater usefulness. The introduction of absolute free trade among the various states by the establishment of the North German Confederation and the new German Empire gave to the new Germany a political status and independence which, in its turn, set up a craving for industrial independence and herein was the origin of her protectionist policy. In both countries, in the United States as in Germany, this policy has been responsible for a deepening and strengthening of the national unity, for the thriving into full life and health of nascent industries, and for revenue to the coffers of the state. And, in a word, as List says, "protection has been a means of educating the nation, of advancing it from a lower to a higher status."

Of course we are not in favour of the extreme types of protection as of Carey

and Patten, we are indeed aware that in the United States as in Germany moderation has again and again been set at naught and an extravagant form of protection has got in vogue. But we also believe that no extreme type of protectionist system can hold its own for long, and it would naturally and as by a nemesis work its own abolition. We have simply to turn to America and note how the reaction against the heavy duties automatically set in 1830-1833; and with Hamilton we may say that protection is needed for a limited time and that soon as it has served the purpose for which it was inaugurated, it will of itself slide into the background.

## V

The following are some among the many arguments in favour of a decisive policy of protection for India.

1 The champions of free trade policy, besides being culpable of a neglect of the literature which is insistent in a no less convincing manner on the merits of the other side, base their arguments on generalisations that are true only of the special conditions of particular countries. And to them the answer may be given that of all sciences economics least admits of vague and facile generalisations.

2 The conditions of India are unique and call for a unique policy.

3 England herself has never consistently followed a doctrine of free trade in an absolutely free form.

4 Tariff advocates have been rising up in great and greater numbers and the war has effected a considerable increase to this body.

5 Most progressive countries have adopted a protectionist doctrine and none can say that they have not thriven well.

6 Protection has been in many instances responsible for a healthier national tone and for awakening in the country a deeper patriotism and individuality.

7 It seems fair to assert that free trade pure and simple is as much a fiction and impossibility as protection in an extravagant form.

## VI

Now that the plea for protection has been established what is exactly the kind of protection that will do for India, and will be best for her trade interests? Protection fundamentally implies "discrimin-

ating duties upon manufactured commodities imported from foreign countries." But it is more comprehensive than this, and includes not only discriminating tariffs but also a number of other aspects which are inseparably connected with the fundamental one. It includes, for example, the system of bounties and stipends, tonnage duties, and it is thus summarised by Alexander Hamilton in his epoch making work, protection to the industries can be granted in any one or all of the following ways—(1) Protective duties or duties on foreign articles which are the rivals of the domestic ones to be encouraged (2) Bounties and premiums and subsidies (3) Prohibition of the export of raw materials (4) Exemption of the materials manufactured from duty (5) The encouragement of new inventions and discoveries at home and the introduction of those that have been made in other countries (6) And the facilitating of the pecuniary remittances from place to place. And Indian trade stands in need of a state support in all these ways and surely a direct and almost immediate effect might be predicted. But it seems to us that the kind of protection that the Indian Government can give to industries lies at present not so much in the way of tariff duties on imported articles as in the way of imparting correct and useful information on industrial topics and affording every facility and encouragement for the launching forth of suitable industries. Indeed, it is no use merely imposing a tax if there be no home industries at all and if our dependence on foreign industries is absolute. There is certainly a large modicum of truth in Sir Thomas Holland's dictum that there must be something to protect before protection duties may be levied. The state must, if necessary, grant subsidies and premiums to the infant industry, it must patronise the home manufacture even at what might be mistaken for a monopoly, it must help the getting together of skilled workmen, it must when means of communication are not good improve them, where intervention is necessary with foreign countries in the interests of home industries, it must intervene, it must also forbid the export of raw materials that could be utilised, and withhold any kind of taxation on the home industrial products. All these conditions are necessary for the starting up of an industry under happy auspices. And

to the new started industry, the Government may give further strength and stability by minimising the rivalry from foreign markets. Tariff duties have thus a secondary but none the less an important significance. But it must never be forgotten that the kind of protection that is most needed for Indian trade interests is the affording of every encouragement for general information on commerce and industry and a willing and sympathetic interest in the starting of new industries based upon a thorough knowledge of local conditions.

The industrial possibilities of our country are indeed very large. We are most rich in the production of raw materials. Capital is not scarce though shy. Our labourers are not unintelligent though conservative. What we require is the tapping of our resources in the right manner. Private bodies unaided by the Government cannot accomplish it. An Industries Commission inaugurated by the Government goes a long way to help it but the elaborate machinery of such a Commission takes a long time and owing to a large portion of them being foreigners our conditions may not be thoroughly understood. But it is no less true that it is a step in the right direction and if the inquiries of the Commission result in a thorough appreciation of the different industrial projects that could be set afloat and if, as the result thereof, such industrial concerns are founded with private capital and under Govern-

ment support and protection, its labours would not have been in vain, and the primary protective duty of the Government discharged. We have now but few industries worth the mention and these require to be protected by tariff against foreign competition, but what we require more is an ever increasing establishment of really efficient and useful industrial projects which in their turn must be stabilised through protective duties against fierce competition.

But the present war conditions define in a measure the kind of policy that the Government must adopt. So far many home enterprises have been started but owing to the untaxed dumping of foreign goods they have all along been nipped in the bud. And so Indian capital will not be forthcoming unless and until the Government give an authoritative pledge that after the war measures will be taken to ensure that the home enterprises will not be crushed to death by the severe foreign competition. The war conditions act as a kind of protection to such industries as may be started and the Government must guarantee the continuance of some other kind of protection when the war is over. This point has been emphasised by Sir Roper Lethbridge in his article "Indian Industry and Commerce," the lessons of the war" which he contributes to a recent issue of the Asiatic Review.

C S RANGASWAMI

## EDWARD CARPENTER'S AUTOBIOGRAPHY

### INTERESTING INDIAN REFERENCES

By JAMES H. COUSINS

**T**HERE is no suspicion that Edward Carpenter's recording of his life\* is due to any sense of having carried to a successful stage the Longfellow process of making his life sublime. It is indeed, his

doctrine that any attempt to manufacture sublimity would most likely achieve ridiculousness, certainly precocious self-righteousness. Hence his record is not that of effort towards personal sublimation of malice aforethought, but simply of a life lived.

There are, to be sure, some persons who are of opinion that Mr. Carpenter himself did not quite escape the ridiculous in his

\* *My Days and Dreams*. Being autobiographical notes by Edward Carpenter. London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd. 340 pp. with portrait and bibliography. 7s. 6d. in Great Britain.

efforts to avoid the sublimities of mid-Victorian life in a purse-proud and caste-ridden English town; for what (in their view) could be more ridiculous than a young man of high intellectual attainment (a fellow of Trinity Hall, Cambridge), of respectable parentage (his father was "independent" that is, free from the "indignity" of having to work), of good prospect (he made £600 a year from his Collegiate work), throwing away his income because of mere spiritual doubts, becoming a "pal" of the "lower classes" (i. e. the workers), and taking to the wearing (and, horrible! the manufacture) of sandals, and to vegetarianism!

"In this, as in everything else, the evaluation of details of action depends on the ideal standard that one applies to life; and the fact is that the great majority of humanity have no general principles to give coherence and purpose to the particulars of life. They are few indeed who are capable of seeing through the eyes of another: even Mr. Carpenter himself is not quite free from the limitations of personal prejudice, as shown in his inability to surmount the personalities of the late Anna Kingsford and Edward Maitland, and to grasp the spiritual significance of their joint work as recoverers of the lost Christian gnosis, and as shown in his naive summing up of the monumental "Secret Doctrine" of Madame Blavatsky as "general rot and confusion beyond description."

We must, however, 'forgive Mr. Carpenter this defect. Did not Wordsworth despise Shelley, and Shelley set Byron above himself? The service which Mr. Carpenter, in his frank disclosure of an entirely fallacious evaluation of the work of the persons referred to, does for those who would realise the full meaning of his life, is in unconsciously setting a boundary to his own genius. The pre-eminently spiritual significance of the two seeresses' and 'prophetesses' missions eludes him: it is above his head. His eye caught what he calls the

"pose" of the one (though it fails to observe his own pose of "simplicity" that betrays him into referring to the writing of George Meredith as "literary gymnastics"), and the "common juggleries" of the other—the latter a particularly unworthy lapse on the part of a seeker for truth into thoughtless acceptance of an exploded falsehood. We see Mr. Carpenter's boundary line in the mental realm, not at the low level of unilluminated rationalism, or at the altitude of illuminated philosophy; but between them in the march-lands where the struggle for human freedom is directed against false thought and custom and in its loosening of mental and emotional fibres permits the entrance of some gleams from the *buddhic* realm of unity.

It is this definition of Mr. Carpenter's

area of life that gives to all his writings, but particularly to his prose, a sense of balance, an almost too scrupulous dread of going to extremes. Even his one dogma on which he lets himself go, his social anarchism (not, of course, the anarchism of explosives, but the state of pure personal freedom culminating in voluntary union) becomes almost a quite normal subject for thought.

This sense of 'average' in his work, and;

as we now see, in his life, is temperamental, and reduces the incidents of a long career from the level of drama to that of narrative. The glimpse, for example, of the psychic realm, which Mr. Carpenter has enjoyed, would have given a more exaggerated nature, material for much writing. His decision to renounce his academic career, which promised him position and wealth, but at the expense of sincerity and honesty in thought, came, to him in a Paris train as a direct voice from the inner worlds. When at last he settled down to the "simplification of life," in a country village outside Sheffield, and had exchanged the company of Augustine Birrell, Henry Fawcett, George Darwin, and other co-fellows of Cambridge, for the hearty good-fellowship of artisans and farmers, he



Edward Carpenter, aged 70, in his garden, with Princess Bariatsky, the famous Russian actress, who calls Carpenter 'the English Tolstoy'. They were brought together by the writer of this review.



haunted by an image a vision with a me of something like the bulb and bud with long green blades of a large hyacinth just appearing above the ground I knew that it represented vigour and abounding life. But now I seem to see that in the strange emblematic way in which the Soul sometimes speaks this image may have been a sign of the fact that my life had really at least taken root.

These supernormal experiences the hearing of voices and the seeing of visions take their place quite naturally in the orderly evolution of Mr Carpenter's genius with little or no emphasis but with the impartation of some slight and continuing tint to the atmosphere of his life. In others they would have given a start to self-development along special lines. In Mr Carpenter's case they beckoned him towards a truth that he has not reached in its fullness in this life taking him to India en route.

India indeed has had a quite large share in the life of Edward Carpenter. Close readers of his personal revelation in 'Towards Democracy' have noticed its points of mental affinity with the Bhagavat Gita. Now we learn from the autobiographical notes that the Gita was one of two events that united to bring into being one of the greatest modern influences in English literature the other event was the death of his mother. Of the latter he says—

we were bound by a strong sympathy. For months even years after her death I seemed to feel her even see her close to me—always figuring as a semi-luminous presence very real but faint a outline larger than mortal. Her death at this moment exercised perhaps a great ethereal influence on my mind exalting the great mass of feelings, intuitions, concepts and views of life and the world which had formed within me into another sphere.

Then came his illumination

The Bhagavat Gita about the same time falling into my hands gave me a keynote. And all at once I found myself a touch with a mood of exaltation and inspiration—a kind of super-consciousness—which passed all that I had experienced before and which immediately harmonised all those other feelings giving to them their place the meaning and the reason let in expression. And so it was that Towards Democracy came to birth.

He had received the Gita from his almost life-long friend Arunachalam whom he first came in contact with when the latter was an undergraduate at Cambridge and who became finally a member of the Ceylon Legislative Council. In 1890 on the invitation of Mr Arunachalam Mr Carpenter paid the visit to Ceylon and India which he has recorded

in his fascinating book 'Adam's Peak to Elephanta'. This visit to the East in some sense completed the circle of my experiences he says. It brought him into living contact with Eastern thought and experience through a Gaudi Yogi and as he puts it concatenated his work—and to some extent the work of that extreme Westerner Walt Whitman—with the Eastern tradition.

It was probably the Celtic element in Mr Carpenter's ancestry that drove him along the line of greatest affinity towards the eastern spiritual kindred. He confesses to a want of at home feeling in England that sent him abroad at intervals. The blood of the Cornish Celt demanded freedom and adventure the blood of the Scottish puritan (also Celtic) gave him the Psyche touch but put upon him also a large measure of northern caution and restraint. Between the undulations of the English midlands and the Himalayas his life pushes up a series of stepping stones like peaks of a submerged range that in the depths are one.

On August 29 1914 Mr Carpenter's seventieth birthday was taken as an opportunity by a number of friends including many of the foremost literary men and women in the British Isles to express their appreciation of his work in an address. His reply was a masterly summary of his life and of his own life from its beginning in the middle of that strange period of human evolution the Victorian Age which in some respect one now thinks marked the lowest ebb in modern civilised society to its penultimate in that era of to-day when insane commercial and capitalistic rivalry the piling up of power in the hands of mere speculators and financiers and the actual trading for dividends in the engines of death have now for years been leading up to this war. But his thought does not end with the war. In view of certain movements which he notes it is impossible he says not to hope for a great move forward among the Western States of Europe towards the consolidation of their respected democracies and the establishment of a great Federation on a Labour basis among them.

Such is Mr Carpenter's fine spirit of optimism at seventy in the midst of the world's black night. I found it when I discussed many problems with him at his home in the Yorkshire dales after the out-

break of the war when he was anxious to find a place where he could sweep the floors of a hospital for the wounded if no more expert work could be found for one of his age. To him no office that was necessary was menial. In all his performative thought however there is no trace of sentimentality. He is no busybody rushing round to save other people's souls. He demands his own salvation and freedom and he demands the same for all. Constructive expression of oneself he writes in his chapter *How the World Looks at Seventy* is one of the greatest joys and one of the greatest needs of life. Near the surface the self is very definite and constructive in this and that direction. At the centre it is neither this nor that because it is All.

It is typical of Edward Carpenter's life that the enunciation of this climacteric truth comes near the end. Some glimpse of it was a force in the shaping of his life. The realisation of it now makes him declare bravely. Youth is full of acknowledged adventure but youth does not know

how absorbing may be the great adventure of Death. He is as fearless of it as of Life for in truth he knows only of Life. What is the good of working for a

state of things which will certainly not come in my lifetime? he asks. What is the impelling force which causes me so to work when it would be so much easier not to work and merely to let things slide? And thus he answers his question of questions.

If as one must suppose that something organic in Nature must be that I myself will be there I the superficial one am working now for the other I the deeper one—who is also really present even at this moment (although he lets loose and says nothing about it) and who a due time will consume the fruits which he is now preparing. I find at the age of seventy that I am getting nearer to that place in the centre where nothing exists and yet all is done—and that I suppose a satisfactory. A very simple round of life contents me. As long as I can have my friends (or friends) and my little corner of nature and my little part me of constructive work. I really do not know what to wish for more—

and then the great heart of the man cheerfully contradicts the superficial I that knows not what to wish for more than its own contentment by throwing into parentheses the one wish which has inspired the work of his life—and surely every one ought to be able to command these—an interrogation involving the whole matter of social reconstruction to which his life and labours have so nobly contributed.

## A UNIQUE INSTITUTION

A remarkable institution which owes its origin from the recent developments in health conservation and is at present the only one of its kind in the world is conducted for the children of the city of Boston United States of America. The slogan of this institution is *Clean Teeth—Good Health*. The lady has now been taught the necessity of pure drinking water vaccination sanitary sewerage swatting the fly and other modern advances in health conservation this institution is taking the next great step. The Forsyth Dental Infirmary for Children was founded by John Hamilton and Thomas Alexander Forsyth in 1914. The total endowment of the Forsyth Dental Infirmary for Children is \$4 000 000 (about 12 000 000 Rupees) and is really one of the

most remarkable philanthropies ever established in any city in the world.

The objects of this new institution is not only to repair and extract carious teeth but also to correct oral deformities and the treatment of adenoids and tonsils. It was recognised that the prevention of disease was equally if not more important than its treatment and hence another object of the institution is to educate parents teachers nurses and children in the hygienic value of healthy mouths and sound teeth and to furnish instruction as to the best methods of securing the same. Conducted according to the plan indicated above the institution is of inestimable hygienic value to the rising generation of children of Boston and its vicinity. It instructs them not only in oral hygiene but in general

hygiene as well and hence it improves their nutrition and consequently their physical and mental growth and last but not least it lessens their ability to contract contagious and other diseases and places them in a better position to resist the same when contracted.

In order to understand fully the workings of the Infirmary let us trace the steps of a child patient. Generally he is accompanied by the school nurse or sometimes the parent and enters the building through the doors of the children's entrance. He leaves his overcoat or umbrella at the coat



The Waiting Room the walls are tiled with children's pictures and a large aquarium in the center this room divides away every child from an ordeal beyond.



THE SUPPLY ROOM where extra and emergency instruments and medicines are kept ready for instant use.



The Appointment Desk the clerk gives a clinical chart to each child and is sent to the pediatric doctor or the operating clinic and after from the operation gets an appointment card to return at the time and date specified.



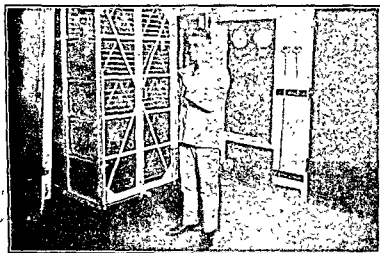
The Extraction Room painless extractions are the rule using either local or general anesthetics.



A closer view of one doctor, showing the up-to-date equipment: fountain cuspidor, compressed air, electric engine, electric operating light and all known modern conveniences.



The Registration Desk: the new child patients answering the prescribed questions, before being admitted for treatment.



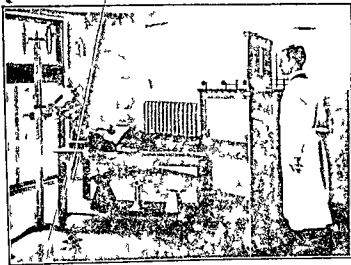
THE STERILIZING ROOM: all the instruments in this mammoth cage, can be sterilized in the sterilizing oven at one time.



Child using the rinsing bowls after extraction.

room, receiving a check for the same which is placed about the neck for safe keeping. These checks being numbered in rotation, also serve to indicate the order of arrival. Then he goes to the waiting room, where at the registration desk the new patient answers the questions prescribed. In the reception room are story books, games, an aquarium filled with many kinds of fish, child pictures done in tile around the wall, and the effect of this room is to distract the

mind of the patient from the ordeal in store for him in the rooms above. Here it should be mentioned that before a child can be admitted to the clinics, he should present an application card properly filled out by the parent or guardian and should also satisfy that he is under sixteen years of age and comes from a family financially unable to obtain the services of a private dentist. From the reception room the child goes to the appointment clerk, where he is handed



X RAY ROOM every case where X Ray may be of any possible value  
a picture is taken to help make a correct diagnosis

in the bigger cities must have some effect on the teeth of the people of India. If proper steps are not taken now it is idle to predict as to what the percentage would be in the future. Therefore it is with great conviction that the writer urges the serious consideration of the problem of the children's teeth by the innumerable philanthropists of India. The Forsyth Dental Infirmary for Children represents one of the most unique philanthropies of the time and it is only the forerunner of a far reaching movement which every body everywhere should care fully note

SAFIDIN AHMED

## THE LEGAL EXPLOITATION OF THE INDIAN PEOPLE

BY PRAMATHA NATH BOSE

THAT the material condition of India has for the last three or four generations been going from bad to worse is a fact which has been noticed by various observers Indian as well as English official as well as non official. As long ago as 1790 Lord Cornwallis spoke of the great diminution of the current specie and of the languor which has thereby been thrown upon the cultivation and the general commerce of the country. Later on Mr Frederick John Shore of the Bengal civil service declared more emphatically that the English Government has effected the impoverishment of the people and country to an extent almost unparalleled and Bishop Heber wrote that the country is in a gradual state of impoverishment. The collectors do not make this avowal officially.

In general all gloomy  
res are avoided by them as reflecting  
themselves and as drawing on them  
from the secretaries at Madras or  
\*\*n It may be stated parenthetically

how true *mutatis mutandis* this statement is even at the present day.

It was however not until the seventies of the last century that the subject of the poverty of India was treated systematically and in detail by the grand old man of India Mr Dadabhai Naoroji. He adduced a large body of telling facts to show how the country was being gradually impoverished. Since his time Sir Henry Cotton Sir William Hunter and Messrs Digby, Dutt Thorburn, Wacha and a host of other writers have told the same distressing tale. The facts and figures they have brought forward are irrefutable. Famines have become much more frequent than ever before. During the first quarter of the last century there were five famines due to wars with but slight loss of life and none extending over a large area. During the second quarter there were only two famines which were not very wide spread. During the third quarter there were six famines the worst in Orissa causing

altogether an estimated loss of five millions of lives. But, during the last quarter there occurred no less than eighteen famines, including the four most terrible ones ever known in India. In the first of these six and a quarter million people are reported to have died, and in the last two during the ten years in which they occurred no less than nineteen millions of lives are estimated by some authorities to have been lost from famine and famine diseases. Since 1900 hardly a year passes without one's hearing of famine or serious scarcity in some part or other of India.

That the visitations of famine at closer intervals than ever before argues increased impoverishment of the multitude admits of hardly any doubt. If they had the means to keep all the food produced in India, famine would be a much rarer phenomenon than

has grown to appalling dimensions. Mr. S S Thorburn who made a special study of the condition of the peasantry in the Punjab says that 'there was no general



AN OPERATION FOR ADENOIDS every modern appliance for safety and sanitation supplements the skill of the surgeon



EXAMINATION FOR TONSILS AND ADENOIDS every child is examined for these in order to save possible infection from them

it is at present. Their increasing impoverishment which is deducible from the increasing frequency in the recurrence of famines is corroborated by various other facts. The indebtedness of our peasantry

indebtedness in any village before 1871." But about two decades later, of 474 villages examined by him he found only 138 slightly involved. Of the remainder he found 210 seriously, and 126 hopelessly indebted. Mr Thorburn's inquiry showed that the common idea that the indebtedness of the peasantry is largely due to their extravagance on marriages is not supported by evidence. In four circles, he found in one the indebtedness due to such extravagance to be only 6½ per cent of the total indebtedness, in another it was not more than 7 per cent, in the third 8 per cent, and in the fourth 11 per cent. The indebtedness of the cultivating class in every part

of India except Bengal is as formidable as in the Punjab. During the quinquennium, 1904-1909 the number of land transfers by order of the court increased from 25,153 to 25,722, and by

goal of Neo India aspiration and of the Governmental desire to fulfil it

It cannot be gainsaid, that the English machinery for the administration of justice is, as a machine, much more advanced and much more scientific than the one it has superseded. But advance from homogeneity to heterogeneity, from simplicity to complexity is good only within limits to be determined by economic and ethical considerations. Even in a superlatively rich country like England the system of administering justice is strongly condemned as too costly, too technical, too dilatory, too complex and too aleatory by not a few of her thinkers. The greatest philosopher she has produced states emphatically,

'The dangers of law are proverbial. The names of its officers are used as synonyms for trickery and greediness. The decisions of its courts are typical of chance. In all companies you have but one opinion and each person confirms it by a fresh illustration. Now you are informed of £300 having been expended in the recovery of forty shillings worth of property and again of a cause that was lost because an affirmation could not be received in place of an oath. A right hand neighbour can tell you of a judge who allowed an indictment to be objected to on the plea that the words in the year of our Lord were not inserted before the date and another to your left narrates how a thief lately tried for stealing a guinea was acquitted, because a guinea was shown to be a kind of rat and a rat could not be property. At one moment the story is of a poor man whose rich enemy has deliberately ruined him by tempting him into litigation and at the next it is of a child who has been kept in prison for six weeks in default of sureties for her appearance as witness against one who had assaulted her. This gentleman had been cheated out of half his property, but dared not attempt to recover it for fear of losing more while his less prudent companion can parallel the experience of him who said that he had only twice been on the verge of ruin—one when he had lost a law suit and once when he had gained it. On all sides you are told of trickery and oppression and revenge committed in the name of justice, of wrongs endured for want of money wherewith to purchase redress, of rights unclaimed because contention with the powerful usurper was useless, of chancery suits that outlasted the lives of the suitors, of fortunes swallowed in settling a title of estates lost by an informality. And then comes a catalogue of victims—of those who had trusted and been deceived, grey-headed men whose hardly earned savings went to fatten the attorneys' threadbare and hollow-checked insolvents who lost all in the attempt to get their due, some who had been reduced to subsist on the charity of friends, others who had died the death of a pauper, with not a few whose anxieties had produced insanity or who in their desperation had committed suicide. Yet, while all echo one another's exclamations of disgust, these iniquities continue unchecked.'

\* Herbert Spencer 'Social Statics'—The Duty of the State

If such are the evils of the English judiciary in a wealthy country like England, where, moreover, it has been naturally evolved, how much more serious must they be in a country like India where in the case of the great majority of the people the margin between sufficiency and starvation is extremely narrow, and where, besides, it is an exotic! Nevertheless, its extension is welcomed with transports of joy by my brethren of new India. They generally profess to be highly patriotic and to have the good of India at heart, and I have many friends and relations among them, some of whom are most estimable men. Yet, it is strange that no attempt, worthy the name, should be made to check the progress of a system which is daily causing such havoc, both moral and economic, round us! Perhaps the Neo Indian gaze is too much absorbed and enraptured by the prospect of the enlarged avenues of employment opened up by the extension of the law courts to be directed to other directions. They are the mainstay of our middle class peoples, a large number of whom would, unfortunately, under present conditions, be ruined by their restriction, indirectly, as well as directly, for it would mean the crippling of educational institutions which act as feeders of law courts and afford subsistence to numerous Neo-Indians. In two decades, between 1891 and 1911, the number of candidates for the degree in law of the Indian Universities rose from 471 to 1852 and that of those who succeeded in obtaining it from 225 to 877. During the decade 1901-1911, the number of Neo Indians who subsist by the legal profession increased from 231,608 to 294,486. The strength of the legal contingent of new India is expected to be considerably enhanced by the establishment of the Universities of Patna, Dacca and Rangoon.

As long ago as 1831, Raja Rammohun Roy observed

From a careful survey and observation of the people and inhabitants of various parts of the country, and in every condition of life I am of opinion that the peasants or villagers who reside at a distance from large towns and head stations and courts of law are as innocent, temperate and moral in their conduct as the people of any country what soever; and the farther I proceed towards the North and West the greater the honesty, simplicity, and independence of character I meet with.

The moral degeneration ascribable to the influence of large towns and law courts

noticed by Rammohun Roy has been going on at an accelerated pace since his time. The economic mischief has been quite as grave as the moral. In four decades, between 1871 and 1911, the revenue from judicial stamps rose from Rs 1,63,54,790 to Rs 4,88,85,570, and that from non judicial stamps from Rs 83,16,690 to Rs 2,22,91,600. The increase of population with in the same period has not been more than nineteen per cent, but that of stamp revenue has been nearly two hundred and ninety per cent. I have travelled over large areas away from British law courts, Railways, Registration offices and Police stations where order is still fairly well maintained by the village communities, where one's word is recognised as his bond and where the authority of unregistered scraps of paper is undisputed. It will probably be urged that it is a greater sense of security which impels people to have recourse to law courts and registration offices. That is undoubtedly the case. But that is so because of the influence of the law courts and lawyers which has led to the diminution of the value of one's word and of unstamped and unregistered deeds and to the disappearance of the type of elders whose inexpensive settlement of disputes was accepted as final. Thus the extension of law courts &c., to a large extent creates the very diseases which in a well regulated community it should be their function to cure. How very small is the gain and how heavy the loss which they entail! I shall on this point cite the testimony of an English member of the Indian Civil Service who having had long experience of British law courts in India and Burma is better qualified to speak on a subject like this than myself.

"The court procedure," says Mr. Filding Hall, "is wrong from top to bottom."

Its very foundation principle is wrong. What is its principle of a trial? Is it a means of finding out the truth? Is it an impartial inquiry into what has happened? Not in the least. A trial is a duel. It is the legal descendant of the duels of the Middle Ages. The place is changed, it is a court and not a field; weapons are witnesses and tongues, not swords nor spears; the parties fight by champions, not in person, and the umpire is called a judge, but the principle is the same. Take any criminal trial. On one side is the crown prosecutor, on the other the advocate of the accused. They fight. All through the case they fight. The prosecutor calls his wit-  
nesses only the questions the answers to which will help his case. The other champion cross-examines, baffles, confuses them, tries to make them contradict themselves, drags in irrelevant matter,

and tries to destroy what the other side has built. When the defence is on, the state of affairs is reversed. Neither wants the truth and only the truth and all the truth. Each plays to win and that alone. If either knows evidence which would help the other side he suppresses it. The judge is almost helpless. He has to take what is given. He knows that every witness brought before him has been tutored—not directly perhaps, but indirectly by suggestion, by question by influence. The case is cooked before it reaches him and therefore hopeless. He knows he never finds the exact truth about any single thing. How should he? He sees cases bought and sold. A clever barrister or advocate will secure an acquittal where a cheaper man would fail. That is notorious everywhere. The exact truth of a case is never known.

"By our system of Civil Law and civil courts," observes the same writer, "of precedent and case law we have petrified the bonds in which India lay when we arrived and made them far more rigid than before." On speaking of the civil courts he says

"I do not think they are any more in touch with the public than the criminal courts. To begin with, they suffer from the same defect that a trial before a Civil Court is not an inquiry into truth, but a duel between parties. Indeed this is even more manifest than in the Criminal Courts for there the magistrate does to the best of his small ability go outside the record and try to ascertain facts for himself. In the Civil Courts the judge never does so. He is simply and purely an umpire. Has the plaintiff proved his case? If so give him a decree, if—not then not. Therefore perjury, and even forgery are more common here than in the Criminal Courts."

The indigenous Panchayet system was certainly much more crude than the one by which it has been replaced, but it was much more efficient, and involved much less delay and much less trouble and expense. Sir Thomas Munro thus speaks of it

"It appears that under the Hindia administration there were no courts of justice excepting the catchery of the *patals* and *amildars* and that all civil cases of importance were settled by Panchayets. The native who has a good cause always applies for a Panchayet, while he who has a bad one seeks the decision of a collector or a judge because he knows it is much easier to deceive them. The natives cannot surely, with any foundation be said to be judged by their own laws, while the trial by Panchayet to which they have always been accustomed is done away. I conscientiously believe that for the purpose of discriminating the motives of action and the chances of truth in the evidence of such a people the entire life of the most acute European judge devoted to that single object could not place him on a level with an intelligent Hindia Panchayet which is an admirable instrument of decision."

"The municipal and village institutions

\* "The Passing of Empire" pp. 83-85.

† "The Passing of Empire" pp. 118-119.



of India," says Sir J. Malcolm, "are competent from the power given them by the common assent of all ranks in the country, to maintain order and peace within their respective circles ...

As far as we can trace the history of Central India their rights and privileges have never been contested even by the tyrants and oppressors who slighted them, while on the other hand, all just princes have founded their chief reputation and claim to popularity on attention to them.

"The forms of Panchayets," continues the same writer, "differ in many places, but the principles by which they are regulated are everywhere the same

These courts as they now [about 1823] exist in Central India may be divided into two classes: the first, (composed of Government officers and heads of caste) who aid the prince or his chief functionaries in investigating civil and criminal cases and the Panchayets of arbitration. The former are mere courts of inquiry, which have little if any fixed character. Courts of arbitration may be termed public and private. When the parties are at issue on any case relating to property, and appeal to the ruling authority, a Panchayet sits in which each is entitled to name an equal number, and the Government appoints an officer as umpire who presides. Those concerned have however, a right to object to this person if they deem him partial, and as the court is one which cannot be constituted, but through their own assent the objection if persevered in compels the nomination of another. The members of the Panchayet are selected by the general suffrage of their fellow-citizens, and whether in the lower or higher ranks a person who has once established a reputation for talent and integrity in these courts is deemed a permanent member. It is a popular distinction and becomes therefore a point of fame. A person is estimated in proportion as he is free from suspicion of being actuated by influence or corruption and to have fame as a Panchayet is an object of ambition with the poorest inhabitant of the hamlet as well as the highest and wealthiest citizen. To sit upon these courts is conceived a duty which every man is bound to perform. The members receive no pay their attendance is regulated with attention to general convenience, but after consenting to sit it is not to be evaded and Government sometimes interferes to supersede by its authority frivolous excuses for absence.

The condition of Central India during the administration of Sir J. Malcolm, afforded him a good opportunity of judging how far Panchayets could be employed in the difficult system of British Government. "The result of the experiment," says Malcolm, "was satisfactory

When any of the subjects of the princes and chiefs under British protection had disputes regarding land or property demanding our mediation the aid of a Panchayet was invariably resorted to and its opinion made the guide for a decision. The knowledge and discrimination which some of the members

displayed on the trial, and the distinctness of the grounds on which the court made up its judgment were surprising. There was in no instance any cause to suspect these courts of partiality, much less of corruption. Many complaints brought before the local officers were withdrawn when submitted to a Panchayet. This happened when the complainant knew himself unable to substantiate the charges, and men who had advanced false claims or accusations continually came forward, after the Panchayet had assembled and sometimes when its proceedings were advanced with a written acquittal [Razinama] of those they had desired to injure which, where the case was not criminal was always deemed sufficient. The frequent occurrence of the latter instances was considered as a proof that Native Panchayet courts must, from their constitution, prevent litigation as they offer, to him who is conscious of wrong, none of those hopes of escape which present themselves under a system where the forms are more unbending where pleaders have more art, and the judges (however superior in principle and general ability) have a less minute knowledge of the cunning, the shifts and evasions of those brought before him.

The killing of the village and town organisms, and with them the excellent institutions which secured real self government and an effective and inexpensive judicature is to my mind the greatest wrong which the British Government, consciously or unconsciously, has done to India. "The village organism," observes Filding Hall, "was the one vital institution left to India, it was the one germ of corporate life which could have been encouraged into a larger growth. It has been killed. It will have to be resuscitated before India can cease to be *India irredenta*." The destruction of the village organism is a grievance compared to which such grievances as the practical exclusion of the people from the imperial services, the Arms Act, the Press Act &c., may not without exaggeration be considered as mere *bagatelles*. Yet hardly any voice is ever raised against it. It does not find a place among the numerous resolutions which are annually passed by the assembled elite of new India at the National Congress. The leaders who speak in the name of the people of India do not appear to be aware of the greatest wrong which they have suffered under the British regime. The patriots of new India profess to be inspired by the noble idea of effecting a blend between Indian and Western civilizations. But they appear to be so obsessed by Western prepossessions that what they fondly believe to be a blend is often characterised by the almost utter absence of the Indian element. The structure of

Self government on the western pattern has no Indian basis whatever, no foundation in the experience the traditions and the sentiments of the Indian people. No wonder it has been such a failure. And it will continue to be a failure until and unless it is based upon the indigenous village community system traces of which are still to be met with in old India. The truth of this is being gradually recognised both by Government and new India. But the recognition is still very imperfect. The village unions which are being established in some parts of India have not the amount of freedom responsibility, and prestige which is requisite for real self government. They partake more or less of the nature of simulacra and simulacra never do much good if any. The noblest object which new India could strive for and the greatest boon which Government could confer is neither Legislative Council nor University nor High Court but the restoration of the village community system with as little modification as possible. If new India were resolved and prepared for the requisite amount of self sacrifice that restoration could to a great extent be effected by it with but little help from Government.

To return to our subject. The enormous augmentation of the stamp revenue shown above represents only a fraction of the extent to which the people are increasingly exploited by the expansion of the British judiciary. For I believe a good deal more is spent upon Barristers pleaders muktears attorneys and their creatures and satellites and upon the amlas of the various courts and state offices than upon stamps. The following is one of numerous cases which could be cited to demonstrate the shocking waste of time and money that occurs in the Law Courts as they are constituted now.

A bailiff of the Calcutta Small Cause Court was charged with causing hurt to a Hindu lady by dragging and throwing her down and licking her. His defence was undertaken by Government. Its cost had therefore to be borne by the people of the country. It amounted to no less than Rs 42 129. The cost on the side of the prosecution is not known. If it was even a fifth of the Government cost the total cost of case would be about Rs 50 000. The heard for 49 days in the courts the Presidency Magistrate of Calcutta in the end the accused was sentenced

to pay a fine of Rs 50 or in default to undergo a fortnight simple imprisonment. 'If Government' observes the Editor of the *Indian Daily News* consider it necessary to go to such vast expense on behalf of one of their servants in order to obtain justice it may well be asked what likelihood of justice exists in a Calcutta Police Court for a man of small means who is not in Government employ.

There were as stated above 291 486 members of the legal profession in 1911. The annual increase in their number during the decade 1901 1911 was at the rate of over four thousand. Assuming the same rate to have held during the past quinquennium—a very reasonable assumption—there would not be less than 314 000 limbs of the law at the present day. Their earnings are very unequal ranging from about two lakhs to about two hundred a year. Taking the annual average to be about five hundred rupees the profession must absorb some fifteen crores annually. If to this be added the stamp revenue and the incidental expenses upon witnesses amlas &c the aggregate amount of the legal exploitation of the Indian people would probably not fall short of twenty five crores a year. This is an exorbitant price to pay for such justice or rather such law as is administered by the Law Courts. A part of it is no doubt paid by men who can well afford it. But the greater portion is wrung out of men in whose case it means so much subtraction from the narrow margin between sufficiency and want or starvation. If the amount so subtracted circulated in the country and merely fattened one portion of the Indian community at the expense of another, however deplorable such a circumstance would be on ethical grounds the community as a whole would not suffer from a strictly material point of view. But a good portion of the amount is drained away from the country in the shape of some remuneration of the European officials of the judicial administration while in service and of pensions after retirement in the shape of the savings of European lawyers and in the shape of the cost of various imported articles—apparel tinned and bottled provision liquors musical instruments cigarettes medicines motor cars shoes and boots building requisites etc etc which are indulged in by high placed officials Indian as well as European and by well to do

lawyers Thus the expansion of the British judiciary, while, on the one hand, it has killed the indigenous judiciary which administered justice with at least equal efficiency, but at considerably less expense to the community, has on the other, served

to swell the economic drain from the country which is the main cause of its gradual impoverishment, and consequently of evils like the recurrence of famines at short intervals which are attributable to such impoverishment.

## THE EDUCATION OF THE PRINCE IN ANCIENT INDIA

BY NARENDRA NATH LAW, M.A., D.L., FRENCH AND ROYAL SCHOLAR

### V.

THE IMPORTANCE OF KING'S EDUCATION IN VIEW OF HIS RESPONSIBILITIES.

The heavy responsibilities devolving on the monarch make it of paramount necessity that he should be thoroughly educated and trained in the art of government.

THE HINDU KING WAS ORDINARY OF THE KSHATRIYA CASTE.

From the hierarchy of the four castes and their respective duties, it follows that the warrior caste should always supply the society with competent rulers. The exercise of the regal powers is not within the competency of the other three. The duties of the Kshatriyas comprise, according to the Kautilya, *adhyayana* (study), *yajana* (performance of sacrifice), *dāna* (making gifts), *sastrājīva* (military life) and *bhutarakshana* (protection of beings<sup>1</sup>). The last two items of duty are not prescribed for any of the other classes in a normal condition of society<sup>2</sup>, though under abnormal conditions and in exceptional cases, taking up arms or pursuit of the military profession by the other castes is met with in literature.<sup>3</sup>

Note.—It is not my object in this article to give an historical survey of the training of the ancient Hindu prince but only to bring out a few of its aspects.

1. Bk. I, 'Vidyasamuddesah,' p. 7.

2. The occupations of a Brahmana are— (1) *Adhyayana* (study), (2) *Adhyapana* (teaching), (3) *Yajana* (performance of sacrifice), (4) *Yajana* (officiating at other sacrifices), (5) *Dāna* (making gifts) and (6) *Pratigraha* (acceptance of gifts from proper persons). Those of a Vaisya include (1), (3) (5) as also 'Anshu' (agriculture), *Pauspalya* (cattle rearing), and *Vanijya* (trade).

4. Cf. 'Mbh.'—*Santi parva*, ch. 78, shlo. 34—

### KAUTILYA'S ASSUMPTION

Kautilya in dealing with the education of the monarch goes upon the assumption that he is a Kshatriya. As an orthodox Brahmana, he cannot but hold the opinion; and if Chandra Gupta Maurya, whom he supported, was not really of Kshatriya birth, he must have claimed to be and passed as such after his victories as a warrior and assumption of sovereignty.<sup>4</sup>

"The Brahmana by taking up arms does not incur sin in three cases viz., self protection, quelling robbers and compelling the other castes to betake themselves to their duties." In the 'Kautilya,' however, a quotation from the previous Acharyas as well as Kautilya himself speaks of soldiers belonging to all the four castes.<sup>5</sup>

Bk. II, 'Bhagavadgītā' &c., p. 343.

The 'Mahābhārata' allows a Vaisya to use weapons in particular circumstances. 'Santi parva', ch. 166, shlo. 34.

Cf. 'Sukra', II, 276-280 (Prof. Sarkar's transl.)

S.B.H.

1. See Hopkins, 'J.A.O.S.', xiii, pp. 76 ff.

In the pre epic period, we naturally find lesser hardening of caste-divisions and greater mingling of of caste occupations.

See V I, II 249, 251, 263, 263, 334, 390. Also 'Vishnu Purana', pt. IV, ch. 19 para. 16, Mbh. 'Anushāsana parva', ch. 30 and 'Sūrya parva', ch. 40 for attainment of Brahmanhood.

1. On scanning the dynast list, of Hindu kings, we meet as a rule with monarchs of Kshatriya blood up to the time of Mahapadma Nanda whose reign according to the 'Vishnu Purana' (pt. IV, ch. 24 paras 4 and 5) marked the end of Kshatriya rule and the beginning of Sudra kingship—

Mahāpādmasūtaḥ sudrāgarbhabhavadnāradaḥ mahāpādmanandaḥ pūrasuraḥ sa vāparaḥ khilakṣatṛānta kṛd bhavitaḥ 4. Tātah prabhṛtiḥ sudrā bhūmipāṇi bhaviṣyanti sa chaikachchhatraṇaṁnāṅgāṅghṛitāḥśano mahāpādmaḥ prithivīm bhokṣyati 5

Cf. 'Bhagavata Purāna'.

Mahāpādmapāṇi kṣichinnārdah kṣhatravinsakrit,

## THE LINKS OF HIS EDUCATION.

The education of the prince is entrusted to competent tutors from his infancy. After the ceremony of tonsure which is generally performed in his third year<sup>1</sup>, he is taught the alphabet (lipi) and arithmetic (sankhyāna), and after investiture with the sacred thread which takes place in the case of a Kshatriya in his eleventh year<sup>2</sup>, he becomes qualified to com-

Tato nripā bhaviṣyanti sudra kings after  
Skanda 12, ch 1, ślo 8

This prophecy that there will be Sudra kings after Mahāpadma Nanda has been fulfilled to this extent that thenceforth India has seen many a monarch belonging to castes other than Kshatriya and the supremacy of kings of foreign or non Aryan descent. The Kanva dynasty (B.C. 72-27) for instance established by the Brahmana minister Vasudeva was of Brahmana blood. The caste of Chandra Gupta Maurya is somewhat obscure, and if he be taken to have been related to the Nanda dynasty, he was no doubt a Sudra with all his successors. But as one body of evidence points to his Sudra origin, another, including the orthodox opinion of Kautilya as to the proper caste for kings, points the other way. The truth may however be reached, if we bear in mind that, on many occasions, the business of kingship has preceded Kshatriyaship rather than the latter preceding the former. This is an instance of the assimilative power of Hindu society by which clans or families, like some of the Hindu and Bhara and Gond who succeeded in winning chieftainship to cite an example of a recent date, were readily admitted into the frame of Hindu polity as Kshatriyas (See V. Smith's 'Early Ind.' 3rd ed., pp. 312, 413). So whatever may have been the real origin of Chandra Gupta Maurya he ranked presumably as a Kshatriya (Ibid., p. 408). The caste of the rest of the ancient Hindu monarchs is more or less obscure, but it seems that Pushyamitra and his successors were Kshatriyas, while the famous Harsha seems from his relations to have been of the same caste.

It appears that, in many cases the deviations from the orthodox rule that a ruler must be a Kshatriya were placed out of sight by the veneer of assumed Kshatriyahood.

In some of the Samhitas, a Sudra king is specially out of favour, though, of course, the wielder of sceptre by a Brahmana or Vaisya does not receive its approval. The 'Manu Samhita' enjoins a Brahmana not to dwell in a country where the rulers are Sudras (Manu, S.B.E. IV, 61), the 'Visṇu-Samhita' (LXVI, 64, S.B.E.) running to the same effect. (See in this connexion, Foy's 'Die königliche Gewalt,' 8, Fick's 'Die Sociale Glederung,' 83, 84; Roth, J.A.O.S., 16, col. 11. The motif for kings to try to rank as Kshatriyas, if they happen to be otherwise by birth is to avert the adverse opinion of the sort found in the Samhitas.)

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Raghuvansa, III, 28.

<sup>2</sup> 'Manu', II, 36.

'Yājñ', I, 14.

'Asvaśayana Gṛhya-Sūtra', I, 19.

'Sukhāyana' " II, 1.

mence higher studies—the curriculum including

(i) Trayī, and Anvikṣhiki, (ii) Vārtā, and (iii) Dandaniti<sup>1</sup>, the subject under (i) being taught by eminent scholars (śiṣṭāḥ), those under (ii) by superintendents of government-departments (adhyakṣāḥ) having not merely a theoretical knowledge but also a thorough practical experience of the subject, and those under (iii) by theoretical masters of statecraft (vaktarāḥ) as well as by practical statesmen (prayoktārāḥ).

Besides these subjects, he has to hear daily from competent professors the Itihāsa, which, as has been noted formerly, comprehends (a) Purāṇa, (b) Itivṛtta, (c) Akhyāyikā, (d) Udāharana, (e) Dharmasāstra and (f) Arthasāstra.<sup>2</sup>

Along with these, he was also given lessons in the military art comprehending

(i) Hastavidyā, (ii) Asvavidyā, (iii) Rathavidyā, and (iv) Praharaṇavidyā, i.e., the subjects bearing on elephants, horses, chariots and weapons respectively.

During the period of studentship, the prince has to live the austere life of a Brahmacārin, observing celibacy and undergoing the hardships involved in the study of the different subjects. His daily routine, as Kautilya records it, allots the forenoon to the military exercises noted above, the afternoon to the hearing of the Itihāsa, and the rest of the day and night to receiving new lessons (apūrva-grahana), revising the old ones (grihita-parichaya), and trying to master those not clearly made out.<sup>3</sup>

The necessity for this vigorous discipline was well realized by the ancient Hindu statesman, for the prince could not be a competent

'Paraskara	"	II, 21
'Gobhila	"	II, 10
Hiranyakesi	"	I, 1
Khādira	"	II, 4
Apistamba	"	IV, 10

<sup>1</sup> For explanation on the subjects, see article No. III, 'Mod. Rev.', Nov. last.

<sup>2</sup> For explanation of the subjects, see the aforesaid articles.

<sup>3</sup> For the above information see 'Arthasāstra', Bk. I Vṛddhasamyoga, p. 10. The 'Kāmandakīya' uses the word 'Gurusamyoga', which is the same as 'Vṛddhasamyoga', and like all the writers on polity lays great stress on the vinaya i.e., discipline of the prince and the cultivation of his latent faculties (bāhya dravyaṇ vinayati—'Arthasāstra', p. 10) Cf. 'Raghuvansa' III, 29.

ruler without this period of disciplined probation. The success of a well educated and self controlled sovereign is thus indicated by Kautilya

Vidyāvinto rājā hi prajānām vinaye ratah,  
Ananyām prithivīm bhunkte sarvabhūtahite  
ratah

(A king well-disciplined by education and bent on his subjects' welfare and the good of all living beings can enjoy the whole earth without a rival)<sup>1</sup>

The period of studentship lasts up to the sixteenth year, after which the prince performs the ceremony of Godāna on the eve of his *Return from School* and enters into the next stage of his life by marriage<sup>2</sup>.

ON COMPLETION OF EDUCATION, THE PRINCE IS ASSOCIATED WITH ADMINISTRATION.

The prince now enters upon a more practical stage of his life in which he is gradually brought into contact with all the difficult problems he will have to handle in his future position as king. He seems to have been charged with responsible duties in government departments where he worked as a subordinate under the head of the particular department in which he was placed for the time being<sup>3</sup>. When found competent, he was

<sup>1</sup> 'Artha', Bk. I, 'Vṛddhasamyogah', p. 11  
[Cf. 'Kamandakya', 1 37, 63 65] Here Kautilya gives examples, by way of warning, of sovereigns who ruined themselves by yielding to temptations

<sup>2</sup> 'Artha', Bk. I, 'Vṛddhasamyogah', p. 10.

<sup>3</sup> Puṇyakarmāni niyuktāḥ puruṣaśmadhāśrithāḥ  
ram yacheta puruṣaśbhishtascha saviseshamādesa  
manuṣishthet. Abhirupam cha karmaphalamāpāya  
nikam cha labham piturupanāyayet.

'Artha', Bk. I, 'Vṛddhasamyogah', p. 10.  
vṛttih, p. 35

#### KAUTILYA'S CORRECTIVES FOR AN ERRATIC PRINCE.

Kautilya discusses at length the steps to be taken by the king to correct a prince turning rebellious or morally perverse, and also the means to be adopted by the latter if treated in a cruel and unbecoming manner by the former. He does not accept the opinions of other authorities on these points *in toto* and suggests proper education and discipline of the prince from his very infancy, constant contact with wholesome influences and timely dissuasion from evil as the means of bringing him round. When these fail, he may be confined and kept under surveillance in a definite place. If this also proves abortive, he may be exiled. Extreme cases of rebellious attitude in a prince may justify according to Kautilya even the sacrifice of his life for the good of the state.

If the reigning monarch takes an unjustifiably hostile attitude towards a good prince, Kautilya advises the latter to take measures which are to be passively protective at first, rising to the more severe steps<sup>4</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Atmasampannam samapitye jāuvarajye vā  
sthāpayet

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., Bk. I, 'Rajaputrarakṣhanam', p. 34  
Cf. 'Matsya Purāṇa' ch. 220, slks. 2, 3 7 8, 'Agni-  
Purāṇa', ch. 27, slks. 7, 4, 21, 22, ch. 238 slk. 8

<sup>3</sup> E.G. — Sagara banished his son Asamanjās who had caused some children of the city to be drowned [Santiparva ch. 57, slk. 8]

<sup>4</sup> 'Artha', Bk. I, 'Vṛddhasamyogah', p. 10.  
cha vṛttih, p. 35, 36

## THE FULNESS OF LOVE

(Translated from Vidyapati)

RADHA

Thou art the mirror in my hand, the  
flower in my hair,  
The kohl in my eyes, the fragrance  
of my breath,  
The musk on my breast, the chain  
round my neck,  
The delight of the body, the treasure  
of the hearth,

The wing of the bird, the water  
for the fish,  
I know thee as the life of my life<sup>1</sup>  
Tell me, Madhava, how feeblest thou?<sup>2</sup>  
Sayeth Vidyapati, the twain are alike  
and one.  
N GUPTA.

# REFERENCES TO THE THEORY AND PRACTISE OF ART IN THE SILPA SASTRAS AND OTHER INDIAN LITERATURE

UNTIL recently the Sanskrit literature on sculpture and painting has been almost completely ignored. It is true that the greater part of it is purely practical, but there are also found in it clear indications of the Indian way of thinking about art. The literature referred to consists of the Silpa Sāstras proper, the Sādhanamālās, certain chapters of the Nīti Sāstras, and incidental references in other works. The pure theory of beauty is worked out only in connection with poetry and drama, in another group of works of which the *Sahitya Darpana* may be taken as the type. This is better known, and need not be discussed in the present notes.<sup>1</sup>

The Silpa Sāstras, whether independent works, or merely chapters of the Nīti Sāstras, contain canons of proportion for various images, buildings, and minor works also *memoria technica* of the forms and attributes of the gods, given in *dhyāna mantras* analogous to those used in the personal worship of an *ishta devatā*.<sup>2</sup> Cumulative evidence shows that many of the Silpa Sāstras must have existed before the sixth century A.D.,<sup>3</sup> and probably a good deal earlier, though not in any extended form before the second century, as their tendency is idealistic, while that of the earlier art is more representative.

The general function of these works is to

establish a canon of subject matter and taste. Thus Sukracarya states very emphatically that "only an image made according to the *sāstriya* canon is beautiful, that forsooth and no other some indeed deem that beautiful which accords with their own fancy but whatever is contrary to the *sāstriya* canon appears unlovely to the discerning".<sup>4</sup> Thus an academic or classic type is defined as good art, and romantic art is condemned. Further, "even a misshapen image of a god is to be preferred to an image of a man, however charming"<sup>5</sup> this is similar to the standpoint of the modern critic, who ranks creative above representative art, and prefers conviction to prettiness.

The sāstras also tell us something about methods, indicating a practice closely related to that of yoga. Sukracarya thus enjoins on the craftsman the method of 'mental visualisation' "Let the imager (*pratimā-kārakā*) establish images in temples by meditation on the deities who are the objects of his devotion. For the successful achievement of this *dhyāna yoga* the lineaments (*lakṣaṇa*) of the image are described in books, to be dwelt upon in detail. In no other way, not even by direct and immediate vision of an actual object, is it possible to be so absorbed

<sup>1</sup> See my 'Medieval Sinhalese Art', section on Śaṅgīta, 'Laufer, Citralakṣana' and Hadaway - 'Some Hindu Silpa Sāstras', *Orientalische Zeitschrift* 111 f.

<sup>2</sup> For this analogy see my 'Essays in National Idealism', ed. 1, pp. 20, 21. For texts and translations 'Medieval Sinhalese Art', passim. Laufer, 'Citralakṣana', Ram Raz, *Essay on the Architecture of the Hindus* (1834), Rea, 'Dravidian Architectural Details', *Journal of Indian Art*, vol. 5, Sarkar, Sukracarya's 'Sukranṭisāra' (1914), Kern, 'Bṛhad Saṃhita of Vāśīṣṭha Mithra' (J. A. S. 4) Gangoly, 'South Indian Bronzes' (1915) and Rao, 'Hindu Iconography'.

<sup>3</sup> For general date see 'Medieval Sinhalese Art', p. 263. Bushell, 'Chinese Art', vol. 1, 101, 113. 'Ancient Ceylon', p. 336. Ram Raz, 'loc. cit.'

<sup>4</sup> and the reference in 'Alberici's India', ed. 1910, p. 120.

<sup>5</sup> 'Sāstramānena yō samyā sa rāmyo 'nanya eva hi Ekesameva tadramyam lagnam yatra ca yasya hita' Sāstramānavibhāgam yadaramyam tadvipścitam

Sukracarya 'Sukranṭisāra', ed. Calcutta 1890, IV, iv, 104, 105, 106

<sup>6</sup> 'Mānato nādhikam līnam tadbhambam ramyamucyate' Sukracarya, loc. cit., p. 75

Cf "Work of the thirteenth century interests us even when inadequately executed, for we feel there is something in it akin to a soul" (Male, 'Religions Art in Thirteenth Century France, 1913, p. 8). This recalls the well known definition of poetry, 'kavyam rasatmakam vakyaṃ'. Cf also Gordon Craig, 'The Actor and Uber Marionette', in 'The Art of the Theatre', (1912).

in contemplation, as thus in the making of images<sup>1</sup>

A connection between dream and art is recognized in a passage of the *Agni Purana*, where the imager is instructed, on the night before beginning his work, and after ceremonial purification, to pray, 'O thou Lord of all Gods, teach me in dreams how to carry out all the work I have in my mind'<sup>2</sup>

A full and interesting account of a ritual of visualisation is given in a passage of a *Sādhnamālā* quoted by Foucher as typical<sup>3</sup>. The artist (*sadhaka*, *mantrin*, or *yogi*, as he is variously styled), after ceremonial purification, is to proceed to a solitary place. There he is to perform the 'Seven-fold Office, beginning with the invocation of the hosts of Buddhas and Bodhisattvas, and the offering to them of real or imaginary flowers. Then he must realise in thought the four infinite moods of friendliness, compassion, sympathy and impartiality<sup>4</sup>. Then he must meditate upon the emptiness or non-existence of all things, for 'by the fire of the idea of emptiness, it is said, there are destroyed beyond recovery the five elements' which constitute individual consciousness<sup>5</sup>. Then only should he invoke the desired divinity by the utterance of the appropriate seed word ( *bija* ) and should identify himself completely with the divinity

1 The manner in which even the lesser crafts constitute a practice (*sādhya*) analogous to that of (*samprajñāta*) yoga is indicated incidentally by Saṅkarācārya in his commentary on the '*Brahma Sutra*' (*sūtram*, 3, 2, 10). The subject of discussion is the distinction of swoon from waking—in swoon the senses no longer perceive their objects. Saṅkarācārya says, 'True, the arrow maker perceives nothing beyond his work when he is hurried in it—but he has all the same consciousness and control over his body, both of which are absent in the swoon or swoon'. Cf. '*Bhagavata Purana*', Skanda XI, ch. 9—'I have learned concentration of mind from the maker of arrows'.—Purnendu Nayak in Sinha: *The Bhagavata Purana*, QOFQ p. 377.

2 *Agni Purana* ch. XLIII, Cf. Patanjali, '*Yoga Sutra*', I, 38. For the theory of dreams see also *Kātha Upaniṣad*, V, 8 and '*Bṛhadāranyaka Upaniṣad*', IV, 3, 9, 13 and 16, 18.

3 '*Iconographie Bouddhique*', II 8, 11.

4 Cf. Patanjali, '*Yoga Sutra*', I, 23.

5 Similar ideas occur in modern thought about art. Thus Goethe "he who attains to the vision of beauty, is from himself set free". Cf. Binyon: "We too should make ourselves empty that the great soul of the universe may fill us with its breath" (*Ideas of Design in East and West* Atlantic Monthly, 1913).

to be represented. Then on pronouncing the *dhyaṇa mantra*, in which the attributes are defined, the divinity appears visibly, 'like a reflection,' or 'as in a dream,' and this brilliant image is the artist's model<sup>6</sup>. This ritual may be unduly elaborated, but in essentials it shows a clear understanding of the psychological process of imagination. These essentials are, the contemplation of things as void in order to set aside the transformations of the thinking principle<sup>7</sup>, self-identification with the object of the work<sup>8</sup> and vividness of the final image. Concentration is preliminary to imagination. In the language of psychoanalysis, this concentration or union (*yoga*) preparatory to the undertaking of a specific task is 'the willed introversion of a creative mind', which, retreating before its own problem and inwardly collecting its forces, dips at least for a moment into the source of life, in order there to wrest a little more strength from the mother for the completion of its work,<sup>9</sup> and the result of this reunion is 'a fountain of youth and new fertility'<sup>10</sup>.

We have abundant literary parallels for the conception of visual art as yoga. Thus Vālmīki, though he had already heard the

1 It has been said that it should be an insult to credit an artist with observation. Blake wrote "He who does not imagine in stronger and better ideas, than in stronger and better light, than his perishing mortal eye can see, does not imagine at all." Cf. Denn and Ross, 'On Drawing and Painting,' pp. 123, 125 especially. "In drawing from the imagination I find it suggestive and helpful to look away from my paper into space and try to see what I am drawing as if it were there before me." In some Indian and primitive Indian paintings the divine figures appear at a loom immense against the sky and mountain background.

2 Wagner speaks of 'an internal sense which becomes clear and active when all the others directed outward sleep or dream' (quoted by Combarieu, '*Music, its Laws and Evolution*', p. 63). So Beethoven, 'It is nought indeed but thine own hearing and willing that doth hinder thee so that thou dost not see and hear God' (*Dialogues on the Supersensual Life*). That God (*Isvara*) is the actual theme of all art is suggested by Saṅkarācārya in his commentary on the '*Brahma Sutra*' I, 1, 2, 21 where he indicates that the Brahman is the real theme of secular as well as spiritual songs.

3 Cf. the saying '*Devam bhūtvā devam yajet*' to worship a god become the god.

4 Jung '*Psychology of the Unconscious*', pp. 336, 339.

story of Rāma related, before composing his own *Rāmāyana* sought to realise it more profoundly, and "seating himself with his face towards the East, and sipping water according to rule (ceremonial purification), he set himself to yoga contemplation of his theme. By virtue of his yoga power he clearly saw before him Rāma, Lakṣmana and Sītā and Dasaratha together with his wives, in his kingdom laughing, talking, acting and moving as if in real life by yoga power that righteous one beheld all that had come to pass, and all that was to come to pass in the future, like a nelli fruit<sup>1</sup> upon the palm of his hand. And having truly seen all by virtue of his concentration, the generous sage began the setting forth of the history of Rāma,"<sup>2</sup> as he afterwards taught it to Kusi and Lava.

Vasubandhu speaks of the poet as seeing the world, like a jujube fruit lying within the hollow of his hands.<sup>3</sup> This recalls Chuang Tzu who says "The mind of the sage, being in repose becomes the mirror of the universe the speculum of all creation," and William Morris who says "It seems to me that no hour of the day passes that the whole world does not show itself to me."

It should be well understood that Union (yoga) is not merely a mental exercise or a religious discipline, but the most practical preparation for any undertaking whatever. Hanuman, for example before searching the Asoka grove for Sītā prayed to the gods (introversion), and ranged the forest in imagination till he found her. Only then did he spring from the walls of Lankā like an arrow from a bow and enter the grove in the flesh. Throughout the East, wherever Hindu or Buddhist thought have deeply

penetrated it is firmly believed that all knowledge is directly accessible to the concentrated mind without the direct intervention of the senses. Probably all inventors, artists and mathematicians are more or less aware of this as a matter of personal experience.

That the poet or artist is inspired is expressed allegorically in many ways. Thus Vyāsa's dictation of the *Mahābhārata* was so rapid that only the four handed Ganesa could write it down, and Krishna when asked to repeat the *Gītā*, had forgotten it. So too with many stories of Viśvakarma. A naive anecdote is related of the designing of the Ruavelli Dāgaba<sup>4</sup> the king, having made selection of an experienced and shrewd master builder, questioned him, saying, "In what form wilt thou make this monument?" At that moment Viśvakarma entered into him he took a golden bowl of water and other water in his hand and let it fall on the surface of the water in the bowl. A great bubble rose up like half a globe of crystal and he said "I shall make it thus."<sup>5</sup> The king was well pleased, and bestowed on the architect valuable robes and twelve thousand pieces of money.

Another story relates that king Devānāma Piyaṭissa of Ceylon required a golden vase for the reception of the Bodhi tree, "and gold he caused to be brought to make ready a vase Viśvakamma, who appeared in the semblance of a goldsmith, asked, 'How large shall I make it?' Then being answered, 'Thyself deciding, do thou make it,' he took the gold and having moulded it with his hand he made a vase in that very instant, and departed thence."<sup>6</sup>

Viśvakamma, or Viśvakarmā, originally one of the names of Brahmā, is the god of arts and crafts, the architect of the gods (*deva vardhita*) author of the 'Sthāpatya Veda', which includes the *Silpa* Sastras, and ancestor of the Kammālas or chief caste of craftsmen.<sup>7</sup> Iconographically—he appears as five headed and ten armed, holding, amongst

1 'Phyllanthus emblica', the round fruit of which is about the size of an ordinary marble. The simile is a common Indian formula for clear insight.

2 'Rāmāyana Bālakanda' Benedetto Croce ('Aesthetic' p. 163, 168) speaks of 'the artist who never makes a stroke with his brush without having previously seen it with his imagination' and remarks that the external satisfaction of a work of art (e.g. the actual writing down of a poem) implies a vigilant will which persists in not allowing certain visions, intuitions, or representations to be lost. Magnusson records of Morris, referring to Sigmund the Volsung and other poems that in each case the subject matter had taken such a clearly definite shape in his mind as he told me, that it only remained to write it down. Examples could be multiplied indefinitely.

3 'Vasavadatta,' invocation

4 'Mahāvamsa' ch. XX, 11 seq (trans. Geiger 1912, p. 199)

5 The Vajantaya' or Vaidyānta Pota', a Silpa sastra of the Śaivalese craftsmen preserves a canon of proportion for dāgabas and forns are mentioned, of which one is called the bubble (Park-r, 'Ancient Ceylon' p. 336)

6 'Mahāvamsa', ch. XVIII, 24 seq.



other attributes, a book and style, an adze, plummet, measuring rule, and compasses.<sup>1</sup> There scarcely exists a formal cult of Visvakarmā, but he is generally acknowledged and respected amongst craftsmen. The latter generally worship the implements of their labour at the annual Dasahra festival. It is also held that a god presides over each metal.<sup>2</sup> Another mythical formulation of the sense of external inspiration which so familiar to the poets of all ages is found in the idea of the imitation of form or structures existing in heaven. Thus king Dutthagāmañi undertook to build for the brethren a "pāsāda like to a palace of the gods," and he said: "Send to a *vinidāna* and make me a drawing of it." This was done, and when the elders, "going to the heaven of the thirty-three gods, saw that palace, they made a drawing of it with red arsenic upon a linen cloth." They returned, and showed the cloth to the brotherhood and to the king, who 'caused the noble Lohāpāsāda (Brazen Palace) to be built after that drawing'.<sup>3</sup> What we understand by this is that eight inspired monkish architects collaborated in preparing the required design. In the same way the sculptor is sometimes taken to heaven to observe the likeness of the god whom he is to represent.<sup>4</sup> and indeed, who should represent a god that has not seen him? In this conception of architectural and other forms as 'seen' we have a parallel to that of the Veda as 'heard' (*śruti*).

The sāstras also inform us what sort of man the craftsman ought to be, for example.

"The Silpan should understand the Atharva Veda, the thirty-two Silpa Sāstras, and the Vedic mantras by which the deities are invoked. The Silpan should be one who wears a sacred thread, a necklace of sacred beads, and a ring of *kusa* grass upon his finger; delighting in the worship of God, faithful to his wife, avoiding strange women, piously acquiring a knowledge of various

sciences, such a one is indeed a craftsman."<sup>5</sup> Again, "the painter must be a good man, not sluggard, not given to anger; holy, learned, self-controlled, devout and charitable, such should be his character...He should draw his design in secrecy...He may paint if beside himself only (another) sādha be present, but not when a man of the world is looking on."<sup>6</sup>

The craftsman has also an assured status in the form of a life contract, or more strictly, an hereditary office. He is trained from childhood as his father's disciple, and follows his father's calling as a matter of course. He is a member of a guild (*śreni*) and such guilds are recognized and protected by law.<sup>7</sup> Nor is his domain to be invaded by amateurs. "That any other than a Silpan should build temples, towns, seaports, tanks or wells, is comparable to the sin of murder."<sup>8</sup> This was guild socialism in a non-competitive society.

The effects of good and evil *karma* are also detailed in the sāstras. Skilful and honest builders will be reborn in noble families, but those ignorant and dishonest will fall into hell. To cast hollow images will prove disastrous to the craftsman and his family.<sup>9</sup> In these mythical and allegorical formulae we find an expression of the craftsman's conscience; he is inspired "with reverence for quality, with a fear of offending God by shirking a hammer stroke or a sweep of the plane, and with a blessed dread lest Visvakarmā, the lord of the arts, should be offended by infidelity to his methods."<sup>10</sup>

It is also said that if the craftsman make an image with a thin belly, there will be famine in the land, or if his hand slips and injures the image, he will receive a hurt in like manner.<sup>11</sup> These ideas of sympathetic

1 From a Tamil version of a Silpa Sastra, quoted by Kearns, 'Indian Antiquary', vol. V. (1876).

2 Grunwedel, 'Mythologie des Buddhismus', p. 192. Cf. Cezanne, "I have never permitted any one to watch me while I work. I refuse to do anything before anyone" (quoted W. H. Wright, 'Modern Painting', p. 152).

3 Birdwood, 'Industrial Arts of India': Coomāraswamy 'The Indian Craftsman'.

4 Kearns, 'loc. cit'.

5 My 'Mediaeval Sinhalese Art', pp. 127, 154, and 'Mahānirvāna Tantra', V. 183.

6 Ludovic, 'New Age', March 26, 1914.

7 'Bṛhad Samhita of Varāha Mihira, II, ch. XL.

1 My 'Mediaeval Sinhalese Art', p. 78 and PL. XXI: 'The Indian Craftsman', ch. V.

2 Dampier, 'Brass and Copper Wares of the N. W. P. and Oudh', 1899 p. 2.

3 'Mahāvamsa' ch. XXVII (trans. Geiger, pp. 182, 183) Cf. Plato: 'Will they disbelieve us when we tell them that the State can only be happy which is planned by artists who make use of the heavenly pattern?' ('Republic', VI, Jowett, III, p. 386).

4 Beal, 'Buddhist Records of the Western World', I, xxix, 1, 4.

magic, if rather extravagant, are not without interest, and at least show a strong sense of the interdependence of life and art. That Nature imitates art is not merely a paradox, but an important principle well deserving the consideration of sociologists and reformers. Styles of music, as Plato has said cannot be changed without affecting the most important political institutions.

The Silpa Śāstras also throw some light on the origins of art. Thus the introduction to the *Citrakāśana*, at any rate for painting, would conform the remark of Alberuni that 'the first cause of idolatry was the desire of commemorating the dead and of consoling the living.' Old stories, such as that of the sandal wood image of Buddha supposed to have been made in his lifetime and that of the golden image of Sita, show how familiar was the idea of an image as a substitute for an absent person.

The name *Citrakāśana*,<sup>1</sup> which means 'Lineaments of Painting,' and not 'Theory of Painting' shows the early close dependence of art upon physiognomy, in which the Hindus have always been so deeply interested. The chief end of a Silpa Śāstra is to inform the artist what are the lineaments (*likāna*) of the subject to be delineated as well as the canons of proportion which are to be followed. It is not necessary to describe at length here the types of physique and character most represented in Indian sculpture and painting. I shall only touch on one point which has to do with physical development.

The classic type, whether in literature or plastic art, is clearly an expression of Ksatriya taste: the hero is smooth limbed, broad chested, and narrow waisted, a lion amongst men like one accustomed to the martial exercises which the Rajputs constantly favoured. I cannot understand Grünwedel's comment<sup>2</sup> that no general interest was taken in the symmetrical training of the body, for the literature constantly speaks of it. Rāma is described as having a well developed chest, symmetrical limbs and as crowned with grace skilled in archery, endowed with strength and so forth.<sup>3</sup> In the *Harsa Carita* of Bāna, Kumāragupta a man of eighteen years and medium

height, possesses "a pair of rather slim shanks, issuing from not over prominent knee joints," and "thighs showing thick hard flesh of compact growth due to incessant practise in leaping his movements were quiet and graceful, and 'from the hardness of his frame he seemed to wear down the very mountains'." In the 'Kalpa Sūtra' of Bhadrabāhu the Ksatriya Siddhārtha is represented as daily practising gymnastic exercises such as jumping, wrestling, fencing and fighting.<sup>4</sup>

Various references indicate<sup>5</sup> that the subject matter of art was not exclusively religious. Thus the main chapter of the *Citrakāśana* is occupied with the ideal canon for a Cakravartin or Universal Emperor, and the Mathura portrait statues of Kusana kings are probably of this type. Nor would Sukrācārya have condemned portraiture as impious (*asvargya*) if it had never been practised. The Sanskrit plays, moreover, frequently make a portrait an important motif of the plot e.g., *Sakuntalā*, *Ratnāvalī*, and the *Uttara Rāmā Carita* while in so late a vernacular work as the *Prema Sāgara* there is an account of Citrākṣhā who drew portraits of all the Yaduvamsis until Uśā recognized Anuruddha amongst them.<sup>6</sup> A story in the *Kathā Kōś* indicates that some sculptures at least might be regarded as recognizable portraits.<sup>7</sup> Examples of portrait sculpture exist from Bijolia, in Mewar<sup>8</sup> and from Tirupati<sup>9</sup> not to mention those of Kusana kings already referred to.

Painting too was not exclusively a hieratic art: it perhaps originated in king's courts. In any case it was customary for kings to have their own galleries (*ratna sāli*)<sup>10</sup> just as they had their private theatres.<sup>11</sup> It is

1 'Harsa Carita', trans. Cowell and Thomas p. 120; see also p. 19. For this type in actual sculptures see 'Visvakarma', 13, 17, 28, 30, 33, 52 and especially 54.

2 Kalpa Sūtra, trans. Jacobi, S. B. E. XIII p. 232.

3 'Prema Sāgara', ch. LXIII. Cf. also the representations of Ghanāśarī Rājā in (e.g. British Museum MS. Or. 1821).

4 'Kathā Kōś', trans. C. H. Tawney p. 150.

5 Vincent Smith, History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon, fig. 151.

6 Visvakarma, 59.

7 The earliest reference seems to be that of Sūta v. bhāṅga II. 298 mentioning the Cūṣāra of King Iśmend of Kosla.

1 Edited and translated by Laufer.

2 'Buddhist Art in India' p. 33.

3 'Rāmāyana', Bālakāṇḍa.

not infrequently indicated that kings themselves were accomplished painters and sculptors.<sup>1</sup> There is thus abundant evidence for the existence of secular art from an early period onwards, and that portraiture formed an important part of it nor can we doubt that the portraits were recognizable. At the same time we must not deceive ourselves as to what recognizable means. When the early writers go about to describe a hero, or a lover to speak of his beloved, we always find general terms employed—the hero is a lion amongst men, and so forth, and the heroine has lotus eyes, and her slender waist can hardly support the weight of her heavy breasts. Thus the individual is transfigured by the poet or lover, whose account is not descriptive in a photographic sense: he does not attempt to represent things as they 'are,' but as they seem to him. Old Asiatic art had no other conception of portraiture than this and the development of strictly realistic miniature under the Mughals is a

foreign suggestion derived through Bokhara, and probably ultimately from Europe.

In conclusion we may observe that the codification of rules in the *Silpa Śāstra* and the general development of *sāstriya* art (i.e., learned or classic art, or when decadent, academic) suggests to us a broad distinction between popular art, which goes on all the time until it is destroyed by industrialism, and courtly art which is a special development and generally retains its vitality only for a short time. Mughal painting is the most obvious Indian example of this. The *sāstriya* art has also a professional character, but notwithstanding its aristocratic sources, it remained vital for a longer time because it was religious, for in theocratic societies such as the Hindu or Mediaeval Christian, religion forms the strongest possible bond of sympathy between different classes, so that art may be at one and the same time *sāstriya* and *prākṛita*, learned and popular. Under these conditions the quality of art is determined not so much by degree of accomplishment as by degree of conviction, no art without idolatry. An unearned opinion, however strongly held, does not amount to a conviction, which is a thing realised, rather than merely known. For this reason again, it must be nearly impossible for modern artists to illustrate old myths only those who have seen the gods are able to represent them. The true religious art of the present day is idealistic in a totally different sense. To every age its own art, or the death of art.

ANANDA COOMARASWAMY

<sup>1</sup> Several royal personages are indicated as expert in painting e.g. Satyavan husband of Savitri nicknamed the Horse painter because from childhood fond of modelling and drawing horses. Jetthattissa of Ceylon (A.D. 33) who practised painting and other crafts and taught them to his subjects (Mahāvamsa, ch. XXVIII). Cf. also the story of Ruprekha in a Bengali recension of the 'Simhasin dvayims ka' (communicated to me by Prof. A. N. Tagore). In the Sanskrit plays mentioned in the text above those who draw the portraits are kings and princesses. Painting was one of the sixty-four arts and sciences (*kālā*) constituting a liberal education. Bāṇa indicates that the fine arts are considered a means for forming noble character (Harsa Carita, trans. Cowell and Thomas, p. 20).

## THE RIGHT TO SUE THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA IN COUNCIL

CONFIDENT that the House of Commons passed measures concerning India more by yawns than by votes, confining their interest, like the king of our older plays who asked how was the king doing and got the conventional reply 'Excellent,' to knowing year by year that India still continued to be a part of the

British Empire, and also confident that the Gilded Chamber was quite sympathetic with measures taking away the rights of Indians, the Council of India tried to smuggle through the Parliament a provision empowering the Legislatures in India to take away the really valuable and absolutely *innocuous* right of the subject to

sue the Secretary of State in Council for India. The Council of India—it has to be said to their credit—was very clever to choose its time when the War doubly strengthened the hands of the ministry, when on account of the party truce the House of Commons no longer existed outside Mr Asquith's debating club of twenty-two when nobody in England could have a moment to spare for India outside that Council and the failure—the credit whereof has to go solely to the Rangoon Chamber of Commerce—does not a whit take away the merit of the Council.

The Privy Council decision in the case *Moment v Secretary of State* appears. I am seriously afraid to have been understood by few besides Lord Loreburn, Lord Parmoor, Sir John Jardine and the Rangoon Chamber of Commerce. I am conscious of the responsibility of the statement which imputes either incapacity or ignorance to many a lawyer and many a journalist for whom I have nothing but the highest respect each of whom even I would not undertake to oppose lightly much less all of them together. Unfortunately however so far as my range of reading went I came across no paper except the little read *Indu Prakash* of Bombay that treated the question in the aspect that Lord Loreburn pointed out that has recently created great commotion all over India and I mean to deal with in this article.

The Privy Council decision took the several Governments in India by surprise. They had enacted laws which took away the subject's most valued right of proceeding legally against the Government by the Secretary of State and contemplated many more. It was long long ago about forty years back, that Sir Raymond West [C.S.] J., said

The course of legislation on similar subjects in recent times shows a greater and greater contraction of the spirit of liberality and of confidence in the judicial tribunals which animated the Government in framing the *Elphinstone Code* of 1827.

What was only in the stage of infancy has developed itself recently, and what the Governments have attempted throughout British India to do is to shut the door of the Civil Court whenever they pleased. Governments could not tolerate the position of equality with a subject—sutors are exactly on the same position in a Civil Court—in a place where demands and

claims could be made on them. They wanted to establish that Governments could only be approached by petitions that there was no claim as such but only a grace to be offered by the several officers who were to see how *serve* the petitioners should be before them. The Privy Council held that such attempts were futile inasmuch the several Governments inherited certain liabilities from the East India Company and in respect of those liabilities and similar liabilities the subject had rights which were to be enforced by the subject precisely in the manner in which one subject enforced his rights against another. That is all. What does it therefore come to? It comes to this that if I had a right to enforce against the Secretary of State I could enforce it by a suit. I could not be reduced to the position of a mendicant. That goes therefore only to the remedy. Right is in that way an unhappy word. To import technical distinction by analogy there are substantive rights and there are adjective rights. The adjective rights are really speaking remedies or the means of enforcing rights. A suit, a decree, detention in civil jail, attachment of property, committing for contempt—these are remedies. All of these, however, are to be done by the Court and here again the word *right* comes in—a suitor has a right to ask of the Court any one of the remedies. Substantive right is the particular loss that I suffer and want to be compensated. For example I hold a pronote signed by X in the amount of Rs 500. That sum is my substantive right and my right to sue on the pronote which really is a remedy, is my adjective right. The former must exist before I have the latter. If the former does not exist what is the use of my having the latter? I can sue anybody in the street on the payment of the necessary stamp duty but what am I going to get out of the suit? Nothing but the liability of paying the cost of the defendant if he incurs any. The Privy Council held that so long as a substantive right existed under the law, the adjective right could not be taken away. The Privy Council had not a word to say as regards the powers of the several Indian Legislatures to affect—what I have been calling in this article—the substantive rights and liabilities as between the subject and the Secretary of State.

And it is this aspect of the question that was not understood by the Governments.

and is being—in my diffident opinion—wrongly interpreted. Paper after paper is insisting on testing various Acts particularly the Defence of India Act. The panic which the Governments were stricken with by the Privy Council decision is equalled only by the confidence and elation which fills the columns of those papers. Governments were panic stricken owing to two reasons, only one whereof I have the courage to give, viz, lack of proper advice. Papers have, however, only one reason viz lack of proper advice, they have got none else. The matter is again going to crop after the war, and then the main ground on which the figurehead of the Council of India withdrawn the clause would not exist. Indians must, therefore be ready with their case before the High Court of Parliament and that can be made ready only by considering the question soberly.

Governments in India knew not what were the limits of their legislative powers up to 1912, but now the representatives of the Indians know not what are the extents of those powers. As I said, suggestions are being made in every paper that certain Acts principally the Defence of India Act should be tested, and the basis of all these suggestions is a remark that fell from Lord Loreburn. I give a passage from the report of the Joint Committee—

He produced a list of Indian Acts which had already interfered with the right to sue the Secretary of State and it was circulated to the Committee as a confidential document. The Chairman however at once made it clear that the first Act in the list was the Defence of India Criminal Act of 1915 which contains a clause saying, that the judgment of the Commissioners appointed under the Act shall be final and conclusive.

That is the only reference that I find made by Lord Loreburn to the Defence of India Act, and read it as often as I may, I cannot bring myself to believe that Lord Loreburn meant what the papers here take him to mean. By itself even if it satisfies that at any rate, it is not the only construction. What was the problem before the Committee? The right to sue the Secretary of State. How was Lord Loreburn in a position to see whether the Commissioners were not a properly constituted Court? No information appears to have been placed before his Lordship. To suggest that Lord Loreburn would go a millimetre beyond the precise point he had before him is not to know his Lordship. It is the word *final* that probably

had or has some magic. Really, the report even is not full on that point. And if any doubt has room to exist, the later proposition of His Lordship makes the position clear—

‘There are two things and we have been a little mixing them up. One is the right to sue the Secretary of State when he has broken the law of the land whatever the law may be and another whatever the law of the land should be for him and for other people together. It seems to me the first is the only thing we have to consider. Supposing that you say that in any particular class of disputes there is to be an arbitration and the award is to be final that is a law of general application that would prevent the Secretary of State from being sued because there is a substituted tribunal.’

The latter part of this passage, which is the pertinent one on this point, read with certain remarks of one of the Law Lords in the Moment Case to the effect that the Governments in India could change the forum that dealt with suits against the Secretary of State, makes it abundantly clear that any court of law could give a final judgment. The Legislatures in India have got ample powers in this connection and to suggest that those powers have been denied by the Privy Council is to import into their judgment what they never put into it. Mrs Annie Besant, being a European British subject, may not be deprived of her rights under the Magna Charta, the Habeas Corpus Act and the Bill of Rights except by an Act of the Parliament. What are, however, the Indian's rights as regards person? Justice Choudhury's judgment should have dispelled all doubts on the point. The Indian's rights are restricted to the Criminal Procedure Code. That code is an Act of the Indian Legislature and could be amended, altered or repealed by the Indian Legislature. As Justice Choudhury held, the Governor General in Legislative Council could create a new offence, a new Court, and a new Evidence Act. The Governor General in Legislative Council could empower any court to send any Indian to jail without a trial such as we are accustomed to. The High Court's powers of superintendence are restricted to the courts subordinate to the High Court's appellate jurisdiction. The Governor General in Legislative Council could create courts not subordinate to the appellate jurisdiction of the High Courts, as—according to Justice Choudhury—he did create in a Governor in Council. Nothing *ultra vires* in all this legislation.

That refers to rights about person. Now

as regards property. That is all really speaking that ought to trouble anybody in dealing with the question of suits. Suits are civil proceedings and except in injunctions civil courts deal only with property. What are the Governor General's powers? Government of India Act (1915) Sec 65.

The Governor General in Legislative Council has power to make laws—(a) for all courts etc. in British India.

All Civil Courts original and appellate except the chartered High Courts are created under this power. Here is a Section in the Bombay Civil Courts Act (see 32).

No subordinate Judge or Court of Small Causes shall receive or register a suit in which the Government or any officer of Government in its official capacity is a party."

Nobody, I trust is going to contend that this Section is ultra vires. The section in its later part provides that a District Court should take cognisance of such suits. Supposing that later part is repealed and instead of the first eight words are substituted the words "no court established under this Act" what would be the result? It would be quite valid and without taking away the subject's rights to sue the Secretary of State the Civil Courts would be closed against the Secretary of State. Now remains the Original jurisdiction of the High Courts. Here is clause 44 of the Letters Patent of the Bombay High Court.

And we do further ordain and declare that all the provisions of these our Letters Patent are subject to the Legislative powers of the Governor General in Council exercised at meetings for the purpose of making laws and regulation and may be at all respects amended and altered thereby.

In the Government of India Act (1915) it is section 106 that provides the jurisdiction of all the chartered High Courts and in the fifth schedule is given the same section as capable of being repealed or altered by the Governor General in Legislative Council (ibid S 131). It will be clear therefore that the Supreme Legislative Council can pass a law to the effect that the High Courts shall not entertain any suits against the Secretary of State. The right to sue remains but no Civil Court created either under Acts of Indian Government or under Acts of Parliament can that right. The Commissioners are vested with judicial powers and appeal from their decisions could cer-

tainly be prohibited. A new Privilege Act could be created for them. So that even in a civil matter their judgment could be final. In respect of a Criminal matter no suit is institutable against the Secretary of State for the action of a judge or a magistrate under the Common Law of the land.

But into this point I oreburn could not go because then we go into the particular actions in respect of which damages would be recoverable from the Secretary of State. Lord Loreburn has been misunderstood to suggest that the Defence of India Act is ultra vires in respect of the power of the Governor in Council to intern without trial. The adjective right to sue has nothing to do with the substantive right that has to be enforced by the suit in this discussion. The Moment's sense had nothing to do with what quantum of relief should be granted [or on what occasions] at least in the proceedings before the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council. Lord Loreburn dealing only with this question as his Lordship actually puts in the passage I have quoted viz whether the Secretary of State should be sued when he breaks the law could not tell you—nor even express a hint—whether in a particular case the Secretary of State has broken the law. One section that is ultra vires never vitiates a whole Act. Section 113 of the Indian Evidence Act is ultra vires still the Evidence Act is valid in all its other provisions. Public is not accustomed to ultra vires legislation. Lawyers know of many cases in which that point is raised. The Privy Council only declares that in so far as any section or sections prohibit an action against the State the Section or Sections are ultra vires. It is of help however only when a substantive right exists. That is precisely what is being underrated both by the Governments and publicists. Their attention be better drawn to the remarks of Lord Loreburn.

This is what Lord Loreburn said that it was another thing whatever the law of the land should be for him and for other people together. The power of changing that law the Governor General in Legislative Council does possess under S 65 of the Government of India Act 1915. It is on that account that I call this right innocuous. Repeating the distinction I made between substantive right and adjective right the adjective cannot be affected but the substantive right can be affected by the

Indian Governments, and the adjective right is to be measured in its actual benefit by the substantive right. Civil Courts enforce laws "Because in a given state of law a court may establish particular relations and issue particular commands which must be obeyed" it does not mean that "that state of the law cannot be altered" (Per West J 8 Bom 267) If I hold a promissory note worth only Rs 10, I can get only Rs 10 even though I may go to the High Court of unlimited jurisdiction. It is, therefore, the substantive right that matters and that can be altered by the Indian Legislatures.

Acts like the Town Planning Act, the Improvement Act have been suggested as the Acts that should be tested. How far does the decision in the *Moment* case help in this connection? If there is a bar to a suit against the Secretary of State, it is *ultra vires*. One decision of the Privy Council is sufficient, and no more test need be applied. A suit *shall* lie, and everybody can depend upon it that no competent court will throw away a suit on account of a barring section on its being shown the *Moment's* case. No trial need be made of that. That, however, puts a suitor on no better position than a plaintiff who sues a man in the street say for a sum of Rs 500. The suit lies, but what can the plaintiff get when the defendant owes nothing? The Privy Council decision enables you to file a suit against the State, say, in respect of an interment. What further? *Moment's* case takes you no further. Neither do the Privy Council nor does Lord Loreburn suggest that they, or he can take you further. Not only that, but Lord Loreburn is very clear as regards when it is that the suit can be successful against the Secretary of State. "One is the right to sue the Secretary of State *when he has broken the law*" is what Lord Loreburn has said. So much is being written about testing! Really all that is unintelligible so far as the point at issue goes. Whatever was to be tested is tested once for all. Nothing more can be tested by *Moment's* case or Lord Loreburn's remarks. The Secretary of State must break the law, and then only a suit will, in substance, lie.

It appears as if everybody is upset by something novel, some talisman that is found in the conception of '*ultra vires*'. I read '*A B Patrika*' and found that the

first suggestion as regards the "Defence of India Act" being *ultra vires* came from Mrs Annie Besant. With the highest admiration for her, the suggestion is of no use except to herself. As I have already said, she has certain substantive rights which cannot be touched by the Indian Legislature, but which Indians do not possess. And so long as no substantive right has been violated, without the sanction of a competent legislation, by the Secretary of State or his agents, no action lies against the Secretary of State.

Really we have nothing to trouble ourselves with in this connection so long as the War lasts. It is after the War that legislation will again be introduced in Parliament for the sake of empowering the Legislatures in India to take away the subject's right to sue the Secretary of State. It is then that we have got to present our case before the High Court of Parliament. Our case will have two aspects, (i) positive and (ii) negative. The negative will refer to the case of the Council of India. It will be necessary to meet the case made by the Council of India.

Their case is that *harmless and necessary* legislation is being invalidated to a great extent. It is necessary for us to show that that is not so. Our positive case is that ours is only an *innocuous* right for proving that, it is necessary to show that this right avails only to protect us from the acts of any "functionary, should he make his authority a mere cloak for illegal and wholly unreasonable proceedings" (Per West J 8 Bom 267). *These are the two points* that ought to attract the attention of our leaders. And I propose to deal with certain Acts that, I think, contain provisions barring suits against the Secretary of State.

The Defence of India Act is of no use in this part, inasmuch as it is going to die within six months after the war and this part is dealing with the case we have to present after the War or after the death of the Defence of India Act. The first Act that I shall deal with is the Indian Limitation Act, S 28.

"At the determination of the period hereby limited to any person for instituting a suit for possession of any property his right to such property shall be extinguished."

This section extinguishes any right a subject may have but has failed to exercise against the Secretary of State during the

period of limitation, and then certainly no suit can be in spite of *Moment's case*. This Section makes the problem maliciously simple. I, then, go to the "Townplanning Act". The Act empowers certain bodies to declare certain areas to be required for certain purposes and then they vest in the crown. The owners are deprived of their lands. They can institute a suit, *Moment's case* takes them so far. But no damages are recoverable so long as the act of the officers are strictly within the Act. If any compensation is to be paid, the Civil Court can award that. Suppose, however, that the Act provides that certain frontages shall vest in the Government, and, all the price to be paid to the owner is the advantage of air and position that he has secured, the suit of the owner will give him nothing. The liability can be destroyed. If, however, that is not destroyed by an Act and the officer sets his arbitrary measure of the compensation the right of suit does help the claimant because the liability is there and only a Court is the final judge of the extent of that liability.

Then there is the Improvement Trust Act. We have on this point two cases of two different High Courts, (1) Bombay (2) Calcutta. The Bombay case is reported in I L R 27 Bom 439. The powers of the Legislature were challenged in that case and it was held (Per Sir Lawrence Jenkins C J and Batty J) that the Act was "not ultra vires up to the vesting point." What is the effect of that? The Chairman of the Board of Trustees declares that he takes certain areas for certain purposes in the Act and asks his officers to take charge of them. A suit lies after *Moment's case*. The chairman enters on his defence and proves that he took the areas for purposes specified in the Act. The suit shall be dismissed with costs in respect of possession. To show when the suit can succeed, the recent Calcutta case decided by a Division Bench of that High Court is helpful. If the chairman fails to prove that the whole or any part acquired was not acquired for purposes specified in the Act, the claimant would not get back the possession of the whole or part. These two judgments defeat the case of the Council of India and make out our case. Where the officer or officers only exercise the powers they have under an Act, the suit against the Secretary of State cannot where, on the other hand, he or

they have gone beyond that power, the Secretary of State becomes liable because his agents have transgressed and broken the law.

Next, I take the Land Acquisition Act. A suit does lie even at present, not in the form of a regular suit, but in the form of a reference, vide S 18 and 32 I A, where Lord Robertson says "and if a judicial ascertainment of value is desired by the owner, he can obtain it by requiring the matter to be referred by the Collector to the Court." This change, viz, from a suit to a reference, is a change "about the formalities of procedure" in respect of which "the Indian Government can legislate validly" (Per Lord Haldane, *Moment's case*). What then? The Court is restricted to considerations given in Sec 23. If the Collector or any competent authority has not erred in respect of those matters, what is the use of the right to sue? The use is that the suit would have to pay the costs of the Secretary of State. Then there are certain considerations which are forbidden to the Court, Sec 24, whereof all except the first are such as are binding on all Courts. The first is

(1) The degree of urgency which has led to the acquisition.

In conjunction herewith read Sec 6 (3).

(3) The said declaration shall be conclusive evidence that the land is needed for a public purpose or for a company, as the case may be.

*Moment's case* helps the owner as against these two provisions to this extent that a suit shall be. A case did go up to the Privy Council on the point that the purpose for which a certain area of land was acquired was not a public purpose within the meaning of Sec 6. The Judicial Committee held, however, that although Government was not the final judge, still Government was the best judge. The case will be found in Bom L R vol XI or XIII. That is how the matter stands and what does it show? It shows that unless the officer has made "his authority a mere cloak for illegal and wholly unreasonable proceedings" the Secretary of State is not affected by the Subject's right to sue him, and secondly that an Act of the Indian Government can empower the officers to do certain things and take certain proceedings for which the Secretary of State cannot be liable. This second proposition is further brought out by Ss 4 (2), 6 (3), 7, 8, 16, 17,



35, 36, 38 These sections are all of them valid and justify one tort or another in its common sense I say 'common sense', because legally it does not remain a tort by the effect of those sections Everybody has a free will to enter into a contract Nobody, for example, can be forced to sell his property to anybody else Anybody, however, can, given certain conditions prescribed by the Act, be forced to sell his land to the Secretary of State If A occupies my land, I can bring in a suit of ejectment and it would be no defence to the suit that A is prepared to pay even an exorbitant price If, however, the Secretary of State occupies my land against my will for a public purpose, I can sue him, but with no effect, if he is prepared to pay the due price If A forces an entry into my property and takes measurements, I can sue him for trespass and recover damages If, however, any officer forces an entry into my property for any of the purposes mentioned in Sec 4 (2), I can sue the Secretary of State only for the sake of paying the Secretary of State's costs What is borne out by all this is that the nature of an act can be changed from that of tort into a lawful act That is all the power that Governments require and that they do possess

I shall take one more instance, viz the Income Tax Act Section 39 of the Act —

No suit shall be in any Civil Court to set aside or modify any assessment made under this Act "

Unless by any ingenuity Section 106 (2) of the Government of India Act (1915) comes to the help of the Secretary of State, a suit shall lie against him The nature of the suit will be something like this The Collector imposes on A an income tax as if his net income were Rs 10000 a year A's contention is that his income is only Rs 3000 a year The Collector realises tax according to his own calculation A can sue for the recovery of the excess so unduly received If on trial it is found that A's income is Rs 10000 what is the advantage A derives from Moment's case? Nothing except the liability to pay the Secretary of State's costs If however, the Collector has not kept himself within chapters III and IV and has put an arbitrary valuation on the income of A, A's right to sue gives him every relief with costs This, again, proves nothing but that the Secretary of State's Agent must

break the law before this right of the subject which has been declared by the Privy Council is troublesome to the Secretary of State That law is of course enacted by Indian Legislatures, and the power of the Supreme Legislature in particular is unlimited as regards enacting that sort of law [vide S 65, Government of India Act 1915], and limited only by the Provisoes to that same Section, i.e., clauses (2) and (3) In reality there is only one subclause, viz (1) of cl 2 that touches native Indian subjects, while (1) of cl 2 and cl 3 are practically for the benefit of European British subjects I can give Acts after Acts which are quite valid so far as they authorise officers to do certain things, and so far as those officers keep within the limits of those Acts, the Moment's case does not touch them or the Secretary of State and does not benefit the subject

In a nutshell so far as the legislation is harmless and necessary it has not been rendered invalid by the Privy Council decision in Moment's case What has been rendered invalid is mischievous the provisions which left free door to arbitrary conduct of the officers, which closed the doors of the civil court against those functionaries who unscrupulously made their authority a mere cloak to wholly unreasonable proceedings and malicious iniquities, which transformed a right into a grace and reduced a claimant to the position of a mendicant The Executive has not—as it cannot have—the same confidence as the judiciary, for a thousand and one reasons which are familiar to everyone When there is a talk of an appeal to the collector from the decision of Mamlatdar, ~~that is, the collector and Mamlatdar and Mamlatdar~~ of noses If the right to sue the Secretary of State is capable of being taken away by the Legislatures in India see what would be the effect of S 39 of the Income Tax Act Suppose a Mamlatdar out of spite or indolence assesses A's income tax as if his income were Rs 10000 whereas A's real income is only Rs 3000, all that A can do is to appeal to the Collector, who in ninety cases out of a hundred will do nothing, and even in the remaining ten cases will lessen the assessment a little The further appeals to the Divisional Commissioner and the Government only adorn the Act.

What is the effect of the right of suit? The Civil Court is a judicial court subordinate to His Majesty's High Court or at

least to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council. The possibility of a decree against the Secretary of State will always keep the Mamlatdar and Collector within legal limits. Take away this check, and, to quote the words of an Anglo Indian organ, there will be abundant opportunity to Marconi scandals. There is a further aspect of the matter. It was in another connection that Lord Wrenbury said "suppose you can ensure purity of administration you have not done all you want because you want the public to believe you have ensured the purity of administration and you have not necessarily done that because your men are all honest men. The world knows all men are not honest." The remarks are equally important and applicable even in this connection. The judicial

check is an essential thing if the Government is established by law and is conducted legally. Any bar on this right is only an acknowledgment of the 'divine right' of officers individually and collectively as against the Legislature which will remain only the apparent fountainhead of the practices good and bad of those officers. That is the case that will have to be made out before the High Court of Parliament after the War, and the earlier our leaders' attention is drawn to this aspect of the question the better. It is not the lack of power but the possession of power that has to be proved to the Parliament, the abundance—in its way—of the power possessed.

J. R. LELF

## "ALL'S FAIR IN LOVE AND WAR"

By L. H. STRIPP,

AUTHOR OF "THE DISSIPATIONS OF EBENEZER MOON," &C

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JOHN HICKS bustled in from the yard at the sound of the postman's knock on the front door, but, seeing his sister Priscilla descending the stairs from her bedroom he tried to assume an air of unconcern and turned into the back parlour.

In less than a minute she followed him, carrying a couple of letters in her hand, one of which, a business communication she handed to him.

"Here's one for you, John," she said, laying the other on the breakfast table while she poured out the tea.

Her brother cast furtive glances at the little pale grey envelope by Priscilla's elbow as he clipped his egg. Would she never open it and begin to read? She did so at last, and, judging by the smiles that flitted over her features it seemed to be affording her considerable pleasure.

When she laid it down without remark took up the poker and drove it vicious through a lump of coal.

"What be ye doin' that for?" asked his

sister sharply. "The fire's right enough. It awnly makes more work for Tryphena, sweepin' up, but I know what's the matter wi' ee, you'm jest crazy to hear what Milli's got to say, awnly you'm too proud to ask for the letter, so you has it out on the fire."

"As if I couldn't read it if I wanted, with out askin' 'seem' I'm master o' th' house, an' got the right to know all about what ner comes in or goes out of it."

"Bless the man, who said you hadn't? All the same, you got too proud a spirit to show you cares, becos' you made sech a fullish fuss when the poor ma'ad went away, 'stead a' bein' glad she should get the change, after her bein' sick."

"There wuldn' 'a bin no fuss if so be she'd gone down to Polruddie, wi' her cousins 'stead a' tearin' right off to Starborough."

"You med as well 'a sent her to a couple a' ole crows as down a long wi' Sarah an' Selma Chugg. She'd a' come back no better than she went. Young folks wants

to be where there's a bit a' life goin' on An' Polruddie, too! Why, it's duller than this."

"Penhennick ain't dull—visitors come here summer time, an' it's likely to grow I hev thought—"

"Well, tidn' lively like a big town, an' Millie ought to see a bit a' the world 'Bain't no reason she should stay cooped up in wan place for ever jist becoss we hev. But now, about this letter—you *did* say a couple a' weeks ago as you didn' want to hear any more of 'em, so I didn' read 'em, to 'ee. Still, as this concerns you—"

"You can please you'mself about readin' it. All I cares to know is if she be well. An' when I said that about not wanting to hear the letters, you med a' knowin' what I meant. She needn't go troublin' to write pages full of all the fine friends she'd met and the gay doin's."

"Writin's no more trouble to her than scratchin' be to a hen, it do'ant take her so long as you think, 'cos you ain't got the knack of it you'mself. But I suppose you won't be sorry to hear she'm comin' home to-morrow."

"Sorry I should think not! Why didn' you say so before, 'stead a' beatin' round the bush?"

"You had so much to say you'm awn self it didn' give me a chance to bring it out, but there's more news than that. You'd best hear the letter through. Tidn' half as long as usual."

"He smoothed the paper out with her hand and, with a preparatory cough, began the letter. It ran thus—

"Carbeton House,  
"Starborough

"My two Old Darlings,—You may expect me home to-morrow about tea time. Kate—everyone, indeed—begged me to stay longer, but I have a special reason for coming back at once, a reason that is only known to one other person beside myself. And I've had a grand holiday—six weeks—it was very good of you to let me stay so long—and I've enjoyed myself immensely. We have had two or three trips up to London, and I've been to the theatre. There is one here, too. I am so glad I didn't go to Polruddie, it would have been dreadfully dull.

'Kate isn't a bit spoilt by her marriage, and she is a splendid housekeeper, though, of course she doesn't work, having two good servants, but she manages well, and

entertains company, yet is just as jolly and homely as she always was. Now I've some news for dad. I've met a gentleman who knew him when he was young. He told me he went to school with him and played in the same cricket team. Now, his son—this gentleman's—is coming to Penhennick to see dad about me. I wonder if you can guess what for? Well, you'll soon know. Good bye till to-morrow—Your ever loving

"MILLIE

"P.S.—I forgot to say his name is Tom Pollard, his father is Mayor of Starborough."

"What's wrong with ye," cried Miss Priscilla, hurrying round to her brother's side and commencing to thump his back vigorously with the palm of her hand. "Hev 'ee got a fish bone in ye're throat?"

"Fish bone? No," he yelled, springing out of his chair. "I bain't chokin'—least ways, not w' food—'twas the name, Pollard. He shan't come here, I tell 'ee, I won't see the chap. Wild hosses shudn'—"

"Is that all? I be down right ashamed of 'ee, a man o' you'm years gettin' in such a tantara, one 'ud think 'ee was mad, that a' wud."

"Have 'ee forgot as Pollard was always standin' in my way—cuttin' me out in everythink—at schoolin' an' games, an' last of all, he cut me out with me sweet-heart."

"I don't see how the poor chap cud help himself fur bein' cleverer than you at most things, an' as fur cuttin' you out w' Myrtle Pascarro—'twas the best thing cud happen to ye. A terrible ownself sort a' ma'nd she was, as 'ud made 'ee mis'rable fur life. And you know you didn' care fur her—beyond bein' seen about w' a smart lookin' young woman. There weren't no love in the case, you can't say you didn' think twenty times more a' Millie's mother, than you did a' that fuzzy polled gal a' ole Nickety Pascarro's."

"A' course, I can't, nor wudn' gwain to say I did, all the same it made me look small to be throwed over fur Pollard."

"Why didn' you treat it as a joke same as he did when she thren him over after wards fur ole Sam Vosper, an' his money, instead a' growlin' like a bear w' a sore head. You m'd' be thankful she *did* throw 'ee over, a gad about flighty thing, as—but heaven fergive me—spakin' ill a' the

poor dust She'm bin in her grave nigh twenty year "

"Well, look here, Priscie, I won't see that chap—a stuck up peacock like his father, I'll be boun' My ma'ad shan't marry a man as 'ud teach her to sneer at her ole father "

"Was there ever sech a self tormentin' man? As if she'd do sech a thing!"

"I mind wan day when he come back from London, how he burst out laughin' at me, 'You'm u reg lar masterpiece, John,' he says, 'with the queer speech of ee, I didn use to notice it, so—'"

"Fur shame—bearin' a grudge fur such a trifle, all these years! He were young an giddy pated in them days, most likely he've furgot all about it long ago, so why can't 'ee let it drap You can't hev' a bit a' heart in 'ee, if you means to let sech folly weight agens't the future happiness a' you'm awnly child an' she—motherless "

## II

John Hicks was under a promise not to spoil the pleasure of his daughter's return by any "contrariness "

"Remember what a glum face you kep' when you see her off in the train, wasn't it natural she should like to go to Kate's seem' they was friends so long? I'd like to know what you got agens't her—Kate, I means?"

"Nothin', but I didn' want Millie to get any stuck up notions Kate was a nice enough girl I'll allow before she married a man as was so much above her "

"There you be again The young chap knew he was gettin' a bargain when he took her He'd had a chance to see the sort a' wife she'd make, seem' he an' his sisters had lodged at her mother's for three or four summers runnin' As fur Millie, when a body's bin run down w' influenzy—but there, I wonder how you'd like to ha' bin sent down to them Chuggs when you was gettin' over the gout?"

But in spite of his jealous nature John Hicks adored his daughter It had cost him some self-denial in sending her to a finishing school at Liskeard, for he had an intense dread of being looked down on for his lack of education, due largely to his neglect of his early opportunities

People said that Millie favoured her mother—Captain Roscarly's daughter Certainly, she bore no likeness to her mother, who was short and stout, with a

red face and blunt features Millie's figure was slim and graceful, she had a mass of wavy brown hair and an ever changing expression

John Hicks had lost his wife when his little daughter was only a year old, but Aunt Priscilla had done her best to mother the child and had kept house for her brother ever since

"Seems sort a' stuffy after a big house, don't it, my dear?" she said, as they sat at tea the afternoon of Millie's return "An' I s'pose you had rather a different look out from our ole timber yard?"

"There was a splendid garden and tennis court at the back of the house The front looked out on the street You see, it's the old bank house, where Mr Anstead's father and grandfather lived before him Still, one might have a worse look out than the timber yard, for, after all, it's home," replied Millie, helping herself liberally from the dish of clotted cream that stood before her

"That's well said, my dear," cried her father, "an' this idn't the first time your aunt hev thrown on at the ole yard She bin wantin' me to leave fur the last twelve year, but I didn' take no notice, 'cos I didn't see the way clear to do it However, I'm thinkin' a' puttin up some houses on the Marreystone Road Maybe we'll move to wan of 'em fore long I'll see as there shall be a bit a' green lawn and some flower-beds fur 'ee I shall hev to be on the look out fur a new foreman soon, 'cos Ellis is leavin' He be gwain out to New Zealand I shall hev to advertize I dunno any man round here as cud taake his place though he idn' a man a' many ideas Still, I bin used to 'im all these years, an' we pulled together pretty well "

"Mr Anstead said he wondered you didn't retire now dad "

"Oh, indeed, an' what Anstead know about it, pray?" interrupted the old man angrily, for he never brooked interference from other people

"Oh, of course he can't know, dear, but I suppose he fancied you might as well take things easily now, that's all, dad "

"I'll thank him to mind his own business then I ain't past work yet; I ain't in the dotage I don't pretend to advise him about bank managin', an' I don't want he should advise me about return, I see how 'tis, though, you're ashamed a'

the trade You got high notions, as I said you wud, if you went to Starborough "

"What nonsense, dad How can you think such things of me, as if there was any reason to be ashamed of honest work "

But he was not to be appeased He brought his fist down on the table angrily

"That's fine talk , but I know what's in your mind An architect' as can string a few letters after his name fancies himself a gentleman—"

"But Mr Ansterd isn't an architect, dad !"

"Pollard be, though, an' that s who I'm talkin' about I'm not agwain to see the young chap as is danglin' after you His father talked about old times—tole you a lot about him an' me, seemingly, did he say we worked at the same bench together, till some man took a fancy to his bits a' drawins' an' get 'em awa'ay to his London office an' made a fine gentleman of un, an l—an l—"

He was in such a rage by this time that he lost power of articulation for a few moments He was beginning agun, when Tryphena brought word that some one was waiting to see her master in the office

"Oh, Aunt Prissie," cried the girl, when the door had closed behind her father, "What does he mean ? He always had a fine flame in him—but to blaze up over nothing like this—"

"He've had a grudge against Pollard, ever since they was boys I wouldn't mention the name to him again, my dear , it's fur all the world as bad as wavin' a red rag before an angry bull "

"But I must mention it, Aunt Prissie Dick, that's young Mr Pollard, is coming to see dad, and his father isn't a bit proud, though they live in a mansion and keep a car He spoke so nicely of dad, said he was a genuine old Cornishman, and they were all so kind to me "

"It's always been a sore point with him, but cheer up, I've got a plan in me head, if things go as I hope they will Ah, here he comes with Mr Nollass I'll tell 'ee at bedtime what 'tis "

### III

Old Hicks sat smoking his afternoon pipe in the sunshine with a complacent air Things were going well with him The new foreman had turned out a treasure The men liked him, and he was unusually clever, though he didn't seem to know it

He had made several useful suggestions to his master, so useful that the builder had been able to dispense with the aid of an architect in running up a couple of villas on the Marreystone Road, houses that were the admiration of everyone, with their quaint gables and balconies Young Richards had designed them, though he modestly disclaimed the fact when they were under discussion

"You must remember, sir, ' he would say, ' that I asked your opinion with regard to throwing out that west wing, and whether we should bring the outside staircase here You decided we should It was as much your doing as mine, and you mustn't throw all the blame on me if they don't fetch a price "

To builders young Richards would remark

"Mr Hicks and I drew up the plans carefully and you see the result—two villas, original and tasteful, and far more convenient than the old style "

They sold before the paint was dry, and John Hicks bought more land with a view to similar ventures He had grown to believe that he had a right to take credit for their design, and when he was congratulated on his success, he would nod his head, and say 'folks must keep abreast with the times now a-days in buildin' as much as anything else "

It puzzled him to find Millie giving such a good looking young fellow the cold shoulder so persistently, especially when most of the girls in Penhennick were running after him She couldn't be thinking of that Pollard chap still—she had given him her word not to write to him, nor—His musings were interrupted by a voice at his side

"Mr Hicks, can I speak with you a few minutes ?" said his foreman

"Certainly, Richards Sit down on the bench along side o' me Got any complaints to make a' the men ? "

"None whatever, sir But I'm afraid I shall have to leave you as soon as you can suit yourself "

"Then it's to do with me," cried the old man, his temper beginning to rise "Why can't you speak out ?"

"It has nothing to do with you, sir. You have been a most generous master, it's on—on account of Miss Hicks—Miss Millie, I—"

"You re in love with her, I s'pose. Well,

there ain't nothink to be ashamed of in that, is there?"

"Do you mean you wouldn't disapprove if I could win her, Mr. Hicks?"

"Disapprove? No. I should be thankful to know she was likely to hev such a sensible husband. You'm welcome to try as fur as I'm concerned, Richards."

"It's good of you to say so sir, only—I had heard something about a previous attachment."

"Who telled 'ee that yarn?"

"Miss Priscilla dropped a hint one day, and——"

"Tid'n true. Leastways if there was an attachment it's done with. I put a stop to it. An' she's not the girl to go agin her father. If I tell her to take 'ee, she'll do it, same as she give up the other fellow."

"Are you surshe has given him up sir?"

"She's never mentioned his name since I forbid her, and she wouldn't disobey me by writin' to 'un. But you'd better find out how the land lyes for yourself. Start luvakin' right away. Don't seem scared at her. Ma'ads can't abide a timersome man."

"I would rather gain her affections fairly, sir, I've no wish to intrude myself——"

"All's fair in luv an' war,' as the sayin' is, an'——"

The gate clicked and Millie appeared, looking so fresh and charming that both men felt pleasure at sight of her.

"I've come back for Bear, father," she said, "I'm going to Polhender, and he'll be company."

"Why be gwain so fur as that, me dear?"

"Oh a long walk does me good."

Young Richards stepped forward to unfasten the dog. Millie accepted the attention with a disdainful look.

"I could have done it myself," she said. "There is nothing I dislike more than officiousness."

"You'd better cut along after her in about ten minutes," said old Hicks when his daughter was out of hearing. "Give her time to get out of Penhennick. 'Tis a lone some walk she gwain, 'm and she'll be glad o' company."

"Not mine, sir," he replied. "You must have seen how she objects to it."

"Never mind, it may be her way—jest teazin'. Anyhow, you can take a

message to Polhender you'mself—tell the farmer we'll let 'm have that estimate for a new barn next week, an' don't say another word about leavin', Richards."

"I shall be only too glad to stay, sir, I all goes well."

"An' if it don't?"

"Then Mr. Hicks, I'm afraid I must go."

Ten minutes later the old man went to the house to have it out with Aunt Priscilla.

What did you tell Richards about that other chap for? he asked, entering the parlour where she sat at work. "You must be as blind as a bat not to ha' seen he'm over head an' heels in luv w' her."

"He've got a sweetheart in every place, most likely," she replied.

"He bain't that sort, but I see how 'tis—you'm encouragin' Millie to think about that Pollard, an' I'll tell 'e what—she'd be a deal happier married to a sensible chap like Richards than struck up jackanapes. Richards hev got a headpiece, too, an' I'm ready to help 'm with an idea or two o' me own sometimes. If Millie marries in the firm should be 'Hicks an' Richards, Builders an' Architects.' We'd get a name as well as Pollard——"

"Who's the peacock now, I'd like to know?" asked Aunt Priscilla, moving to the door. Your spite darkens your better judgment. You don't care a pin about sovereign two lovin' hearts so's you can carry you m point. I could hear you—my bed room window was open—plottin' with Richards about you m own daughter—at you'm age, too."

Pulling the door sharply behind her, she left her brother to reflect on her words.

Dusk was setting in when Millie returned, accompanied by Richards. The old man was sitting alone, in the parlour (his sister having absented herself from the table and leaving him to partake of the meal in solitude). The young man stepped up to the builder.

"I've come to thank you for your advice, Sir," he said, "I acted on it, and we are——"

The next moment Millie's arms were round her father's neck, and she was hiding her face in the collar of his coat.

"What, cryin', my little ma'ad, cryin'?" he said, smoothing her bright wavy hair with a gnarled but loving hand. "Why then, my dear, I wish I'd never said nought about it. And don't you think you m ole

slightest use in this line. The only thing that appears practicable to me is a sort of Sunday Education in the form of Hari Katha, Prasangams recitals of Ramayana, Sri Bhagavatam Nalopakhya nam, Sakunthalam and other popular educational book. In most of the families we have all these inspiring stories in the form of Gathas which are generally sung in every Hindu home. Speaking from experience I know the educational value of these recitals to be immense with the common people of both sexes.

Such work should be undertaken by the people in the Motherland. I am glad to see that the Arya Samaj has recognised the necessity of some such work and is trying to send out proper persons to carry out their religious propaganda. Individual members of the Ramakrishna Mission seem to have visited the West Indies and done some excellent work there. But these individual and uncoordinated enterprises must give place to more organised work. There alone I see the remedy of the moral degradation which undoubtedly prevails in the colonies.

There is another point which I should notice before I leave on this topic. The future of a labouring community like the Indians abroad depends mostly upon the amount of technical education they receive. Their prosperity even as agriculturalists must in these days of scientific cultivation be largely dependent on their knowledge and skill which can be acquired only by training. But here also the Indian is hampered by the fact that no scientific education however elementary is given in his language. He has first to learn English and it must always be kept in mind that if he wants to understand the subjects properly he must have not only a smattering but a thorough knowledge of the language. The same difficulty exists in India and that is why with our universities, colleges and schools the lot of the peasant remains practically what it was a thousand years ago.

Now, what is the position of higher education? There are a few Indians in all the colonies who have risen to comparative prosperity after their term of indenture.

The mercantile community that has followed the steps of the working man is generally speaking, quite prosperous. Now are the sons of these classes to be edu-

educational ambitions are still unsatisfied can continue their studies in any of the universities of the United Kingdom?

This as I have said before is no unmixed blessing. There is already a tendency among our colonial brethren to imitate Europeans in their ways of life. It must be confessed that Europeanism has certain attractions which are quite irresistible to the uneducated. The higher strata of Indian society in the colonies have shown a tendency to follow them in these lines. It need hardly be said that the education which they receive strongly predisposes them to such a defection from Hindu tradition. They begin learning English without any previous education in their own language and for university education they have to go to Europe. No wonder that Mr. Christopher\* is forced to admit that left to himself the colonial born Indian will inevitably take to European habits (presumably to beer-drinking and beef-eating) and become lost to the cause of the motherland.

The fault is not entirely his. The colonial Indian who thus merges himself in the vast ocean of inferior classes in the White Countries is more often than otherwise a victim of circumstances. His condition is the direct result of the unsolved difficulties in the question of Indian Education where lies the remedy for these.

I shall only make one suggestion; but I am convinced that if the plan I propose is followed it will lead to a gradual solution of this difficult problem.

We have now in India the Benares University which is established for the express purpose of giving national Hindu education and within a few years we hope that our Mahomedan brethren will have raised the Aligarh College to the same status. The suggestion that I have to make is that, a considerable number of scholarships should be given to deserving students from Greater India on the model of Rhodes scholarships at Oxford. If we institute 5 scholarships in South Africa, 2 in Mauritius, 2 in Fiji, 5 in West Indies and 1 in Surinam we will have ensured a safe but sure method of preserving Indian Culture in these far away colonies. These students will have the opportunity of associating with the flower of India's intellectual youth. They will receive an education in

\* In the Golden number of the Indian Opinion. See my article on the subject of the Indian Emigrant.

the true sense of the word, an education which will make life a reality to them, and above all they will have seen their mother country, and tested the sweetness of her indescribable beauties. India will no longer be to them a 'vague somewhere' but a country in which they have lived and learnt and whose culture and civilisation they have inherited in their blood.

This suggestion, if acted up to will go a great way to solve the problem of colonial Indian education. Will any of our princes and nobles whose purses seem to be extraordinarily long when it is a question of titles and honours, give a few lakhs for this purpose?

K. M. PANJABAR

## COMMENT AND CRITICISM

### Industrial and Purely Scientific Research.

The newspaper report gives the Indians had not come to that stage when they COULD take up research work from a purely scientific standpoint as one of my replies to the President of the Indian Industrial Commission.

May I give you my reply in my own words —

I do not think we Indians have come to that stage when we SHOULD take up purely research work. We ought to take up work which will also have an industrial side to it. What I mean is that our research work should be such as can be utilised for industrial purposes.

Your remark on page 682 in the December number of the *Modern Review* has prompted me to write to you. I believe you will now see my reply in quite another light. Let us first have enough to satisfy our hunger. It is not *could* but *should*.

C. NAG

### Editor's Note.

As we have only a schoolboy's knowledge of science and no knowledge at all of any industry, our opinion on the subject of Prof Nag's letter is only what we can say from the amount of common sense which we may claim to possess. There can be no two opinions regarding the very great need and importance of industrial research in India. But, nevertheless, those who possess the capacity for research must be left free to choose their own line of work. No rule can be laid down *ex cathedra* for their work. Of the numerous scientific discoveries made by Dr J. C. Bose, only a few have, up to the present time, been utilised in wireless telegraphy, agriculture and perhaps medicine. Still we cannot say that he should have devoted himself or should hereafter devote himself to industrial research. Similarly, of the chemical researches of Dr P. C. Ray and his pupils, all or almost all are of purely scientific value, though here after they may be of practical importance. Of course we cannot speak from personal knowledge of these researchers but only from what we have read about them in the papers.

Lord Kelvin's views as to the practical value of science were definite and unmistakable.

The life and soul of science is its practical application, and just as the great advances in mathematics have been made through the desire of discovering the solution of problems which were of a highly practical

kind in mathematical science, so in physical science many of the greatest advances that have been made from the beginning of the world to the present time have been made in the earnest desire to turn the knowledge of the properties of matter to some purpose useful to mankind.

But it is difficult to say beforehand whether there will or will not be any practical application of any scientific discovery. It has been asked what is pure science? Is there any kind of knowledge or any scheme for its systematization that may not be made useful? Sometimes it has seemed so but the event has usually proved the contrary. Both those who rejoice in pure science, and those who profess to despise it are probably basing what they do on a fallacy. The mathematician who said he liked that branch of his science known as the Theory of Numbers because it never could be put to any possible use reminds one of the British peer who commended the Order of the Garter because there was no damned merit about it. Both were doubtless inaccurate. The veteran scientist Dr John A. Brashear probably came nearer the truth when he declared before the American Society of Mechanical Engineers that he could not tell the difference between pure and applied science. Knowledge often seems to have no possible application he says when to some one steps in and uses it. *Exegodone—same thing that comes to your mind—necessity—a telephone or an electric light.* He is thus editorially reported in *Metalurgical and Chemical Engineering* (New York January 15, 1916).

"Where shall we draw the line between pure and applied science? For myself I have been unable to find aught but a hazy line of demarcation. When the velocity of the propagation of light waves was determined by scientific reasoning and experimentation of the most refined nature the process of solving the problem remained for a long time in the domain of the exact sciences as a masterpiece of the human mind. But who dreamed to what utilitarian purpose these light waves would be made subservient? The genius of a Michelson carried them into the workshop thence to the International Bureau of Weights and Measures at Sevres and gave us a value for the international meter in terms of light waves that will remain absolutely unalterable as long as the old world moves in the luminiferous ether of the universe." Getting nearer the utilitarian service of the scientific study of light waves, Dr Anderson of Johns Hopkins



has utilized them in making screws of hitherto unheard of accuracy." And when in railway shop nuts made by some firms would not screw on bolts made by others the problem at first baffled the ability of the most prominent manufacturers of tools of precision in the country but it was solved through the co-operation of a professor of astronomy.

"And this utilitarian use of science in making possible the construction of accurate screws has again reacted, as it were and enabled the scientific mechanic to produce a little optical device that rivals, if it does not surpass the telescope—the diffraction grating. 'On the plane surface of its polished plate, made accurate to one-tenth of a light wave or within one forty-five thousandths of an inch, are ruled more than 45,000 lines between which there is no greater error than one two millionths of an inch.' With this delicate piece of apparatus made possible first by rigorous scientific research, secondly, by the skill of the artisan, thirdly by a knowledge of and vigorous care to avoid temperature-changes and fourthly, by the accuracy of the mechanism which includes the accurate screw mentioned above, the astrophysicist has been able to tell us the composition, temperature and distance of the stars. It is also possible for the physicist, the chemist, to tell us the purity of the material he is called to investigate indeed it makes itself subservient to many phases of engineering in the domain of metallurgy. And the end is not yet. Where can we draw a sharp line of demarcation between pure science and its relation to any and every form of engineering?"

In an article on 'Practical Purpose in Scientific Research,' contributed to the *Cornhill Magazine*, Professor R. A. Gregory, F. S. A. R. says—

"Scientific investigations carried on with this single purpose of acquiring new knowledge often lead to results of great practical value. Such applications are, however, only incidental and in the world of science they provide no test of the importance of the work done. The practical man judges scientific research from the point of view of its direct service to humanity, or that of money-making capacity and he considers that people who devote their lives to studies having neither of these profitable objects in mind are wasting their time and abusing their intellectual faculties."

"It comes as a surprise to most men to be told that in scientific circles usefulness is never adopted as the standard of value; and that, even if not a single practical result is reached by an investigation the work is worth doing if it enlarges knowledge or increases our outlook upon the universe. This proposition, of course, leaves the practical man cold, yet it is all that science desires to offer in justification of its activities. While the discovery of truth remains its single aim, science is free to pursue whatever whatever direction it pleases; but when it permits itself to be dominated by the spirit of productive application it will become merely the galley-slave of short sighted commerce."

He then proceeds to observe

"Almost all the investigations upon which modern industry has been built would have been crushed at the outset if immediate practical value had determined what work should be undertaken. Science brings back new seeds from the regions it explores and they seem to be nothing but trivial curiosities to the people who look for profit from research, yet from these seeds come the mighty trees under which civilized man has his tent, while from the fruit he gains comfort and riches."

To these eminently sane observations of the Professor we would invite the attention of all our readers interested in the question.

The concluding paragraph of Professor Gregory's article also has a bearing upon the subject of our note.

"Men of science of the Faraday type ask little more of the State than the opportunity of pursuing their researches under suitable conditions, they are the makers of new knowledge, explorers in unknown seas and must be left to follow the paths along which their own particular guiding stars lead them. Industrial research organized and purposeful, falls into a different category, it starts with practical problems and seeks profit from their solution instead of concerning itself with purely scientific inquiries for which no immediate application can be seen. The genius of the original investigator cannot be chained to the chariot of industry, but it can be cherished, and its products as well as national needs can be made the subject of intensive study. To the modern State adequate provision for independent scientific research as well as organized industrial inquiry is not only a duty, but also an essential factor of national existence."

The stakes are ours

### Industrial Development.

The present condition of industries in Bengal has been very thoroughly criticised by my friend Mr. R. R. Ghose, in the last issue of the *Modern Review*. He has given profuse quotations from the history of industrial growth in Japan which are all very instructive to us at the present moment in India. If the Government would undertake to solve the industrial problem of the country as the custodian of national interests there cannot be two opinions as to the courses to be adopted. Mr. Ghose has very ably discussed the whole situation and has given many valuable suggestions. Just to supplement what he has so elaborately discussed in his article, I state below a few ideas of my own about a practical scheme for the development of our industries. As it would appear from my suggestions, I want to make the provinces independent of the supreme Government in determining their own policies with regard to the growth and development of industries within the provinces. In closer touch as they are with local conditions and popular ideas Provincial Governments are in a better position to solve such Provincial problems which are so widely different in the different provinces of India. There should be a spirit of healthy rivalry between the provinces in their forward march. The national instincts and characteristics of the people sympathetically supported encouraged and directed by the Government would ultimately make every province unique in a particular line of commerce and industries.

1. There should be import duties on all foreign goods except books, apparatus, medicines and machinery.

2. In imposing duties the nature of the goods and the country from which they are imported should be taken into consideration. Articles manufactured in the British Isles should be taxed to such an extent that their market price in India may be higher than the market price of Indian manufactured articles of the same nature by 5%. In the case of articles manufactured in other countries the import rates should be heavy enough to maintain a difference of 20 per cent in the market prices of imported and home-made goods.

3. The power of levying import duties should be vested in the Government of India and the rate of taxation should be decided by it in consultation with Provincial Governments.

4. The Provincial Governments should have powers to form Provincial Boards of Commerce and Industries for the supervision of existing commercial and industrial concerns and to take all possible steps to encourage new industries and new commercial enterprises.

5. These Provincial Boards should be divided into 2 sections, one to be in charge of commerce, and the other to be in charge of industries.

6. There should be a member for commerce and industries in the Provincial Executive Councils who is to be the President of the Board of Commerce and Industries. This member must always be an Indian selected by the non-official Indian members of the Provincial Legislative Councils.

7. The Board of Commerce and Industries to start with, should consist of 12 members, in each section of which seven should be Indians selected by the Indian Commercial and Industrial Communities, three Englishmen selected by the English Industrial Community possessing industries within the Province. Of the remaining two, one should be the University Professor of Economics and the other University Professor of Industrial Chemistry.

8. The Provincial Governments should have powers to encourage commerce and industries by purchasing stores, lending money and the services of experts to approved companies and by standing security for a minimum premium on the paid up capital.

9. There should be one Director of Commerce, one Director of Industries and two Auditors under the Board for the periodic inspection of all commercial and industrial concerns in the Province. These officers will form the connecting link between the individual concerns and the Board.

10. Every commercial or industrial concern expecting any kind of help from the Government must place itself under the guidance of the Board and must submit at the end of every official year a statement of its financial condition and progress of business during the year duly examined and certified by the Director and the Auditor appointed by the Board.

11. There should be a central bank at every Provincial capital under the Board for rendering financial aid to approved firms. The small loan companies now existing in the District and Sub-divisional

headquarters should be developed into banks for advancing capital to small firms in the mufassals.

12. There should be a central Commercial Museum under the Board at the Provincial capitals with an attached Chemical Laboratory. In the Museum should be exhibited specimens of all useful raw materials available within the province with a printed statement of all detailed informations regarding their occurrence, value, process of manufacture etc. Foreign imported goods and home-made goods manufactured from the same should be placed side by side with them with an attached statement of their prices, the defects of the home-made goods and ways of improvement. All analytical works necessary for the preparation of such statements should be performed at the Laboratory under expert analytical and industrial chemists. There should be also a small museum of this type at every district town but without the Laboratory, where all raw materials available within the district are to be exhibited side by side with finished imported goods manufactured from them.

13. There should be a large number of scholarships at the disposal of this Board for sending students to foreign countries for specializing in different industries. No student who does not possess sufficient scientific knowledge of the industry, and is not fully acquainted with its existing condition in the country should be eligible to such scholarships.

14. Every industry started on fairly large scale should have at least one industrial expert and one business manager at its head.

15. The Board should encourage a commercial and industrial firm to form themselves into guilds or associations with a view to effect co-operation against foreign competition.

16. The Board should publish a three-monthly Journal in the Vernacular of the Province in which all statistical informations regarding import and export should be available. It should contain articles written by experts on the possibilities of new industries. There should also appear articles embodying fair and judicious criticism of existing industries as well as notes on the development of industries in other countries.

17. The University of the Province should have well-equipped Laboratories under efficient chemists for the teaching of industrial Chemistry. The scientific study of commercial and economic conditions of the country should find a place in the University curriculum.

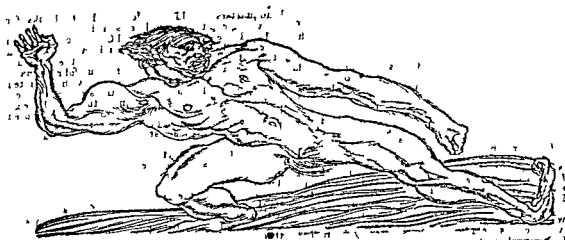
R. N. G.

## GLEANINGS

### Automatic drawing as a first aid to the artist.

Power of literal reproduction is not more than slightly useful to the imaginative artist. Beyond the field of immediate accuracies and objective understanding, there is the wide region of the subconscious to be explored. The key to this region is

obtained by the method of "Automatic Drawing," according to the explanation of the English artists, Austin O. Spare and Frederick Carter, who reveal the secrets of their artistic discovery in the pages of "Form," newest among John Lane's sumptuous quarterlies of the arts. "No amount of manual skill and consciousness of error," to quote the champions of automatic drawing, "will



A DRAWING PRODUCED WITH PSYCHIC AID

"Austin O. Spare and Frederick Carter have applied the psycho-analytic theories of Freud, Jung and their school as an aid in releasing the cramped and suppressed imaginative fancies of the modern artist."

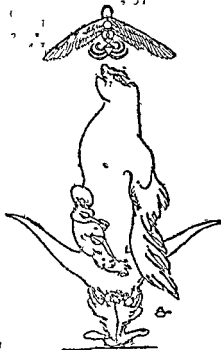


A DRAWING

Here is an elaboration of a drawing conceived during the course of an experiment in automatic drawing

A recent book on painting by a well known painter is a case in point; there the example of masters of draughtsmanship may be compared with the painter's own side by side and the superiority of mere skill and interest examined. A plea is made for the most definite and simple forms and ideas to attain express on in a manner absolutely freed of all inessential details. Automatic drawing, it is claimed, presents such a method.

An 'automatic scribble of twisting and interlaced



THE BEGINNING OF DRAWING

The artist strives to attain a state of mental oblivion. Such results as thus often result, valueless except to the artist himself.

log lines permits the germ of idea in the subconscious mind to express, or at least suggest itself to the consciousness. From this mass of procreative shapes full of fallacy, a feeble embryo of idea may be selected and trained by the artist to full growth and power. By these means may the profoundest depths of memory be drawn upon and the springs of instinct tapped.

Let it not be thought that a person not an artist may by these means become one but those artists who are hampered in expression, who feel limited by the hard conventions of the day and wish for freedom who strive for self expression but have not attained to it, these may find in it a power and a liberty elsewhere undiscoverable. Thus writes Leonardo da Vinci. Among other things I shall not scruple to discover a new method of assisting the invention which too trifling in appearance may yet be of considerable service in opening the mind and putting it upon the scent of new thoughts and it is this if you look at some old wall covered with dirt or the odd appearance of some streaked stones you may discover several things like landscape battles clouds uncommon attitude draperies etc. Out of this confused mass of objects the mind will be furnished with abundance of designs and subjects perfectly new.

The hand must be trained to work freely and without control by practice in making simple forms with a continuous involved line without after thought, i.e., its intention should just escape consciousness.

Drawings should be made by allowing the hand to run freely with the least possible deliberation. In time shapes will be found to evolve suggesting conceptions forms and ultimately having personal or individual style.

"The mind in a state of oblivion without desire towards reflection or pursuit of materialistic intellectual suggestions is in a condition to produce successful drawings of one's personal ideas symbolic in meaning and wisdom. By this means sensation may be visualised"—*The Current Opinion*

### Cannibalism as a Factor in Natural Selection.

Altho naturalists have held that cannibalism is an accident there remains the awkward fact of its persistence. The persistence of cannibalism in nature suggests to the Darwinian that it must have an evolutionary function the riddle being made harder by evidence afforded through recent studies of the subject by Miss Frances Pitt, the distinguished English naturalist. Cannibalism exists she affirms not as a strange and exceptional development in eccentric environments among lower organisms but seemingly as part of the order of things to the organisms themselves. It does seem, indeed, that



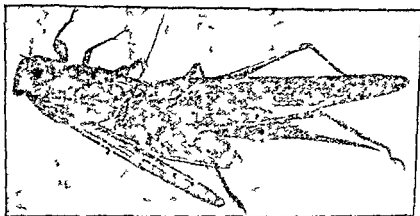
THE SCORPION THAT SLEW ITS LOVE  
Here we have an illustration of the fury with which the practice of cannibalism is persisted in

cannibalistic habits are an accident but they arise in relation to others which are necessary for the preservation of the species. The cannibalistic habit takes its part in securing preservation by achieving the survival of the fittest. In most species the number of young brought into the world is greatly in excess of the number which will reach maturity and there is a frightful amount of competition within the species as well as with other species, and of this struggle between the individuals cannibalism is one of the visible signs. For instance, the water beetle grub which happened to be the earliest hatched from the egg and is the strongest and finest, will probably elude the grasp of its fellows and seize and eat them in its turn. Altho cannibalism is to us so unnatural and repellant it seems at any rate among insects and such small creatures that the process serves a purpose and leads to the weeding out of the weaklings.

It should not be forgotten that from the point of view of natural selection it is of no consequence whether a creature is killed by its relatives or by others. It is eliminated and that is all that is required. As for the disposal of the body afterward what does it matter so long as somebody gets a good meal? So perhaps after all observes Miss Pitt whose paper we find in the *London National Review*, cannibalism is not against the laws or rules of nature. In the case of spiders it probably comes under the head of sexual selection which is practised by many species tho not always with such terrible penalties for the males which displease the females as recent observation shows in certain cases. Even so it is difficult to account for the frequency with which mothers devour their young even if we make allowance for unnatural excitement or stimulus.

Little comfort can be gleaned from some suggestions that the facts have not been obtained by exact observation and confirmed by a due process of verification. Miss Pitt insists

As a matter of fact cannibalism among many wild creatures is an everyday occurrence, for one of nature's great rules is 'Waste not' and it is infinitely



BATTLE OF THE RIVAL SPECIES

Here are two grasshoppers—one dead and ready to be devoured, the other practicing the horrible rites of the savages from whom Friday fled to Robinson Crusoe.

more economical when an accident overtakes your brother to eat him than let the body be wasted, but I must further admit that it is not uncommon for the victim to be not only eaten but first killed by its relatives!

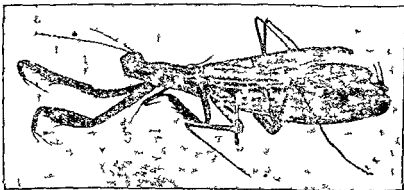
These sort of accidents are particularly liable to happen among the nestlings of the larger birds of prey. There is often considerable difference in size between the youngsters, and in the case of owls this is beginning to set in as soon as she has laid her first egg, with the result that the young ones hatch at intervals and the eldest is much in advance of the youngest. When a family row occurs as is often the case over the food, the youngest and smallest bird is apt to go to the wall and should not get damaged in the quarrel. The bigger ones do not waste time discriminating between their little brother and the proper food, but demolish both. Such incidents are not uncommon in the family life of the golden eagle, and many other big birds of prey.

Among animals, a captive cannot always often assert himself in a different way—a mother under the influence of fear and excitement will devour her children. Miss Pitt has had cases of this sort with quail and other species. Even the tamest rabbits will often destroy the younger ones and ferrets too are liable to do so. They are not to be trusted. A short-tailed field vole ate its five babies on one occasion that came to Miss Pitt's notice. It would be more than

interesting says Miss Pitt to see into the mind of the mouse that ate its progeny. When one considers how little experience this mouse must have had in its short life it is incredible that it could foresee the evils of captivity and wish to save its babies from it. Was it pure instinct that led to this act of cannibalism? The question is difficult to answer, not impossible for with such small creatures the results of memory and experience are combined with inherited instincts that it is hard to say by what they govern their actions.

To turn now to the fish.

Nearly all fish species as long as they are small enough the big fish do not mind and will as cheerfully swallow fry of their own kind as of another. This is most amusingly illustrated in the case of the stickleback, which is a much more interesting little fish than the majority of its tribe. To begin with the male fish undertakes all nursery duties—the most fish leave their eggs more or less to chance and worry little



SHE NEVER TOLD HER LOVE—SHE ATE HIM

Here we have no instance of the kind suggested by the optimists, who aver that the young are devoured by the parents in order to preserve them from captivity or cruelty. This female has the male nearly eaten.

about them—leaving his wife or wives free from responsibility. He makes a small nest by collecting fragments of water weeds and other scraps, which he hides away in some corner. Then he finds a hen fish and drives her to the nest where she lays some eggs, and so on until the nest is full, which is the case of the fish I watched, in which I have been any thing from thirty to fifty eggs for it was difficult to

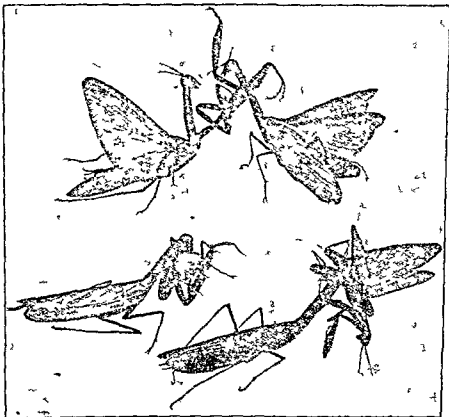
see how many were in it, as he covered them up and only left a small hole through which he could look in.

Many of the water creatures are given to the practice of eating their smaller relations. In fact it is the rule rather than the exception among those of carnivorous tastes. Miss Pitt gives as a conspicuous example the larva of the water beetle. It is a most formidable grub and preys on all it meets. It often kills and eats smaller larvae of its own species. Many of the adult insects which live in ponds are not above capturing and devouring their own offspring or if not the r own grubs—for they are generally dead before these reach an edible size—the offspring of their relations. Creatures which occasionally eat their own children are the newts. These handsome little reptiles spend the early summer months in the ponds where they mate and lay their eggs. The female carefully wraps up each egg in the fold of a blade of grass, weed or some other convenient plant under the water. It presently hatches into a little fawn colored tadpole and an old newt who is hungry has no means of distinguishing her own progeny from that of her neighbor.

Even on land some insects are no better than the aquatic ones, and among those seemingly most harmless of creatures, the caterpillars of our moths and butterflies are to be found several confirmed cannibals. This does to students of the old natural history seem almost incredible and quite unnatural. No one need be surprised that a voracious insect should occasionally make a mistake and eat its own brother, but that a vegetable feeding larva should be capable and willing in the matter of turning on its own kind and calmly devouring them seems entomologically inconsistent. The ordinary reader may be referred to any expert of to day for verification of this assertion.

True cannibalism is encountered among the female spiders.

She is in most species considerably bigger than her husband, though he is usually the handsomer being often decorated with bright colors, but he needs all the charms he can master as his life depends on making a good impression on the fair lady. The suitors find her capricious and hard to please, but



#### HAVE WE HERE THE CODE DUELLO OR THE COURTSHIP OF THE WINGED ?

There have been many explanations of the behavior of these insects as they lurk in devotional attitudes fly at each other mutilate and cripple their kind or rob their neighbors of limbs wings and fore legs

she seldom rejects them entirely she has a use for them. She eats them! —*The Current Opinion*

#### Correction of Echoes and Reverberations in Halls for Public Speaking.

The famous auditorium at the University of Illinois fulfilled the theory held by Lord Rayleigh that a large room with hard non porous walls and with few windows has a prolonged resonance and that the best chance of improvement lies in padding the walls and ceiling with sound absorbing materials. Thus the installation of hair felt in this auditorium reduced reverberation the amount of reduction being calculated in advance by arithmetical formulas. The amount of hair felt necessary to correct the reverberation was insufficient to cover all the walls and it was found that some of these unpadded surfaces still produced echoes. This fact was anticipated in part from the general considerations discussed by Rayleigh in which the possibility of reflection of sound was shown to depend on the positions of the source and receiver of sound and also upon the size and form of the wall compared with the wave length of the incident sound. These details and those which follow are taken from the bulletin of the university

giving the observations of Professors P R Watson and James M White. According to them the installation in an auditorium of considerable sound absorbing material eliminates the objectionable condition of satisfactory reverberation being wholly dependent on the sound absorbing power furnished by an audience. This means that rehearsals without an audience can be conducted satisfactorily and that a speaker addressing a small audience is not obliged to contend with a distressing reverberation.

The theoretical advantages in absorbing and breaking up sound waves when hair felt is mounted out from a wall instead of placed snugly against the surface do not appear to be so great as expected. Observers listened to sounds reflected from both types of surface and concluded that a surface having the hair felt mounted out from the wall was more efficient. The conclusions however should be checked by quantitative, instrumental measurements since the

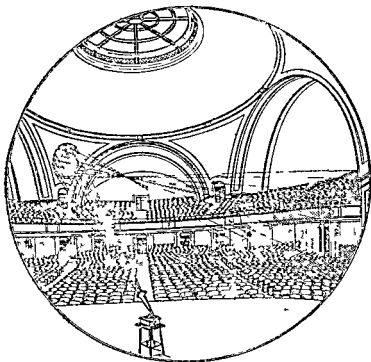
to connect an angle of a square area enclosed by four arches with a dome that rests upon the arches. This made it desirable to pad other walls in addition to those requiring padding for the single source of sound.

The effect of the organ music confirmed one conclusion set forth by Jager, namely, that the strength of the source of sound for good acoustics should be in correct proportion to the volume of the room. It appears that the Auditorium is too small for loud organ music since the sound in this case becomes unpleasantly intense. On the other hand it appears that the volume is fairly well suited for softer organ music and for a weak source of sound such as a speaker with a moderate voice. In this connection Jager contends that an auditorium is limited in its acoustical possibilities that if a room is too large, it is impossible to make it satisfactory for weak sources of sound. He points out also that the problem of correcting faulty acoustics must include a consideration of intensity of sound as well as of reverberation, that is, the variable factors at command, the volume and absorbing power of the room and the source of sound must be so proportioned as to give not only a suitable reverberation but also an acceptable intensity of sound. He discusses the limitations in obtaining this desired result.

Tests were made in various ways to determine the presence of echoes. The opinion offered by auditors that the echoes had generally disappeared was of course, the most satisfactory evidence. One test was made by talking through a megaphone toward different walls. The sound was generated inside a small house and its direction of propagation controlled by two megaphones, one being pointed toward an observer and the other toward a wall which previously gave echoes. No distinct echo could be obtained by speaking simultaneously into the two megaphones. The ticks of a metronome produced very little additional effect but when a sharp intense metallic sound was tried echoes were obtained from the unpadded walls but only faint responses from the padded walls. The intense humming

sound of an arc light backed by a parabolic reflector gave more pronounced results. It showed that the padded walls produced a marked effect in reducing the intensity of the sound.

The effect of the unpadded pendentives in the rear dome surface is instructive. The cone of incident sound received by each pendentive is small and after reflection spreads over a large area. It was anticipated that little disturbance would result. This prediction was not entirely correct since the echoes reported by auditors so far as could be ascertained, came from



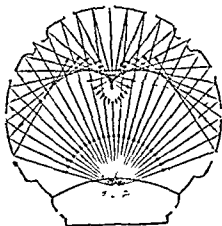
ECHOES

Diagram showing the reflection of sound from the unpadded pendentive in the rear wall. Echoes set up by this wall can occasionally be noted.

ear is inaccurate in its estimation of the comparative intensities of different sounds. It appears that the felt is more effective when mounted out from the wall but there is some question whether or not the advantages secured justify the additional expense of installation and the greater risk of fire.

The music of the pipe organ emerging in large volume from the pendentives in the dome introduced concentrations of sound different from those set up when the source of sound was on the stage. [The

idea may be defined as the vaulting that serves



PLAN

Auditorium showing concentration of sound by the walls under the balcony  
The speaker speaks from the concentrated point of the arrows on the platform

these two walls. An echo was perceptible when the speaker faced directly toward one of these pendentives so that the profile of his face was seen by an auditor seated at one side of the auditorium. The direct sound coming to the auditor was then diminished while the reflected sound was augmented, thus producing an echo.

Other unpadded walls, notably the side walls under the balcony still set up concentration of sound! Thus an observer at the point where the arrows from B and that below B meet, can hear not only the direct sound from the speaker, but also the portion that is concentrated by reflection from B. He does not hear an echo because the time interval between the direct and reflected sounds is too short to enable his ear to detect them separately. The result is much the same as if his neighbor on the side toward the wall were to say the words of the speaker in his ear at the same time that he received them from the speaker. The auditor realizes that something is peculiar about the sound but usually does not understand the cause of the trouble. An auditor at C, however, may get an echo.—*The Current Opinion*

## REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF BOOKS

### ENGLISH.

*Hungry Stones and other stories* By Sir Rabindra Nath Tagore. Translated from the original Bengali by various writers Macmillan & Co., Limited, St Martin's Street, London, 1916 3s net.

This volume contains thirteen stories. The version of *The Victory* is the author's own work. "The Hungry Stones," translated by Mr Panna Lal Basu appeared in this Review. "We crown thee King" translated by Mr Prabhat Kumar Mukerji, and "The Sabuliwallah," translated by the Sister Nivedita, also appeared in this Review. Seven of the stories have been translated by Mr C. F. Andrews with the author's help. Two have been translated by the Rev E. D. Thompson.

These thirteen fascinating stories form only a small fraction of the many which Sir Rabindranath Tagore has written. Yet in them are revealed the wide range of the author's powers, his poetic genius, his deep insight into human character, his genial humour, his pathos, and his love of children and sympathy with their fun and frolic and inexplicable moods.

'The Hungry Stones' tells of the weird fascination which a solitary marble palace built of yore by a Mussalman emperor for his pleasure and luxury, exerted upon the rash dweller therein—in what way, let the reader find out for himself by reading this magically romantic and haunting story. Each succeeding story is different in motif and interest from the one which precedes it, but they are all charming and charmingly told. Though they are translations, they do not read like such

*Sacred Tales of India.* By Dwijendranath Neogy, B.A. With illustrations by P. Ghosh Macmillan & Co., Limited, London 1916 2s net.

The Vratas or vows and ceremonies performed by the women of Bengal have each a tale tacked on to them. It is this ceremonial lore of the women of Bengal which the author has sought to place before the English reading public. The stories have been told in a simple and interesting style. The illustrations are good.

*English Critical Essays (Nineteenth Century)* Selected and edited by Edmund D. Jones, Oxford University Press Bombay 1s 3d net.

This is a very handy small volume of 610 pages, neatly printed on thin opaque paper and tastefully bound in cloth. The selections comprise critical essays by Wordsworth, Coleridge, William Blake, Lamb, Shelley, Hazlitt, John Keble, J. H. Newman, Carlyle, Leigh Hunt, Matthew Arnold, Ruskin, J. S. Mill, Bagehot, Walter Pater, Emerson, and James Russell Lowell. They are meant to illustrate English literary criticism during the 19th century. Most of them deal with general principles rather than with criticisms of individual books or authors. Students of English poetry will find the book very useful.

*The Indian Library of English Poets I William Wordsworth—Select Poems II Samuel Taylor Coleridge—Select Poems* Chosen and edited by S. G. Dunn, M. A. Oxford University Press Bombay Re 1 each.

This series is meant for Indian students. There is a well written general preface. There is separate



duction to each volume and a good, expressive portrait. There are also brief notes. The get up is neat.

The editor tells us in the general preface that "there is no slight danger that the imagination of India may be captured by the purely material aspects of Western civilization. These things strike the mind with irresistible force, while those 'household fountains' which are the real springs of national character lie hidden. We need to remember that the soul of a nation, the true ideals of its civilisation are expressed in its poetry." "For those who believe this, here is offered the material for their study."

A helpful series

R C

**I PROMOTION OF LEARNING IN INDIA** (by *Muhammadans*) 1916 14s net quarto, 260 pages With an introduction by H. Beveridge and numerous illustrations and appendices

**II PROMOTION OF LEARNING IN INDIA** (by *Early European Settlers*) 1915 4s net 8vo 160 pages With an introduction by the Venerable W. K. Firminger, Archdeacon of Calcutta. LONGMANS, GREEN & CO

Both the books are from the pen of Mr. Narendra Nath Law, M.A. B.L. P.R.S.

In these two volumes Mr. Law has performed a very useful piece of research work by bringing together all the available information on the encouragement given to learning by the Moslem rulers of India and the early European settlers. The first volume deals principally with the establishment of mosques and madrasahs and the scholarships and stipends granted to learned Mussalmans, and the second volume has to do mainly with European and Eurasian education but the Hindus have not been entirely excluded from consideration, and if a larger space has not been devoted to them it is because of the paucity of materials at the disposal of the learned author. The eight volumes of Elliot and Dowson's History of India form the principal authorities of Mr. Law in regard to the first book. The other authorities consulted are often those cited in the notes and appendices of that monumental work. Mr. Law has omitted nothing that has even a remote bearing on the subject he has specially undertaken to elucidate, and anyone desirous of referring to the state of learning prevailing in the days of Moslem rule will find everything that he requires within the pages of Mr. Law's sumptuously got up book. He begins with Mahmud of Ghazni, whose name is recalled with horror by Hindus, but who was a great patron of Muhammadan learning, rivaling Vikramaditya in fame in this respect. Piroz Shah Tughlak was another great promoter of education, and some of the Bahmani kings of the Deccan shared the glory of being liberal patrons of literature. Delhi rivalled Baghdad, Cordova and Granada as a seat of Islamic learning and Agra, Jaunpur, Hyderabad, Badaun were some other literary centres of repute. It is interesting to note as pointed out by Babu Dinabandhu Chandra Sen, that the Muhammadan rulers of Bengal, by engaging Bengali scholars for the translation of Sanskrit works into the vernacular of the country, paved the way for the elevation of Bengali to the status of a literary language. Akbar was the first Moslem Emperor to make provision for the education of Hindus, he also had the great Hindu epic translated from the Sanskrit, among the painters and musicians who flourished in his reign many were Hindus. "The history of Indian music, after the advent of the Muhammadans unfolds a chapter of co-operation and intercourse between the two

communities socially and politically." Piroz Shah was a good Sanskrit scholar and was also well versed in Persian and Arabic and was the author of many translations from Hindu sacred books. Aurangzeb ordered the destruction of Hindu schools. The last chapter contains a reference to some learned Muhammadan ladies e.g., Sultana Khatun, Gulbadan Begum (daughter of Babar), Salima Sultana (wife of Humayun), Nur Jahan Mumtaz Mahal, Jahansara Begam (daughter of Shah Jahan) and Zibunnissa Begam (daughter of Aurangzeb).

Archdeacon Firminger contributes a preface to the small volume dealing with the state of education under early British settlers. He says that during the period covered by this book "the average man [in England] maintained that ignorance is a positive blessing to the poor, and that to instruct the children of the poor is, in the long run, only to make the poor discontented with a lot which it is neither desirable nor is it possible to alter." In this country, according to him, the salary of the schoolmaster is inadequate and his prospects in his own profession are almost nil. A survey of the encouragement given by the English and German universities to the study of Sanskrit might suggest the idea that India is a part, not of the English but the German Empire. Mr. Law says that the first efforts of the company to diffuse education were prompted by a religious motive, viz., the evangelisation of Indians. In the Royal Charter granted to the company towards the end of the seventeenth century we find the following provision — "All ministers shall be obliged to learn within one year after their arrival the Portuguese language and shall apply themselves to learn the native language of the country where they shall reside, the better to enable them to instruct the gentios that shall be the servants or the slaves of the company, or of their agents in the Protestant Religion." Among the earliest Bengalis to go to a European school were six Bengali students in Mr. Kiaraunda's school (1758). In 1789 Mr. Brown conducted a boarding school for young Hindus but it had only a brief existence. There are two illustrations in this volume.

Pol.

**SHRIMAD BHAGAVATAM IN EASY ENGLISH PROSE** — A new translation according to the *Adaitis Commentaries* with notes from *Vishishtasaila and Dvaita commentaries* with the help of *Competent Scholars*. Published by Pandita T. R. Krishnacharya, Proprietor, Mathuravilas, Book Depot, Triplicane, Madras, S. E. It is published in about 12 parts of 160 pages each (Royal 8vo) and issued once in 2 months. Part I ready. Price per part: Re 1-8-0 for India Rs 2-4-0 foreign. Postal charges free.

Shrimad Bhagavatam, which alone in the absence of all the other works relating to the Supreme Soul can represent the highest advancement in spiritual side achieved by the Hindus and is an embodiment of the views found in the sacred writings from the Upanishads downwards, has not unfortunately been so much appreciated by the Western scholars as it should have been and consequently, among our English educated countrymen too who are mostly blind followers of the former in matters of their own history own literature nay, even of their own religion both ancient and modern, there are generally very few from whom that monumental work none is equal to which, we believe, in the whole range of devotional works in the world, has received any re-

verential recognition. In most cases it is undoubtedly due to not reading the book completely—from the beginning to the end, or to not understanding its contents which are difficult in various respects. Or one does not read the book with that reverence without which the reading of this class of books is of no avail. Thomas A Kempis rightly advises—"Not eloquence, but truth, is to be sought after in the Holy Scriptures, every part of which must be read with the same spirit by which it was written, and as in these and all other books, it is improvement in holiness, not pleasure in the subtlety of thought or the accuracy of the expression, that must be principally regarded we ought to read those parts that are simple and devout with the same affection and delight as those of high speculation." All the parts of the book, the book which is held in so much reverence throughout a country rightly proud of its ancient civilization of the highest order in every respect, should be studied with a calm and impartial mind turned towards the Truth—if you really want to know what it is in fact, and what the faith is which it represents, for no one can judge one's beauty by dissecting a limb from the main body or by seeing only one or other part of it. There are critics of the Bhagavata who have not read even a part of it or the very part on which he would write a hundred pages criticising it. Just the other day a boy of twenty years or so recently admitted into a Christian Missionary College in Calcutta began to criticise the *Rasalila* of Sri Krishna in a spirit which is naturally expected in discussing a non-Christian religious point from one belonging to a Christian institution—though, in reality as he himself confessed he knew nothing of it. He took the word *Rasalila* to mean nothing but a ball-dancing of the worst kind. In such a way is explained the highest devotional work of the Hindus by so-called critics of the present day. But, pray, ponder over only a few points hereof. Think, as regards the *rasalila* it was Shri Shakadeva, the renowned

कुमार-प्रवर्जित, i.e., one who became an ascetic mendicant when still a mere child, practising *ब्रह्मचर्य* through his life, and an ideal devotee of God, who expounded it in a large assembly consisting chiefly of a number of *monks* and *rishis*, to one, Parikshit who was seeking for his salvation, ascertaining his death inevitable just after a week and so was awaiting on the sacred bank of the Ganges the fatal moment, leaving every worldly thing, nay, refusing even a drop of water for drinking purpose. What can he be advised for his emancipation in such a case? Think also what is promised to be given at the very outset of the book "It is the Supreme Truth that we meditate upon" (*"सुखं परं धीमहि"*) "The thing to be known here is real which leads to bliss and roots out the three kinds of miseries" (*"विद्युः शब्दवचनं, वस्तु मित्रं तत्त्वमयो, अखण्डम्"*) "And that highest Dharma is explained here which is completely free from hypocrisy or worldly interests" (*"अधो, मोक्षनिश्चययोग परम्"*).

With these preliminary words of assurance the author has presented us his work, and we are to examine it with those words in our mind. It is far better to know a thing with our own eyes when we have it than to depend on one's report.

As we have already mentioned, the Bhagavata is

not a very easy book. So it is said "विद्यावती भगवते परीक्षा" i.e. one's erudition is tested in the Bhagavata.

It is, therefore, absolutely necessary to render it into simple English so that the English educated people who are not fortunate to know Sanskrit may not be deprived of the great treasure preserved by our forefathers in the book.

The translation under notice though not very accurate in some cases is readable and would have been far better had it been made following the line adopted in the Sacred Books of the East.

VIDHUSHAKHARA BHATTACHARYA

INTERMITTENT SPRING AT RAJAPUR by Rev. Dr. A. Steichen, Professor of Physics, St. Xavier's College, Bombay.

This is the Bulletin No. 14 of the Indian Association for the Cultivation of Science. The spring is in the Ratnagiri District, Bombay Presidency and has already been described in the Bombay Gazetteer and in the Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society. It flows at irregular intervals and for different periods, it is certainly a discharge of stored up rain water and so there must be a connection between the rainfall in the district and the flow of the spring. But from the careful record kept from 1893 it is suspected that there is one factor of importance which causes irregularities in the flow of the spring as the discharge of water in quantity and time is not correlative with those of the rainfall in the district. For the explanation of the irregularities, the author assumes that there is a siphon like structure connected with the underground reservoir constantly refilled by the rain and when the passage of water is not choked up, the flow is regular. But when the passage is choked up with some materials from time to time, and when the level of water in the reservoir has reached a sufficient height and the choking matter is removed by solution and by pressure, the flow begins and lasts for a long time and ultimately the reservoir may run empty, followed by long dry period. Here we have the explanation of the irregularities of the flow of water.

S B

CONFESSIONS AND THEIR RIGHT APPLICATIONS, by Nagina Singh B.A., Govt. Advocate, Patiala State. Printed by Khosla Bros., Lahore (No price mentioned).

The book will be a welcome addition to the lawyers' library. It is not written for him alone but as the author says in the preface—it is intended "for the use of the Bench, Bar and Police alike." In such treatises there is very little scope for originality except probably in the arrangement of the matter. The author has done his part well and has brought together under the thirteen chapters, much available information in connection with the subject. An enumeration of some of the headings under which he divides the subject will give an idea of the scope of the work. Chapter I deals with Admissions and Inculpatory Statements, Chap II with "Reasons that prompt Confessions," Ch III with "Retraction of Confessions," Ch IV with "Confessions and Suspicions of Promise, threat, inducement or torture," Ch V with "Extorting Confessions," Ch VI with "False Confessions," Ch VIII with "Police and Confessions," Ch

X with "Suggestions regarding Confessions," Ch XII with "The evidence of an accomplice"

(2) The suggestions regarding Confessions in Ch X are not the author's but are the opinions of some judges and administrators in India. There are some interesting cases collected under Ch. VI in which as the result of false confessions the accused persons were hanged or otherwise convicted while their supposed victims were alive and afterwards appeared in flesh and blood.

The author has carefully brought together the case law under each topic.

An important portion of the book is its appendices. There are seven of them and give much useful information, e.g., Appendix D contains the Despatch of the Government of India, Home Department to his Majesty's Secretary of State, dated the 24th July, 1913 regarding the subject of Confessions. Appendix C contains the rules obtaining in the various provinces regarding the recording of Confessions.

The book has besides an index of cases cited and an alphabetical index.

The book covers 317 pages and is throughout carefully printed. The get up is good and does credit to the publishers.

B. C.

**THE PSYCHOLOGY OF MUSIC**, by H. P. Krishna Rao, B.A., *Wiley Mission Press Mysore* Pages 71 Price Re 1-4-0

Comparatively little has been written of a critical or analytical kind concerning the art of music, though it needs for its just appreciation and well balanced progress the services of the well trained intellect quite as much as do the sister arts, Painting, Sculpture, and Poetry. Accordingly it is a very promising sign of the new spirit rising in Indian musical circles that Mr. H. P. Krishna Rao, B.A., should have chosen "The Psychology of Music" as the subject of his lecture to the All India Conference of Music held at Baroda, and that it received so much attention that he has felt impelled to amplify it and publish it in book form.

It opens with a clever analysis of sound language (music) as contrasted with sign language (gesture, dancing, games, etc.) and word language (speech and literature), though the term "external emotions" is not psychologically correct. The author then makes a short study of the dependence of our response to music on physiological and mental laws, such as govern reflex action, nervous susceptibility, callousness, association of ideas etc. The far reaching results of thought along these lines cause him to conclude in a strain which is an echo of Pythagorean times—

"The sound language, i.e., music, with which the baby enters the world, is to be the medium of instruction in the early part of life, as advocated by Froebel. The nervous system will thereby be regulated and it will contribute to muscular development. The sign language ought then follow in its two fold divisions of dancing as an art, and games and athletics as a science, thus making physical education a very important factor. The word language which aims at training the intellect is the last means of instruction that should be utilised. It is, therefore, of the greatest value that music should be the first subject of instruction in the educational curriculum of every country and gymnastics the next."

We quite agree and look forward to the day when the sound alphabet and rules of musical composition will be taught as early and as completely for the self-education of feeling as the word signs now are for

the expression of ideas. It will, however, entail a revolution in ordinary ideas of education.

Mr. Krishna Rao does not hesitate to find fault with the emotional values given to the various musical notes of a scale by Bharatha, Sarangadeva, and others, but the exposition of them by himself gives it to our mind also arbitrary, personal, unconvincing, and unstable. For instance, he maintains that M1 expresses self appreciation, conceit, haughtiness and self assertion. It is difficult to see his basis for these qualities. He seems to derive them through the proportional relation between each note and Sa which he postulates as peace or sleep, but which another person might quite easily consider monotony, far removed from pleasure. But this proportional relation has nothing to do with the scientific and vibrational value and effect of the notes concerned which should certainly be taken into account. As can never have the same physiological reaction as R2, though the general effect of SG2 and R2M2 may be similar. His interpretation fails also to explain the emotional effect of runs and quick passages. And finally it overlooks the fact that emotion is so entirely subjective and temperamental that the same melody may call up quite opposite emotions in different people. We think that much research must still be made on this aspect of music in conjunction with parallel studies in light, colour, smell, before any hard and fast conclusions will prove generally satisfactory.

Regarding the vexed subject of musical notation, the author is undoubtedly right in considering the Eastern systems simpler than the Western for the purely melodic character of Indian music, but for foreigners it has the grave defect of such close similarity with word signs as to cause confusion. It does not "leap to the eye" in the unmistakable manner of Western musical symbols. Also it will be found clumsy (like the Western tonic solfa) when India develops her own system of harmony as she inevitably will in the future. We tend always to forget that as Western music had its origin in the East, the same elements for expansion are still latent here, and as "truth will out", so its possibilities for new forms, new combinations—even the dreaded "harmony"—will eventually fulfil themselves in national idiom. Mr. Krishna Rao displays the utmost ignorance of Western music when he contrasts harmony with melody, as if harmony were a thing in itself. It is never thought of apart from melody, it is not the opponent of the latter, but its handmaid, its upholder. Harmony never supersedes melody but reinforces and supplements it, portraying its emotional settings, for only when we reach the highest religious devotional emotion do we get simplicity of emotions, other feelings are linked and interlinked with agreeable and disagreeable causes and reactions which call for portrayal to express the picture truly. The Western musician who can see only poverty of musical idea and expression in non harmonised melody and who always cries out for many simultaneous sounds is only equalled by the dogmatic narrow, and prejudiced Eastern who thinks all harmonised melody merely confusion and discord. Both are exaggerations. For the Art of Music accepts both methods as suitable to quite dissimilar purposes, and uses them accordingly. The very nature of sound is a vindication of simultaneous consonant notes as every musical sound produced at the same time emits its overtones which can be definitely heard by well trained ears. Thus warfare against harmony is in reality warfare against nature's laws, though easily understood by a student of philosophy who sees in it only another

fact of the eternal war between those who seek for liberation through contemplation, individual ecstasy, and detachment from objects,—whose musical Path is unaccompanied and not harmonised melody—and those whose temperament includes all objects, seeing Brahman in and through all finding joy in service and co-operation, whose musical Path to the Divine is through harmonised melody, with its combinations of singers and instruments and its expansion of the volume, the depth the variety of sound its increased magnetic effect and its widely extended inspiration. It is indeed a question of temperament, and because there are people of both temperaments in both the East and the West, the two types of musical expression will have to be recognised, appreciated and developed. Thus the *Higher Psychology of Music* and the synthesis of the two systems the author fails to perceive.

In the section devoted to Musical History and General Observations, severely critical and monocastic remarks are made re Indian musical traditions regarding the supernatural powers of ragas and their limitation to certain times and seasons, and their specialised emotions. The attitude is that of a musical free thinking materialist, untroubled by belief in Gandharvas or ancient authorities. Unconsciously to himself he has assimilated the Western attitude to music and applies it to all the subjects treated of in this section. He has some very useful remarks calling for the better education of Indian musicians and for the raising of their status which compares so unfavourably with that of their Western fellow artists. While the writer discusses Eastern music he is interesting and instructive, but he spoils his work almost every time he alludes to Western music as he is woefully misinformed about it. His premises are so palpably wrong that his conclusions become simply absurd—as for instance when he says there will be “a hundred or two violins three or four hundred flutes and as many will be piccolos” in an orchestra, (the actual ratio is four flutes and two piccolos to an orchestra of one hundred players), or that “the Indian sings through the nose”, while the Western screams in the throat,” the latter in reality never failing to use the nose as well as the throat (as is proved from his inability to sing when he has a cold in his head) and his choice of the harmonium as a very useful (Western) instrument to begin with when it is the most despised of Western instruments used only by the poorest street singers, and is the very last Western instrument Indians should use.

We sincerely hope the author will revise the portions dealing with Western music as it is a pity that such false ideas should be spread. The beauty and value of Eastern music is not enhanced by the vilification of another system, through that “little knowledge” which is “a dangerous thing.” It would be fatal for India to try to import Western methods into her music in unassimilated form—as she originally imported Austrian made harmoniums—but in contact with them causes Indians to develop the wider resources of their own musical material. It will be as great a blessing as our author considers the Mahamadan influence to have been.

M E C

## SANSKRIT

*DHARMAKUTAM, VOL I, BALAKANDA,—by Tryambakarya Makhi, Srirangam Shri Vanivilas Press Pp 387, Price Rs 2*

Mr T. K. Balasubrahmanyam, the Proprietor, of

the Vanivilas Press, Srirangam, and an energetic worker in the field of Sanskrit publication deserves our hearty thanks for his bringing out for the first time the book under notice which has been printed from only one manuscript found in the Tanjore Palace Library. In this book the Ramayana of Valmiki has been explained by the author (1711 A D) in a light quite different from that adopted by the commentators who hold that it is Shiva or Vishnu in reality that has been treated of in the Ramayana the purport of the book being nothing but that supreme God The author, however, is of opinion that *Dharma* is described at considerable length in the *Dharmasutra* but no examples of a strict follower of it is to be found there it has however been supplied by Valmiki in Ramayana depicting in the form of a Kavya the life of Rama who is believed as an incarnation of *Dharma* itself. The author supports this view by explaining the main events and narrations of each canto of the Ramayana on the authority of the *Dharmasutras* quoted profusely and discussed thoroughly sometimes to a great extent. The complete work written in simple Sanskrit is divided into six volumes the present one being the first. We are very glad to read it and are of opinion that every lover of the Ramayana should go through the pages of it.

The get up is as it should be or a publication of the Vanivilas Press which excels the famous Nirnaya Sargada Press of Bombay in executing fine printing of Sanskrit books but there are several defects as regards the editing, the greatest of them being not adding an index of subjects. Quotations should have been verified and the figures of references denoting books, chapters, etc., supplied.

*YOGASUTRA VAIDIKA VRTTI—by Panditvani Hari Prasad Panditvan of Haridwar Pp 157 Price 12 Annas To be had of (1) Pandit Divakar Shukla Gurukul, Brundavan, Mathura, (2) La's Aksharany, Pensioner, Dehra Dun, (3) Pandit Devadatta Sharma, Shakti Almi Duraoji, Lahore*

From what we have seen in the book under notice we have no hesitation in saying that Panditvani Hari Prasad, an author of several philosophical works, is a fit person who can rightly undertake to write again a new *vrtti* or short commentary on the *Yogasutras* of Patanjali when there are already several of them. The new *vrtti* sets forth the import of each sutra in simple Sanskrit explaining every word of it according chiefly to Vyasa and Vachaspathi Mishra. It does not speak much nor leaves anything to be desired by the beginners. The labour of the author will undoubtedly be recompensed.

VIDHUSHREKHARA BHATTACHARYA

## HINDI.

*DURGADAS by Pandit Rupnarayan Pandeya Published by the Hindi Grantharatnakar Office Hirdiwar P O Gurgaon, Bombay Crown 8vo pp 195 Price Cloth bound edition Re 1 4 0, ordinary ed As 14*

The scarcity of good dramas in Hindi must make this publication very welcome. The indomitable courage and patience of Durgadas have been depicted in the book with consummate art. The novel is certainly very attractive though some improvement could have been made in it by the substitution of verses here and there in place of prose. As it is, only songs and these also very few in number, are in verse. The book is a translation from the Bengali, but has

the merit of reading like an original publication. The characters in the drama have been very admirably depicted, that of Aurangzeb in his various aspects being a masterpiece. There is no wide divergence from history and the novel can be held out to be a model one in Hindi. Some of the scenes are really stirring. The get up of the book leaves nothing to be desired.

**MANKUMAR** by B. Braj Chandra and published by Mesrs. Kellarnath Pathak & Sons, Raja Darwaza Benares City. Demy 8vo pp 334+82+5 Price—Rs 2.

This is a voluminous novel and at the same time very interesting. The heroine of the novel has passed through many vicissitudes but there is not much of unnatural romance in the book. The plot is very dexterously laid and the novel is enchanting. But there is the stamp in the book of the old method of novel writing in vogue in the eighties. This is also a translation from a Bengali novel of the same name written by an erudite Bengali writer. The novel has a historical basis and depicts graphically the mismanagement of Oudh under the Nawabs. Much pains have been taken with the book and the valuable blocks reproduced in the book have been procured after much endeavour. There is a historical appendix at the end of the book not generally found in novels and this no doubt increases the value of the book. We must say that the publication is a fitting memorial to Bharatendu Harishchandra in whose memory it has been written. The book is nicely printed in rather bold type.

**RAJARSHI BHISHM PITAMAH** by Mr. Satyadeva, Published by the Manager Satyagranthamala Office, Prayag (Allahabad). Crown 8vo pp 66 Price—As 4. Second Edition.

With his usual eloquence and command of language the author has written on this Pauranic hero. What ever the author touches is given new life to by him. That the book has passed through the second edition, speaks much for it. We reviewed the first edition of the book and commend the book specially to the juvenile Hindi readers.

**FRANCE KE RAJYAKRANTI KA-ITIHAS** by Mr. Pyarilal Gupta. Published by Mr. Lakshmidhar Vajpayi at the Tarun Bharat Granthavali Office, Cawnpur. Crown 8vo pp 228 Price—As 15.

This is a carefully written book on the history of the French Revolution being based on the Marathi book of the same name. The Marathi book has been recommended by the Text Book Committee of Bombay. The description is orderly and the language is chaste and simple. The book will no doubt prove an addition to the historical literature in Hindi and may be perused with profit by those who cannot make use of English.

**JIVAN VIJAY** by Mr. Ganga Prasad and to be had of Lal Indralal Bookseller and Stationer, Lal Bazar, Almora. Crown 8vo pp 111 Price As 4.

This is a translation of the English book 'Life Triumphant' which has made some name. The translation has been careful and honest, and the language is good. The book is one on moral culture and will be found very useful by students. The author has discussed his subject under apt headings. We wish the publication the success it deserves.

**DAKSHIN AFRICA KAI SATYAGRAH KA ITIHAS** by Mr. Bhawani Dyal. Published by Mr. Dwarka Prasad Saraiya, Adhyaksha, Saraswati Sadan, Camp, Indore (C I). Demy quarto, pp 101 Price—Rs 1-8-0.

This is a very well written book on the passive resistance movement in South Africa in which Mr. Gandhi took so conspicuous a part. Suffice it to say that the book contains all that a Hindi reader of any education would like to know on the subject. The whole history of the movement from start to finish has been given. The speciality of the book is that the very large number of blocks given in the book are no less useful than the description to which they give point. These blocks range from a photo of the distressed in South Africa to those of a number of passive resisters and the saviours of the Indians in South Africa. Europeans and Indians. The language and method of description are all that could be desired and the whole appearance of the book is attractive.

**ANNAPURNA KA MANDIR**, translated by Pandit Ishwari Prasad Sharma and published by the Hindi Grantha Ratnakar Office, Hivradgaon, P. O. Girgaon, Bombay. Crown 8vo pp 185 Price—As 12. Cloth-bound. Rs 2-0-0.

This is an excellent novel and though not dealing strictly with social subject only may be called a social novel. The plot is very dexterously laid and besides the merit of being a very good story the novel may be commended on the basis that the plot is intricate and at the same time interesting. Some of the social evils have been skilfully laid bare and the novel delineates features of social life which are not altogether rare. On the whole the book will amply repay perusal, there is a marked novelty in the novel which cannot fail to attract any reader. The get up of the book sustains the reputation of the publishers.

**BANKIM NIBANDHAWALI** translated by Pandit Rooprayan Pandey and published by the aforesaid Bombay publishers. Crown 8vo pp 164 Price—As 12. Cloth bound. Rs 1-0-0.

This collection of some of Bankim Babu's essays translated into Hindi will enable the Hindi readers to get an insight into the marvellous command over ideas and language which the great author had. Whatever subject he has touched he has given life to, or we may rather say that he has not touched any subject which he could not entertain. To many the collection will be more interesting than a novel, the so-called essays read like stories. The author's exquisite humour is not missed on any page. Two of the subjects especially struck us. 'Maigh' and 'Pashpa Natak'. The perusal of the collection will undoubtedly give both instruction and real pleasure. The translation is very nice and the get up is excellent.

**ASTIK PRAKASH** written and published by Mr. Kunwar Sanu Sharma Hanuman Gali Hathras (Aligarh). Crown 8vo pp 35 Price—not mentioned.

This contains the author's views about God, soul and true knowledge. He has an inclination towards the Jain religion. The treatment of the subject may be said to be masterly. The book will be published in several parts and this part may be considered to be of the nature of an introduction, which is however, very instructive.

## Erratum

On page 642 of the December No. of the Modern Review and in the line 2 under "Reviews of Hindi Books" for 'Published by D.' read 'Published by Messrs Haridas & Co., 201, Harrison Road Calcutta.' M S

## GUJARATI

JAGA VIKHYAT PURUSHO PART IV By Vrajlal Jaisrji Thakkar published by the Society for Encouragement of Cheap Literature Printed at the Diamond Jubilee Printing Press, Ahmedabad Cloth bound pp 388 Price—Rs 0-15-0 (1916)

This part of the Eminent Men of the World series contains the lives of Gladstone and Bismarck—the one a Brahmin and the other a Rajput in life and thought, as noticed by the writer of the Introduction. The life of Gladstone is a translation of the Marathi writer—Vinayak Kondekar Oze's work and that of Bismarck of the Hindi work of Indra Vedalankar, the son of Mahatma Munshiram the founder of the Khandari Gurukul Both are well translated

DANSININ PRADHYAY SHILP GAYAN By Amrat Lal Sunjari Padhyay, printed at the Akhtar-e-Sodagar Press, Bombay Paper Cover, pp 44 Unpriced (1916)

We hold in great esteem whatever comes from the pen of Mr Padhyay and that for two reasons his style is simple and incisive, while his thoughts are practical, he tells you what he has to tell directly, there is no beating about the bush. Judged by this standard we find this book to be one of his weakest attempts. The title of the book is 'What did the Lord (Krishna) sing in his flute?' In trying to unravel this tangle he leaves the terra firma of his own experience of the world a course which he always follows and tries to soar into the regions of imagination. Sitting by the shores of the sea, near Chorwad, on the Kathiawad Coast, he has while meditating on the problem as to what did the divine flute mean by attracting all nature animate and inanimate to its melody and making it standstill evolved an explanation which he has set out in a series of rhapsodies the sum total of which is that the flute sang the creed of Love or प्रेमपद ।

K M J

## URDU.

THE AL QURAN by Rev Ahmad Shah missionary, S P Cr Hamirpur (U P) Royal 8vo pp 508

This is a faithful translation in Urdu of the Koran. We have nothing to say against the language of the publication it is simple—such as is generally used in the translations published by the missionaries. Indeed the language could not be better in view of the fact that the book is a translation. The footnotes in the book are very useful and will duly clear the intricate points. The arrangement is excellent and the printing nice

DULHIN by Mr Ishwar Das Nand and to be had of Mr Attar Chand Kapur & Sons Booksellers, Lahore Crown 8vo pp 32 Price—As 3

This drama in one Act aims at removing the abuses in the dramatic literature and the stage in India. We must say that the author has met with considerable success. The drama under review has been directed

against a social custom—the selling of daughters in marriage. It is in the Panjabi dialect and is in the Urdu script.

HARARAT compiled by Mr Mehdi Hussain Nasri, M A Assistant Professor of Arabic and Persian, Muir Central College Allahabad Crown 8vo pp 94 Price—As 4

This is a science manual on 'heat' meant for elementary students. We commend the clear style in which the subject has been treated. The neat blocks in the book increase its value. It is a translation of a Hindi book published with the object of making scientific knowledge popular. The subject of heat has been treated in all its aspects with admirable perspicuity. The book will be found by the secondary school student to be a valuable compendium to his text book on Science. The get up of the book is excellent

M S

## MARATHI

ATHODDHAR or ELEVATION OF ONE'S OWN PEOPLE by Mr Nagesh Vasudeo Gunaji B A, LLB Publisher—Manoranjik Granthaprasarak Mandal, Bombay Crown 16mo pp 5 & 24 & 252 Price—Rs 1

MAJHEN VYAPAK SHIKSHANA or MY LARGER EDUCATION by the same author Published by the author at Belgaum Crown 16mo pp 282 Price Rs 1 4 0

The first of these two books is a translation of the late Dr Booker T. Washington's 'Up from Slavery,' and the second of the same author's 'My Larger Education' and the two together form the autobiography of that great philanthropist and Negro patriot who made his mark in the history of the world by achieving phenomenal success in elevating his own Negro race mentally, morally and materially. These two books are exactly such as are greatly required by India at present. For it is an undoubted fact that India's path of salvation lies through the diffusion of education among the masses and to bring about this end men like Booker T. Washington are a supreme need of India. The work of translation has been a labour of love with Mr Gunaji who has spared no pains to make his translations thoroughly intelligible and attractive. The wide spread illiteracy among Negroes their moral and social degradation the innumerable difficulties that beset the path of reformers like Washington and the supreme effort required to overcome them, all these have their parallels in India. Mr Gunaji has carefully pointed them out and has suggested lessons to be learnt from the main incidents in Washington's life. The careful reading of these books do not fail to impress one with the utter worthlessness of the stuff that goes by the dignified name of education in India at present and the necessity of founding such institutions as the Tuskegee Institute and the Hampton Institute. Really the books are very inspiring and Marathi readers ought to feel thankful to Mr Gunaji for them. Yet I should like to offer one word of suggestion to writers who would make additions to Marathi literature with translations. Marathi readers are but few and bulky volumes consisting of pages after pages of uninviting details in the lives of great men are not calculated to add zest to their love of reading. The art of condensation therefore becomes indispensable and promising

writers will do well to cultivate it. Had condensation been attempted in the writing of the books under review they would surely have appealed to a wider circle of readers.

The printing, illustrations, and the general get up of the books leave nothing to be desired.

V. G. Apte

### TAMIL.

*The sacred Kural, being the maxims of Tiruvalluvar, Singer, Saint and Sage, Translated into English by V. V. S. Aiyar To be had of the author Mr. V. V. S. Aiyar, 89 Dharmaraja Koil Street, Pondichery, India Price Rs 2 12 0 By V. P. P. Rs 2 15 0*

We return our hearty thanks to Mr. Aiyar for this truly valuable work. Many renderings there have been of the Sacred Kural into English and other languages of Europe. But none, as far as we are aware, is so well calculated to familiarize to the modern world this famous classic of Tamil Literature. The former translations to be sure have all the merit of being eminently scholarly, but, on that very account perhaps, have proved anything but interesting reading to the ordinary lover of books. Dr. Pope's version, assuredly, is a clear improvement upon its predecessors. Even that however, with all its merits, must be admitted to be stilted and artificial in many places, sometimes also positively in correct and misleading. This is almost inevitable in the case of any one who attempts to translate from a foreign language which he has learnt as such. The ideal translation, of course, would be that made by the original author himself. The *Gitanjali* is a well known instance in point. Such an ideal, obviously, can seldom be realized in practice. We have therefore to fall back upon the next best, where the translator is familiar with the language, and the original as his mother tongue, besides being otherwise properly qualified for his task. The present edition is such.

Mr. Aiyar possesses very special qualifications for interpreting this ancient Tamil text into the most progressive language of our time. Himself one of the finest products of our Universities, with as intimate a knowledge of English and French and Latin Literatures as of his own mother tongue and of Sanskrit, his work everywhere shows evident traces of rare intellectual gifts chastened by genial and fruitful culture. This is high praise indeed; but all the same is none too high for the merits of the book, as anybody can see for himself even by a *casual glance through the translation*. The reader will be specially struck with the ease of strength displayed in the use of that most difficult and resourceful instrument, the English prose of the Authorised Version. It is probably not the least among the merits of the translation that the translator, with keen insight and sure judgment, has chosen the prose of the Authorised Version as the most adequate medium of expression for all the varied thoughts and moods of such a work as the sacred Kural. And the Tamil people may well be congratulated on the circumstance that this great master piece of their Literature, the most distinctly original and doubtless the most characteristic specimen of their genius should be introduced to the English speaking world under such excellent auspices.

Of the immortal author of this ancient work little is known, at any rate, little that is historically

certain. Beautiful legends have grown round his name and his admiring countrymen, of whatever caste or creed, have claimed him for their own. His obscure birth near modern Madras his humble and strenuous life as a weaver, his great work, the jealousy of the contemporary poets, the struggle and the final verdict, his uniform humility, and above all the singular accord between his life and his teaching form one of the most touching stories in the literary annals of any race. We cannot say how far they are true; we only know that they must be true in spirit, if not in fact. For these legends apart, from out of the work itself, rises the figure of Tiruvalluvar, calm, sublime, a great soul, a wise soul, from whom kind Nature had hid nothing, speaking from the heart of Being, an Oracle for all time. A perfect embodiment of plain living and high thinking, he made, if any made, the nearest approach to the Master in whom he had taken refuge. A close examination of the introductory chapters I-IV as well as the general tone and certain special teachings of the Kural will show that our author was a Buddhist rather than a Jain.

The poem consists of 133 chapters of 10 couplets each thus making 1330 couplets in all. This couplet of four and three feet apparently peculiar to this work, from which indeed the very name of the work is derived, is admirably suited to secure at once brevity of thought and beauty of form. For this double purpose, it has obvious advantages both over the single lines of the popular poetess Auvai and the longer stanzas of the other writers. The work is divided into three parts entitled Duty or Righteousness (Dharma), Wealth (Artha) and Love (Kama), a division for which the poet is evidently indebted to Sanskrit writers on the so-called *Purusharthas* (the ends of man). Though this division itself is taken from Sanskrit, the use to which the author puts it is all his own. No similar work is found in Sanskrit, nor has any attempt been made before or after to treat under these heads the topics herein dealt with.

The range of the work is as wide as human nature itself. From the lofty exposition of wise statesmanship to the eternal wailing of the human spirit in darkness and in death, the pomp and circumstance of war and the sweet strains of mercy dropping as gentle rain from heaven the quiet calm on the peaks of wisdom and the struggle on the plains below, friendship and love and the deep joy of life with the mirth and laughter of fair women and of happy children, all have a place in that unique work. This astonishing range is coupled with an insight and a power equally astonishing. Whatever the subject-matter way to be it bears on its face the indelible mark of a mastermind. Take the following, which are as good as any others:

'The Plate is sweet and the guster dulcet so say they who have not heard the babbling speech of their little ones' Ibid, stanza 60

'Great is the joy of the mother when a man child is born unto her, but greater far is her delight when she heareth him called worthy' Ibid, S 69

'Evil and good come unto all; but an upright heart is the glory of the wise' Ibid, S 115.

'The joy of revenge lasteth but a day, but the glory of him who forgiveth endureth for ever' Ibid S 156.

'How shall a man punish them that have injured him? Let him do them a good turn and make them ashamed of themselves' Ibid S 314

'Whatever thing a man hath renounced from the grief arising from that thing hath he liberated himself.' Ibid, S 311

"When I look at her, she looketh at the ground,  
but when I look away, she looketh on me and softly  
smileth"

Ibid, S 1094

"Bless thee, O moon, if thou canst shine like the  
face of this lovely one, I shall love thee in very truth"

Ibid, S 1118.

"How great is the love between the body and the  
soul" Even so great is my love for this artless one"

Ibid S 1122

"The cruel one who pitieth me not while I am  
awake, why doth he haunt me in my dreams?"

Ibid, S 1217

These must suffice And the whole is in that strain  
For this range and for this power, where shall we  
look for a parallel?"

S V SUBRAHMANYA AYYAR

## THE INDUSTRIAL SITUATION

BY THE HON'BLE DR NILRATAN SIRCAR, M A, M D

THE present industrial situation is one which calls for prompt action on the part of both the people and the Government. The question of India appropriating to herself some of the fields of industry covered so far by the industrial enterprise of Germany, as well as that of utilising the favourable economic condition and the vast resources of raw material of India for industrial development generally, cannot be satisfactorily solved by unaided private enterprise alone. It calls not only for the maximum effort on the part of the people, but also for the closest co-operation between the people and the Government,—involving wherever necessary, the use of Governmental organization and finance, as well as opportune legislative action. This should be done with necessary circumspection, and the lines of such co-operation and the precautions in the use of reserve powers of the State in aid of industry should be carefully thought out.

While such is the condition generally, there is in my mind an important distinction regarding industry, particularly on this side of India. There are enterprises started by Indians that are struggling on their way as best as they can. There are also enterprises begun by European initiative and conducted by European organisation in which there is not visible any lack of capital or any general shortcomings regarding expert knowledge and management. I am interested primarily in the concerns started and run by Indians and I shall attempt below to describe those difficulties which beset them. I also believe that the main object of the Industrial Commission is to find scope for the

"Development of the Resources of India" through these struggling industries that are at the present time mostly in need of help and advice.

There is available here, labour sufficient in quantity, cheap and teachable and capable of being more and more efficient under economic pressure. The overseers and supervisors are also available, as also are, in some industries, even the trained scientific experts who require only business experience and knowledge of local materials and conditions to become competent guides.

The raw materials are also there, lying unutilised or exported unworked to foreign countries, and improvement in mining and agriculture will supply whatever finer staples or improved material may be required for successful competition. Private capital, though insufficient, is not entirely wanting, but is shy and cannot be easily attracted from safe and profitable investments in land towards new ventures without some degree of encouragement. No doubt in Bengal we are somewhat lacking in business ability and instinct, but it is only after many costly failures, much trial and error that a people can expect to have in their midst 'captains of industry'—*entrepreneurs*—able to create favourable conditions for commanding success. The crying evil in this as well as in other fields, is that the people are without the power of initiative, and without the power of joint action and organisation. It, therefore, behoves the Government, in order to focus all these favourable conditions towards industrial progress, to supply the organising power which in such circumstances is



even more effective than labour power and power of machinery

For success in industry it is necessary that there should be a simultaneous combination of certain conditions viz —

(1) Sufficient capital with elastic banking for its proper distribution and where needed

(2) Expert technical knowledge

(3) Commercial efficiency and knowledge of modern business methods to ensure this

(4) Sufficient staying power and other conditions to enable industrialists to resist external competition

(5) Skilled and efficient labour

(6) Transport facilities by land and water should be sufficient to meet trade demands and cheap

(7) Favourable market internal and foreign, secured through industrial and commercial bureaux and other agencies as well as through protective tariffs and export bounties and other facilities

(8) Location of industries in favourable sites as regards raw materials market, labour supply and subsidiary industry, etc

(9) Supply of suitable and up to date machinery and raw materials etc

(10) Plentiful supply of raw materials accessories and chemicals

(11) Favourable climate and soil conditions

(12) Development among the people of group consciousness and of the capacity to act collectively

Hitherto industries have from time to time been started here, but not always with a due regard to a co ordination of all the necessary factors involved. Technical education has been in some lines provided for, in the absence of capital and labour organisation and factories have been started in some cases without requisite amount of capital or provision of experts

Further the conditions of success are getting harder and harder every day, and it is to be apprehended that after the war the difficulties arising from foreign competition will become much greater and almost insuperable unless timely steps are taken to prevent them

Amongst others we in Bengal labour under the following disadvantages —

(1) Our greatest drawback is the absence of enough capital at the right time and place. There is some amount of capital

in the possession of upper and middle classes, but it is not easily available on account of the strong inducement offered by safe and profitable investments (direct and indirect) in permanently settled land or real property, and the want of confidence in our business capacity

(2) The next drawback consists in the want of expert technical knowledge in some cases and of the capacity for business organisation generally

(3) The absence of cheap and full transport facilities by land and water is also crippling some of our industrial concerns, in comparison with those in other countries

(4) Further, our industries are labouring under unaided and helpless competition with tariff protected subsidised and already flourishing industries of other countries, like Japan Germany and Austro Hungary the United States of America and some of the Colonies of the British Empire

(5) I am not satisfied that everything has been done by the Government to secure for us favourable markets both in reference to our raw materials and manufacture. There is no independent Consular service for India, and the Indian merchant — meaning a *born Indian* — is generally very ill informed regarding everything outside his inherited routine business. Nor have the Government helped industry to secure proper marketing by encouraging marketing organisations and associations of Indian merchants. They have seen with equanimity instead of resorting to interference, the destruction of much of the advantages of favourable market for Indian manufacturers by the disastrous incidence of Railway rates on their goods

Of all the ways in which the Government can render material help to the growth of new industries in this country and particularly in this province the most fruitful and far reaching would be the supply of capital on easy terms on reasonable security. As regards these it may be noted that there are important industries for example, dye stuffs, glass wares, etc for which we have most of the important raw materials but which under the present conditions of competition require larger capital than private individuals here are in a position to invest, and joint stock companies as yet do not command sufficient credit to raise the money

There are several ways in which Government may help in this matter. Thus —

(1) Government may start pioneer factories in some of these lines in order to give a practical demonstration (to enterprising industrialists who may be associated with the management of the industry) of their earning capacity as well as of processes and methods leading to success and may afterwards cautiously and very gradually make them over to some such associated party by sale, or

if necessary Government may entrust the capital after the transfer to private parties by way of long term of loans, and

if a State department is not conceived to be the best agency for lending out on industrial security, then it must be done through industrial banks lending out on such securities as industrialists can furnish. Such banks must supply the necessary money not only for meeting the requirements for ordinary working—(the working capital)—and for profit increasing extensions from time to time but also that for financing and purchase of machinery at the start.

It is a matter of common knowledge that in France and in Japan State Banks were originally founded with the objects, amongst others, of assisting Industry and Agriculture by supplying the capital at a moderate charge to farmers and manufacturers on a reasonable security. For some time in India the project of a Central State Bank has been in the air, but nothing had been done in this direction as yet. The State Bank should be established in India not only with the object of *carrying on currency operations but also* of supplying through Industrial and Agricultural Banks to the Industry and Agriculture of the country, the use of capital on reasonable security.

(2) Government should also provide for the training (in Technical Institutions in India, as well as abroad) of the requisite number of technical experts for our present and future industries in various lines, and should also impart to our people training in business organisation through Commercial Colleges supplemented, wherever possible by starting pioneer factories in certain selected industries.

(3) Facilities for transport are necessary in much larger degree than are

granted by existing Railway administration. Whatever may be decided regarding the policy of the State working the Railways in India, there can be no doubt that the control over rates should be assumed and vigorously exercised by the Government in public interest. There should be concession rates for Raw Material and Machinery.

As far as possible in those provinces where conditions are favourable, water ways should be opened in order to provide for trade, cheap and easy transport.

(4) It is however, obvious that no amount of activity by the Government in the direction indicated above will in itself secure progress and success for our nascent industries for a considerable period of time at least unless they are secured against dumping invasions from old and aggressive industrial rivals. The only effective method of securing reasonable conditions of success for industry growing under numerous disadvantages seems to be guarding behind tariff walls. The various difficulties regarding tariff suggested by advocates of the present *laissez faire* system do not annihilate the need, under special conditions, of this form of State interference with private enterprise, but only argue the desirability of extreme caution. And the fact that in any determination of the tariff problem political considerations are involved, would only affect the details of the tariff schedule as it would affect enemy countries, other countries, British Colonies and the United Kingdom. But a measure in the demand of which Indian public opinion is apparently very insistent and unanimous cannot be long put off. It is to be feared that there will be a tendency in the public mind in India to undervalue such active steps for the encouragement of Industry as the Government may take, at the close of this inquiry, so long as the State has not shown courage to face and to find a statesmanlike solution of protective tariffs.

I may mention that the same opinion is shared by many concerned in British industries as will appear from the report of the Advisory Committee to the Board of Trade on Commercial Intelligence recently published in the papers.

#### CAPITAL

(a) It is to be hoped that some portion of the large incomes along with unearned

increments derived by the land owning classes from land, under the existing land revenue system, should be invested in industrial concerns particularly in such industries as would lead to the improvement of land or to improving the raw produces from land, thus raising the price of the produce and consequently the rental value of the land. This would expedite an improvement in the condition of the cultivators, and all these measures and the use of their savings for productive purposes would in the long run increase greatly the wealth and prosperity of the landed classes themselves.

The Government may easily encourage the due discharge of such legitimate responsibility by the distribution of titles and honours. They may provide such machinery through the Director of Industries or through industrial banks as would tap these savings without putting too severe a strain on either the intelligence or the patriotism of the land owning classes.

(b) The savings of the middle classes including those in the Government and private service, and the professional classes, may be drawn towards industries by the Government sympathetically co-operating in one or other of the ways mentioned below, which will inevitably create in the public mind the requisite confidence in our industrial concerns.

(c) The savings of the cultivating and the labouring classes in Bengal except in the jute producing districts are slender as the bulk of them are living on the margin of poverty, and even in the jute districts are mostly in the grip of grabbing usurers. But such as they are they can be utilised for industrial purposes by means of co-operative societies particularly those whose object is production as well as sale and purchase.

(d) But the amount of capital thus available from all these sources may not be enough for some time for developing all the resources in raw materials labour and natural advantages in the province. For this reason indigenous industries must look to such additional capital as can, without any undue risk, be placed at their disposal by the Government. Further drafts must be made on other provinces of India and on Great Britain. It is gratifying to find that the savings of British classes in India are available for new

ventures at present. We may hope that even when the fields yielding high speculative profits are covered up—a stage which we may regard as having been already reached—the sources will not dry up.

Further, to anticipate at this place part of the answer to the question of Government aid to Industry it must be said that with Great Britain unable to provide us with cheap capital on favourable terms as in the past we shall be thrown on our own in this country. And even after the mobilisation of available capital from the sources indicated above there will be considerable deficit in order to cope with the needs of industrial progress for a generation or two. In what manner the Government can help is a larger problem of finance but in my humble opinion, some part at least of the large non tax revenue, from commercial undertaking which the Government is getting should be laid aside year by year for helping industry by the way of capital. Whether such money should be lent out directly or through Industrial Banks is a question merely of machinery. But the need of appropriating a part of the sum (the payment of which is not in the nature of a great burden) for this purpose is imperative.

#### FORMS OF GOVERNMENT HELPS

(1) I am against money grants-in aid except under very special circumstances (e.g., for effecting improvements in processes the benefit of which may, in due course be shared, by the public). Government action in this direction however careful they may have been, is likely to give rise to criticism in India.

(2) Bounties and subsidies are necessary at times in order to provide against dumping and other nefarious devices by foreigners. Such assistance may also be particularly necessary in developing the export trade as for instance in the case of Bengal silk, where the industry is struggling.

(3) Guaranteed dividends for a limited period would be one of the suitable forms of aid to new organisations. Such help by creating public confidence would facilitate the influence of capital. This form of help is particularly necessary in those industries in which a large capital is required, and which (on account of difficulty of market or such difficulties as the Government alone can solve) no private

industrialists are likely to venture. There may also be cases suitable for this form of assistance, in the hand-loom industry and other handicrafts where private agencies would feel diffident to start on account of a general want of confidence in the prospects, though the products are so useful and artistic. In many cases Government will not have to pay anything but any sum actually paid by Government should be eventually recovered in easy instalments.

(4) In a province like Bengal, short as well as long time loans of public money to industrial concerns are a necessity. Such loans should be made repayable by instalments. Such loans should be ordinarily negotiated through Industrial Departments of State Banks when started or State Aided Industrial Banks on favourable inspection reports by Government Experts.

(5) Machinery should be supplied on the hire-purchase system to cottage industries as well as to factory industries. In the case of cottage industries there should be demonstrations of the use of tools and appliances. In the case of factory industries such machinery should be purchased only on the report of experts testifying as to their efficiency and up-to-date character as well as their suitability for Indian conditions and for the raw materials available in the locality.

(6) Government should 'subscribe' a portion of the share capital in case of new industries whose success, according to expert report, is not doubtful, but which the Government is not prepared to start as pioneers. In such cases there should be Government representatives on the Directorate.

(7) Government should guarantee the purchase of the product of new industries for a limited period, whenever the industries produce anything required by them in the way of stores, in any of their departments or in the Railways. This will increase the staying power of the industries against competition. The price of the products may either be the market price at the time of purchase or may be calculated on the cost of production.

In any case there should not be any Government control apart from inspection and auditing of accounts.

#### PIONEERING INDUSTRIES.

I would suggest that the following

industries should be pioneered by the Government.

#### (1) As key industries—

(a) Alkali (caustic soda, soda ash).

(b) Coal distillation and production of some ordinary coal-tar products, such as carbolic acid, creosote, naphtholin, toluene, benzine, aniline and, if possible, some coal-tar dyes.

(c) Chrome salts.

(d) Tanning extracts.

(e) Non combustible celluloids.

#### (2) As independent industries—

(a) Sugar refining (from date palm).

(b) Glass.

(3) A model mechanical and electrical workshop for making and repairing machinery.

Most of the conditions for developing these industries are favourable in Bengal. But most of them require large capital, and, highly experienced experts. Private enterprise is not likely to start them soon, unless profit becomes certain. When successful from a business point of view they may be gradually and with usual precautions, made over to private parties. The most important precaution being, that there should be an intermediate stage at which those who aspire to take over the industry may acquire experience by associating themselves with good experts and business managers.

The workshop (3) should be a permanent institution; the others, should be handed over to private parties.

#### INDUSTRIAL CO-OPERATION.

Co-operative Credit Societies for production as well as sale and purchase would, be of enormous help to develop many of the cottage industries. Productive societies would help in joint use of many machines, such as hand-looms, cane pressing machines, ploughing machines, etc., and, in distributing them among members, at reduced rates or among non-members at reasonable rates.

Sale and purchase societies should, where successful, dispense with the services of middlemen; and all their profits, which are occasionally very high, may go direct to the producers themselves. Without such organisations the producers who have no staying power are entirely at the mercy of the middlemen. The Government should take the lead in this matter. In the case of small industries, co-operation seems to

be a necessity. There should be Government help and guidance but the organisations should be mainly popular.

So far as I know, the splendid industries in Germany, Japan and America have been developed and are still being developed by Government help direct and indirect (e.g., by bounties, subsidies and tariff protection). It is impossible for any industry within British India which happens to be in competition with any of the above to grow without Government aid. I believe there is a strong body of opinion in Great Britain at present in favour of such help.

Demonstration factories should be started in Bengal for demonstrating the use of improved tools and appliances as well as improved methods of production chiefly in the case of cottage industries like weaving and also agriculture and agricultural industries.

Scientific research work be pushed in the following matters: as for instance Economic Geological Survey, Economic Botanical Survey and Analytical Survey of Soil in reference to crops.

There should be trade representatives for India in foreign countries, independent of the British Consular Service.

At present preference is given to Indian products only if they are on a footing of equality as regards quality with foreign-made articles. Whereas it is desirable that Indian products should have preference if they can just satisfy Government requirements and if their purchase does not entail extra expenditure.

### BANKING FACILITIES

Generally speaking most Indian industries on this side of India are suffering for want of banking facilities. We have many joint stock banks besides the Presidency Bank. But the quality and quantity of securities that may be offered by the industries under Indian management—which are usually struggling under various difficulties—do not meet with the approval of the existing banks, particularly as there are a large number of efficiently managed big industries under European management as their customers. Banks that are mainly investing bodies are bound to look to existing conditions from the investor's point of view. But the view point of the Government must be different. The Governments in progressive states like America, France and Japan etc., are in

perfect co-operation and sympathy with the industries and have taken the full share of responsibility in the matter of their development, amongst others they have organised ample easy banking facilities for their growing industries and trade. It is to be desired that the Government here in seeking to make the people industrially efficient and prosperous, will organise similar easy facilities for nascent industries by starting Central State Banks with industrial branches in industrial centres as well as State aided joint stock Industrial Banking Co-operations.

As regards joint stock Industrial Banks they will not succeed in India unless they have the power to issue bonds guaranteed by the Government or unless some portion of the funds in the State Treasury is made available to them for a long period. Such concerns run either as branches of State Banks or as private corporations assisted by the Government are sure to draw a large portion of the savings of the upper and the middle classes (including the *mahajans* and traders) and thus divert them to industrial enterprises. Such banks should also it is expected form proper channels for investment of surplus British Capital in India in a larger measure. The expected facilities are (a) long time loans repayable in instalments (b) cheaper rate of interest and discount (c) fuller and less stringent valuation of such securities as Industries can offer against loans.

I may be permitted to state that the absence of banking facilities is the most serious difficulty in the path of indigenous Bengal Industries. It is possible for Government to remove this difficulty.

In Bengal it is not easy under the existing Land Revenue system to secure large plots for industries particularly those that are agricultural at one stage, e.g., sugar, tobacco, fibres etc. Further industries like cattle breeding and dairy farming cannot be developed unless there are areas of land at the disposal of the concern.

### REMEDIES

(1) Greater facilities should be provided in the Act for acquisition or leasing of land for factories and agricultural and other industrial concerns. Government should lease out land to Textile and other industries on very favourable terms and without much restriction.

(2) All increments of value of land result

ing from the industry of enterprising men in agriculture as well as in manufacture, should be secured to the industries concerned.

#### TRAINING OF LABOUR AND SUPERVISORS.

The efficiency of all labour depends upon Primary General Education, which should be made available for every child of school-going age. With regard to labour of all grades, it may be said that Primary Education in school would give not only literacy but regularity, neatness, and a certain amount of mental elasticity, all of which would react very favourably on the efficiency of labour. At all events immediate steps should be taken to put every child in an industrial area to school.

(1) There should be training of the eye and of the hand (through object lessons and manual work) for every boy in the primary school.

(2) Those who will be called upon to help or undertake agriculture or industries dealing with curing of raw materials, must be trained in field schools and demonstration farms before taking up cultivation.

(3) Amongst the industries, those that are purely handicraft should have labourers trained in Lower Grade Technical Schools and also through apprenticeship in workshops or demonstration factories where there are opportunities for training in the use of modern tools and appliances.

(4) As regards factories, labourers should be trained by apprenticeship in workshops as well as in schools which latter seem important in the case of employees in scientific and chemical industries.

#### TRAINING OF SUPERVISION.

The secondary education should largely be remodelled and adapted to the needs of industrial life.

I suggest the necessity of starting Technological Institutes in some respect on the same lines as recommended by the Kachler Committee which sat some years ago. There should be one in Calcutta for the present as far as Bengal is concerned. This institution should be fully equipped for teaching different branches of Chemical as well as Engineering Industries. For this province there is particular need of good provision for training in Mechanical and Electrical, Mining, Railway, Civil and Boat-building branches of engineering;

leather tanning, some branches of textile industries, dyeing, sugar refining, tea making, soap boiling, ceramics, forestry, paper making, Industrial Chemistry, Agricultural Chemistry, Botany and Bacteriology and Cattle farming, etc. But no special stress need be laid on branches of work which will be adapted and added to in the light of experience. The existing Sabour Agricultural School and the Sibpur College may form just the nucleus for the institution.

Such a Technological Institute should be in close touch on the one hand with the actual industries of the country and on the other hand with the Universities. There should be good laboratories and workshops attached to this institute, but the students who have finished their first acquaintance with any branch may be enabled to complete their training by apprenticeship in the workshops belonging to the Government Dockyards, Railways, Tramways, Electric Corporation, Port Commissioners, the Municipality, as well as in factories. On the other hand those who have shown an aptitude for more advanced work, should be able to join the Universities or to go abroad. In some cases, some of these advanced students may prove able and willing to do research work. To students picked out carefully the research department of the Universities should open their doors.

The proposed institute should be under the management of a Committee on which the Departments of Education, Commerce and Industry should be represented. There should also be in the Committee some educationists and some members of the Science and Engineering Faculties of the University and some Indian gentlemen who are actively interested in industries.

When agricultural, commercial, and technological faculties are established at the University, the higher Departments of the Technological Institute may be affiliated to them. Such an arrangement will draw a very large number of students and will divert the channel of education towards commercial and industrial lines.

#### RESEARCH WORK.

Industrial research work cannot be done in this country by private agencies in any large measure, because they always want quick results, whereas the benefit of research cannot be had in a day. The only proper institution from which research work

can be expected, and has emanated in all countries, is the University. University work in this country is still not well developed and much remains to be done by the establishment of the Faculty of Commerce, Agriculture and Technology to bring our Universities in line with modern Western Universities. The greatest drawback, however, is with regard to facilities for research. It is refreshing to find that in Calcutta we have now a Science College endowed for this object. Very much would remain to be done both with regard to this Institution as well as others which must come. The mere establishment of these institutions will not help, unless they are in close touch with industry and are really able to solve those *problems which present difficulties to practical men*. Scientific research and technological research have great mutual bearing. The promotion of pure knowledge adds in the long run to the adaptation of such new knowledge for industrial purposes. But we need at the same time a Technological Research Department at the University so that a persistent inquiry may be kept up in the possibilities of raw materials, bye products etc. For all these a much more sympathetic and liberal attitude on the part of the State towards the effort of the University is necessary than what was assumed in the past. It is our hope that the University will supply the great need regarding the development of industries.

Further, it is desirable to start here, in addition to Commercial Schools for the training of assistants in connection with the Technological Institute, a University College of Commerce for training of trade representatives, agents, correspondents, brokers, railway men, bankers, accountants, actuaries, statisticians, etc.

#### ORGANISATION OF STATE DEPARTMENT.

Regarding the organisation of the executive machinery for carrying out such measure for the encouragement of industry as may be decided upon I have to suggest, in the first instance, that the Department of Industry should be separated from that of Commerce. At present a very large part of the activity of the Member for Commerce and Industry is devoted, and that rightly, to commercial topics. It would be an advantage to have a separate Member in the Viceregal Council in charge of Industry.

The provincial machinery is more im-

portant because it would be in the provinces where all local problems will be studied and facts of industry valued analysed and sifted. The Imperial Department will help in securing such legislation, financial aid, tariff reform, industrial banks, technical education, etc., which would be of uniform help and value to all provinces. But concrete problems which present difficulties to local industries would be dealt with by the provincial organisation.

In the provinces, in my opinion, there should be a very carefully devised machinery so that the fall beneficial effects of any measures initiated by the Government can reach the struggling Indian industrialists. There should be a Director of Industry *in every province*. He should be an able man with clear grasp of business conditions. But the greatest of all qualifications would be that he should have sympathy with the industrial efforts of the people. However able a man he may be, if he comes with the orthodox prejudice that India is fit for agricultural pursuits only and nothing better, and that all this desire for industry is sentimental, he will do no good whatsoever, and may cause great bitterness. In order to ensure happy results it is necessary to make the Director of Industry, tries only an executive official and leave the power of initiative as well as of deliberations in the hands of a Board of Industries. This Board should be constituted in such a way that without being unduly large, they would have on it some of the best elements of technical and business ability in the province. In view of what I said in para 2 of this written statement, I think, even at the risk of sacrificing what is generally regarded as efficiency in official circles, there should be a strong Indian majority on the Board, if it is to be hoped that the measures undertaken by the Government should carry confidence of the public and if misinformed criticism of beneficent State action is to be avoided. If two Assistant Directors, also members of the Board, are appointed, and both of them are capable Indians there would be a further guarantee of the measures of the Government being fully appreciated by the public. There are potent reasons why in Bengal the constitution outlined above is specially necessary, because here we have no strong Indian public opinion so far as matters of Commerce and Industry are concerned.

## TANNING

The large quantities of raw hides and skins as well as several kinds of tannin containing barks and fruits that are available here make this country particularly suited to the tanning industry. There are two modern ways of tanning known as bark tanning and chrome tanning. Ordinary tanning by bark is a slow process but it can be very much expedited by employing tannin extracts instead of barks. As yet no organised attempt has been made to manufacture such extracts although there are plenty of raw materials such as babul bark, mirabolans mangroves whose extracts would prove most valuable to tanners and would give an impetus to the leather industry. Further a thorough survey should be made for new tannin containing barks fruits and woods in our forests. Attempt should also be made to cultivate such foreign tannin-containing plants as for instance Sumach Div-divi and Vinosi as have got a fair chance of thriving in India.

For the purpose of chrome tanning the most essential things are chrome salts (bichromate of potash or soda chrome alum) and boric acid lactic acid and borax. An attempt should be made to manufacture these chemicals locally particularly the chrome salts for which the ore is available in large quantities in many parts of British India.

But it is not merely in the raw materials for the tanning industry that Bengal is rich. Our practical experience has convinced us that the Bengal chammers are not only highly steady regular and hard working but quite intelligent to learn the working of complicated machinery very quickly.

We have got amongst us some proficient experts trained not only in India but in Great Britain and the Continent. From the variety of hide and skins available here various sorts of leather from the stiff sole to the soft glove and chamois may be manufactured in this country.

I may mention here that in the case of chrome-tanning for which we require skins and hides of prime quality—preferably from slaughter houses—we have to work under a serious handicap on account of the undue fluctuation in their prices caused by the control of this market being in the hands of foreign buyers.

Chrome tanners in Bengal would be much benefited if something could be done

to ensure to them a steady supply of such hides and skins as they require from the various slaughter houses. The situation presents a clear case for restriction by the State of exports of hides and skins particularly of such as are suitable for chrome tanning.

The tanning industry stands in need of another class of chemical namely, coal tar dye stuffs whose supply has been practically cut since the beginning of the War. Bengal tanners are helping themselves as best they can with some vegetable dyes. But years of neglect and pressure of competition with coal tar dyes have almost brought about an extinction of the manufactures of vegetable dye stuffs. The chances of their revival are also very remote. The best thing under the circumstances would be to try to prepare coal tar dyes in India and until this is accomplished facilities should be given to import into India such dye stuffs as are being manufactured by the British Dyes Limited recently started in England. I would also have the attention of the authorities directed to bad curing of hide and skins which deteriorate very much in value under bad handling.

## NEW INDUSTRIES SUGGESTED

In my opinion the following new industries are likely to be successful in this country in the immediate future —

## Cottage industry

Brush making  
Lace making  
Making of hand bags and purses  
Sock knitting  
Wicker work  
Making of wooden and earthenware toys and dolls  
Cardboard boxes and cases  
Button making (Mother of pearl)  
Walking stick making  
Making of handles for sticks umbrellas etc.  
Rattan and bamboo furniture making  
Making artificial linen flowers  
Trimming of hats and making straw and felt hats.  
Making ready made clothes, shirts, etc.  
Making musical instruments

## Factory industry

Refining date sugar  
Glass making



- Distillation of wood.
- Distillation of coal.
- Distillation of coal tar, as obtained from iron and other factories.
- Alcohol, from potato, sweet potato and molasses.
- Galvanised iron sheet.
- Iron sheet.
- Brass and copper sheet making.
- Pipe making (iron, brass and copper.)
- Sheet metal stamping.
- Bichromates of potash and soda.
- Bleaching powder.
- Alum.
- Alkalis
- Boric acid.
- Borax.
- Celluloid—(non-combustible)
- Enamelled ironware.
- Fish preserving.
- Match manufacture.

#### CONCLUSION.

In conclusion I should like to point out that so far as Bengal is concerned the desire for new industries and new channels for engaging the energies of the people is not due to any sentimental or patriotic aspirations only. There is a genuine economic pressure rendering the continuance of old prosperous conditions in agriculture impossible for the future. The advantage arising from the adventitious rise in the price of jute may have obscured the fact during the last decade. But steadily the difficulties are growing. The population of Bengal has increased and the available area of cultivable waste (about six million

acres) is shrinking every day. The distress resulting from pressure of population on the available resources is to be seen from the prevailing very high rates of interest and from the actual condition of the poorer and middle class people. The cultivators and their farm labourers seldom manage to rise above the margin of poverty on account of the grip of the *mahajans* and the buying agents of city merchants upon them. The much vaunted agricultural prosperity of Bengal does not always put much money in the pockets of the cultivators and their dependents.

There are in Bengal, out of a population of about 45 millions, roughly 35 millions who live directly or indirectly on land. The rest, with the exception of a small part, who are engaged in trade and profession and Government service, are mostly middle class people in search of work. The acute conditions for the search of livelihood of a large body of middle class people are patent to all. While agriculture no longer gives scope for the various classes of the population of Bengal, the finding of new avenues in industries to utilise the energies of these people and to secure for them means of subsistence consistent with respectable life is no longer a dictum suggested by mere sentimental patriotism or the mere benevolence of a paternal Government, but by the grim realities of the situation as it is developing in Bengal.

Written evidence before the Industrial Commission  
specially revised for the Modern Review.

### CONDEMNED UNHEARD

ON 12th December last, the Governor of Bengal held a Durbar and made use of the occasion to issue a message and an appeal to the public. His Lordship, it has been reported in the papers, remarked:

"I and my colleagues believe that there is in Bengal a widespread, well organised conspiracy, whose aim is to weaken the present form of Government and, if possible, to overthrow it, by means which are criminal...

Only too many men and boys are actively engaged

in that conspiracy, though with varying degrees of complicity.

(i) There is one group which forms the brain of the conspiracy. Its members are men probably of keen intellect, with much self-control and much force of character; and they may be idealists, their criminality may be in thought rather than in action. They may never themselves have profited by the result of crime; but they are most dangerous criminals, for they inspire others.

(ii) Then there is a group of men,—the hands of the conspiracy,—men who actually commit the crimes. Almost all of them have been dacoits. Originally they were actuated by high ideals, but most of them

have long since become common criminals, and follow the same impulses which lead common criminals to commit brutal murders and robberies.

Recruits may be more easily got for the group who form the hands than for the group who form the brain.

(iii) Besides these, there is a large number of persons, connected, though some in a much less degree than others, with the conspiracy. They help the conspiracy (in various ways), though they have no intention of ever committing a dacoity or a murder themselves and have not the courage needed for that.

(iv) The worst are those who act as recruiters for the movement. Only too often these men are school masters. They use the noblest part of a boy's nature as a means to their end, they work on his feelings of patriotism, on his unselfishness, on his willingness to help suffering.

They often seize the opportunity which membership in a charitable society like the Ramkrishna Mission or participation in the relief of distress gives them to meet and influence boys, who have noble ideals, but who have not enough experience." [Throughout this extract the italics are mine.]

Thereafter His Excellency justified the wide application of the Defence of India Act and the procedure followed by his government in working the Act, hinted at the evidence (kept secret from the public) on which men are seized and interned and the method of collecting such evidence, and assured the public that the official view of the situation and of the guilt of the untried victims of the Act was absolutely right and ought to be accepted on trust. Finally he made an appeal to the people:

"I believe that we cannot stamp out the evil by executive methods alone, we must have popular opinion with us; we cannot have popular opinion with us unless we induce the people to think somewhat at least as we think. A Government, though it may be powerful and successful, can never, from the British point of view, be a good Government, unless it is trusted by the people. And I beg you to prepare the way for a fair and full consideration of the question,—how to alter a state of affairs under which so many of our most thoughtful and best intentioned young men are ready to tolerate, some of them even to join, a conspiracy which it is our duty to destroy. If you can do this, you will help to win for the service of the Empire abilities and enthusiasm which I believe will make the Empire one of which His Majesty will be proud."

We thank His Excellency for inviting a full consideration of the question. But Lord Carmichael evidently does not remember that there is such a thing as the Indian Press Act. "It is not a Bengal Act, and we have to take it as it stands," (his own words)—and possibly also to enforce it at the dictation of Simla (if one may be permitted to represent his unspoken thought not unfairly, by intelligent conjecture). A full consideration of the Indian

unrest by Indian publicists is therefore, impossible. For, before we can prescribe the medicine we must diagnose the disease. Nor, again, have we the gift of a well known journalist to sail close to the wind of the law of sedition as interpreted by Anglo-Indian judges. Our response to Lord Carmichael's command must, therefore, be scrappy, and vague, though even that is risky; it cannot, on the Indian soil, be expected to be full.

But Lord Carmichael will get the answer to his question most easily, if only he disburdens himself of John Morley's Fur-coat theory: "In Europe they wear fur coats, in India it is an unsuitable garment; ergo, what is true of Europe is not true of India, the general laws of human nature do not hold good east of Suez!" As soon as Lord Carmichael has assumed an attitude of pure mental detachment, we commend to his Lordship a study of modern European history, especially a reference to Holland Rose's *Development of European Nations*, the reflections on the growth of Nihilism in the last quarter of the 19th century. But as that book has been left behind at Darjiling, to reduce the expenses of the Hill Exodus in view of the recent question in Council, we are under the dangerous necessity of being a little more explicit. (We are helpless, in the matter, for a request from our Governor is a command to us.)

It is true in Europe that where there are any political abuses, where class privileges are maintained after their moral basis has disappeared, where a certain portion of the population, in spite of their rapid growth in intelligence, character and standard of life, continue to be subjected to century-old disabilities under the law and still more at the discretion of the executive, there is bound to be grave discontent. (Political heretics who disbelieve the Fur-coat theory, hold this to be true of India also.) To Castlereagh and Eldon the agitation for Catholic Emancipation appeared as a crime; to Sidmouth and even the good Sir Walter Scott and Lord Wellington, the unreformed Parliament appeared as the highest work of political wisdom. But Catholic Disabilities and Landlord monopoly of the franchise had to go, and England would have been happier and stronger if they had gone earlier. The aforesaid heretics hold that it is impossible to "win for the service of

the Empire the highest ability and enthusiasm" extant in India unless the Indians are made equal citizens of that Empire, unless India ceases to be a tropical dependency the breeding ground of indurated labourers of private in the army of the Empire of *paisne* Judges of High Courts Extra Assistant Commissioners deputy Superintendents of Police, subordinate civil judges additional Inspectors of schools and junior professors of government colleges

'What aith thee, Indicus Juventus Artium Baccalarius ?

"My Lord I wish to rise to the full stature of my being (*Gokhale*) My Lord I pray to God that my country may awake into that heaven of freedom

'Where the mind is without fear and the head is held high

1 Where knowledge is free

1 Where the world has not been broken up into fragments by narrow domestic walls

Where words come out from the depth of truth,

Where tireless striving stretches its arms towards perfection (Rabindra nath Tagore)

For realising this ideal as Mr Gokhale pointed out no steady and deliberate programme has been avowed and followed by our rulers They have given us many pious wishes many words of sympathy In the language of Lord Lytton we have long heard the big bow wow of promise it is time that we should see the tnil of performance

Lord Carmichael will thus perceive that the answer to the concluding question of his speech lies entirely in the hands of the official masters of our destiny It is only with the blood of our sons that our union with England can be cemented It is for English statesmen so to shape the policy of the Empire that that blood may be shed only in the battles of the Empire round the Union Jack instead of continuing to be wasted in addition on the scaffolds at Singapore and Rangoon Lahore and Delhi

Lord Carmichael has appealed to the Indian public to trust his Government in all that it has been doing with the Defence of India Act and to accept the official belief in the guilt of the persons interned According to his view as quoted at the head of this article there is in Bengal a wide spread conspiracy to overthrow the pre-

sent form of Government by criminal means Those who inspire and those who assist this conspiracy—that is the first and third groups as classified by him—are 'idealists' men possessed of keen intellect and much force of character men who have never themselves profited by the result of crime boys whose feelings of patriotism unselfishness and willingness to help suffering have been worked upon by cruel and wicked recruiters'

Has His Excellency weighed the full significance of his words? If his assertion about the vast extent and criminal nature of the conspiracy and the high character of many of its members be true what would the logical inference be? We are loyal subjects of the Press Act and Defence of India Act and the Anglo-Indian journalists as professional champions of the privileges of the ruling race must accept the official view as true to the letter But what would a disinterested spectator such as a doctor of the Sorbonne or a professor of Harvard conclude from Lord Carmichael's allegations? The conspirators are not fools they are not brigands eager to enrich themselves by robbing their countrymen—we have Lord Carmichael's word for it What then is there in the present circumstances of India that makes them resort to crime to change them?

The aforesaid doctor of the Sorbonne will probably conclude that the majority of the numerous class branded by Lord Carmichael as criminal conspirators are not enemies of law and order at all, but opponents only of a definite administrative policy in the land they live in that they are reformers of political abuses not anarchists that they attack racial civic disabilities and political injustice not human life and human property No doubt a certain fraction of the Bengal population—the second group in Lord Carmichael's list—have adopted criminal means But he himself admits that they are how common criminals actuated by the sordid impulses of ordinary robbers What connection then is there between them and class one—the idealists who seek a change in the *ancien regime* dear to the Anglo-Indian bureaucracy? Does Lord Carmichael then wish us to accept the theory put forth by the *Pioneer* with refreshing frankness, that between the popular representatives in the Imperial Legislative Council who criti-

cise Government measures, and the bomb throwers, there is a nexus ?'

This theory, His Excellency tells us is based on the evidence of police officers police spies and accomplices tendered to executive officers without training in the art of judicially sifting evidence, and with the other party given no fair opportunity of rebutting it or even of knowing it fully, it is, as Lord Carmichael frankly tells us, not evidence which we can even put forward in a Court of law."

History tells us that such evidence has been acted upon in countries where people wear Fur coats, and history also tells us of the consequence of creating a Reign of Suspicion,—of punishing people on the whispers of professional informers alleged accomplices and police underlings. A little over two centuries ago there were the Popish Plot and Rye House Plot trials in England. In the former the informer Titus Oates was seen in his true light only after the victims of his perjury had been laid in the grave. Five years later, the same thing happened again. "The country leaders held meetings with the view of founding an association whose agitation should force on the King the assembly of a Parliament. The more desperate spirits took refuge in a plan for murdering Charles II and his brother as they passed the Rye House. Both projects were betrayed, and though they were wholly distinct from one another, the cruel ingenuity of the Crown lawyers blended them into one,—and secured the beheading of the blameless Russel and Algernon Sidney (Green). Only a hundred and twenty years ago, the Jacobin Committee of Public Safety followed the same procedure, but posterity has not been convinced of the guilt of the victims."

No moral reform amounting to a revolution has taken place in human nature since the days of Jacobin ascendancy or the Stuart Restoration. On purely abstract grounds therefore, the doctor of the Sorbonne will refuse to accept Lord Carmichael's theory of the moral guilt of the 500 Bengali youths now undergoing imprisonment in the Second Division, which is euphemistically called internment, he will believe that the confounding of a legitimate political agitation with a murderous conspiracy is still possible on the part of informers and agents employed by officials.

But, it will be asked is such misrepresentation of truth *probable* with an honest and alert European corps d'elite at the top of the administration? Is it conceivable that Lord Carmichael, or, more correctly, Mr Cumming would be hoodwinked by perjurers?

The answer to this question involves an examination of Indian Police Methods," which is as ticklish a subject as the 'Etiology of the Unspeakable Thing'. But Lord Carmichael is inexorable, he will have an answer to his query, and his position makes it unsafe for us to disoblige His Excellency. Happily, our inquiry is rendered safer by the existence of a mass of facts already in public records our reference to which, therefore, cannot create ill feeling against any class nor be disapproved by any person in a modern civilised country where men are allowed freedom of reason.

What class of men have been denounced in the past by Indian police agents as the enemies of law and order? Only three years ago the head of the Bengal Police in a circular letter complained that ever since the Partition of Bengal, the police inspectors had been secretly reporting against Tariff Reformers (*ulgo*, Swadeshists) as seditious and he ordered that such erroneous description must cease in future. Mr Gokhale in the presence of the Viceroy publicly asserted that he used to be shadowed by the police, and that another such 'bad character' under police surveillance was Sir Gangadhar Chitnavis, whom the governor of his province had publicly designated as the 'ideal citizen of the Central Provinces. Mr Gokhale was offered a K C I E by command of His Majesty.

Such men have been 'political suspects' in India. It cannot be contended that Gokhale and Chitnavis were shadowed by the police to prevent them from committing burglary or arson. They could not have been shadowed for aiming at political reform by constitutional means for such action is perfectly legitimate. The conclusion, therefore, is irresistible that the Indian policemen and those who halloo them on, misrepresented open, manly and legitimate enemies of existing political abuses as criminal enemies of the British Raj. The conclusion is irresistible that the mental view point of the Indian police is diametrically opposed to that of the Chief Commis-

moner of the Central Provinces and of His Majesty the King Emperor

The case of the late lamented Pandit Bishan Narayan Dar is a still more significant illustration of "How they do it in India". Some twenty years ago, the Police prefect (Kotwal) of Lucknow City was prosecuted and convicted for extortion on a systematic and gigantic scale. Mr. Dar assisted the investigation of truth by sending to court the victims of the Kotwal's oppression. The Kotwal's defence was that the whole case had been got up by Mr. Dar in revenge, as he used to be shadowed by the police. That is not surprising. But would it be believed that the two highest English officers of the place, the then Deputy Commissioner and the Commissioner, testified in favour of the Kotwal and tried to discredit Mr. Dar by saying in Court that he was a suspect? Surely Englishmen should have been the first to appreciate a man's attempt to secure purity of administration for his countrymen, but no. Happily Sir Anthony Macdonnell was then at the head of the U. P. Government, as soon as the news of the scandal reached him, he telegraphed to the Crown lawyer to state in Court that Mr. Dar had been shadowed without his knowledge and consent, and for this honest and manly act his honour was censured, by the *Pioneer* and taxed with trying to prejudice the defence and unfairly influence the judge!!! A study of the conduct of the men on the spot—the then Deputy Commissioner and Commissioner of Lucknow,—is not irrelevant to an appreciation of the value of the evidence on which 500 of our sons and brothers have been deprived of liberty, comfort and means of livelihood, and often placed in penal surroundings without a trial.

Coming to more recent times, in the Musalmanpura Bomb Case, two English judges of the High Court (and one Indian) concurrently declared that the prosecution had tried to secure the conviction of an innocent youth by evidence that was partly perjured and fabricated. A Government Committee of Inquiry found that no officer above the rank of a Head Constable was guilty of perjury in this case. It is irrelevant for us to inquire why the guilty policemen were not punished officially. But the fact remains that they tried to swear away the life of an innocent man and had a motive for doing it. Has

that motive disappeared in 1916? They had completely deceived the Police Commissioner and the Public Prosecutor into accepting their fabricated tale. Would they, or men of the same class, be less successful in doing so in 1916?

In the Baraset Case, a small bush near the accused's house was twice searched by the police for contraband of anarchy, but none was found. Then, though the accused was in the lock up all the time, a third police officer went there and discovered a bundle of pistols and cartridges lying openly on the ground! Unfortunately for the promotion of this smart officer, the judges held that the arms had not been 'honestly found there'. The *dis-honest* finder has not been punished yet.

We need not multiply instances. When Lord Carmichael in the Boetian swamp of Ramna feels a dulness creeping on him from the study of the annual reports on the Civil Veterinary Department, Fish Culture, Silkworm Disease and the Ninth Preliminary Jute Forecast (published two years after the harvest in question has been reaped), and the next number of *Punch* is not due for five days, His Excellency may find a pick me up if he turns over the pages of the approvers' tales in the Alipur Bomb Case and the Howrah Gang Case. In the former he will find the 'accomplice in the crime' Narendranath Goswami unfolding the following yarn—

"We went to—\* with our newly made bombs and saw Mr—"

He asked us to test our handiwork. We flung one of the bombs on a rock and it exploded. Then he cried out,—well done, my children!

The approver in the Howrah Case mentioned the Editor of the—† as one of his accomplices. We throw out to the Simla A. D. C. a suggestion for their next Christmas Lanthorn, an 'Anarchist's Sabbath on the Heights of Howrah (?) presided over by Mr—, his grey locks peeping out of his crape mask, a bull's eye lantern at his belt, balancing the pistol on the other side.

Mr— and Mr— have not been interned. And why not? Because their known position and public record make the accomplices' accusations against them ludicrous.

\* Name of place omitted for obvious reasons

† Name omitted for obvious reasons

Nearly five hundred of our young men have been interned, on evidence of precisely the same kind. And why so? Because their character and past conduct are known only to their family,—interested witnesses whose evidence Mr Cumming is bound to reject.

But, we are told, Mr Cumming the Dictator of Internments, inquires into every man's case carefully and individually and gives him the chance of a reply. We learn from the answer in Council that in the first eleven months of 1916, Mr Cumming passed orders against 443 men. To this number must be added the number of those who were arrested but ordered to be discharged, and others who are undergoing a month's preliminary purgatory before being qualified for treatment under the Defence of India Act. Therefore deducting holidays and days spent on tour, Mr Cumming must have decreed the fate of three young men every day of the year. Such rapidity of judgment cannot be shown even by a special tribunal, sitting without a jury or a chance of appeal.

The aforesaid doctor of the Sorbonne or professor of Harvard will demand evidence of another kind and a different process of investigation from Mr Cummings before Lord Carmichael can succeed in convincing him that our sons and brothers now in "domicile" under *lettres de cachet* are worse criminals than Gokhale or Chitranvis, Mr — or the Editor of the—

Lord Carmichael was totally silent about the consequences of this Reign of Suspicion, which he justified at such length. We can only refer to them briefly here. For one thing the financial cost of it will soon prove overwhelming. These "treacherous short cuts to political success" (as Burke styled similar methods followed elsewhere) are deceptive and ruinous in the end. Every one of these 500 interned persons—and their number will increase in 1917,—has to be watched by a police agent or officer, he has to be visited by the Superintendent of the District Police or some other high officer once a month or oftener, the unhappy detainee, even after his release will have to be shadowed by paid spies throughout his life, for certainly his love for the Government is not likely to increase during his simple imprisonment without trial, all persons who were ever his friends or class fellows, and even his brothers and cousins, are tainted with suspicion, and

must be watched by the police. In two cases a father and son have been both interned, in several cases brothers. Thus suspicion and the necessity of espionage have been diffused over the entire Bengali community in a homœopathic dose of up to the 200th dilution. It is for Lord Carmichael's financial advisers to say how long such an army corps of spies and police underlings can be paid out of the revenue of Bengal.

Secondly, these arrests and internments *en masse* are bound to impart a grit to the Bengali character. Our young men were formerly too soft, too much of mammy's darlings, feeling uncomfortable when away from home or not getting their accustomed style of cookery, dress or climate. The internments have changed all that. Henceforth, a band of young men of the highest spirit, intelligence and strength of character will be steelled in adversity and inured to physical hardship and they are not likely to return from their "domiciles" with their love for the present administration greatly increased. They could have been crushed—the guilty and the innocent alike, by treating Bengal as Ireland was treated by the Dublin Castle caste and the army of Cornwallis after Vinegar Hill. But even in Ireland such methods succeeded for one generation only and their memory only aggravated the difficulties of the next generation of the rulers of Ireland. More over, 20th century England will hardly tolerate *dragonnades* even in a tropical dependency.

Thirdly, apart from the victims of the Defence of India Act and their kinsfolk, there is the general population of Bengal who are brooding on these daily searches, arrests, vague accusations, hurried replies by the suspects, and internments (often immediately after a man's release from jail or his acquittal by a competent English court). Thought is free though the expression of it in British India is not always safe nowadays. It is this better mind of Bengal—and what Bengal does the rest of India think and feel alike with—that the present administrative policy and methods are likely to alienate. True, our executive owns no responsibility to the people but Lord Carmichael has himself admitted, "We cannot stamp out the evil by executive methods alone we must have public opinion with us." No method of winning this public opinion except *ex cathedra*

statements in the council and durbars, has been indicated by Lord Carmichael, nor is likely to be adopted by the dominant school among the Indian Civil Service.

Lord Carmichael deplors that "so many of our most thoughtful and best intentioned young men tolerate or join the conspiracy," and argues that "if only those who constitute the brain of the conspiracy are once under government control, ... or if they once cease to exist, the conspiracy will die." Granting for a moment that his facts are true, what remedy does he suggest? It cannot be to chop off all the tall poppies of the Presidency College and the University College of Science. Can it be to "administer an intellectual *pousta* to the people of Bengal," as Macaulay put it? Or to dog the steps or "restrict the movements" (i. e. condemn to imprisonment in the second

division) every Bengali graduate who shows intellectual brilliancy, or returns home after an education in America and other free countries of the west? Such "thorough" methods are not likely to be adopted; for they have been tried in Europe in the past, with results not unknown to many British statesmen. Whether the Indian Civil Service is well-read in history or not, we do not know; nor, supposing it possesses historical knowledge, whether it will take lessons from history or, like the Bourbons, show itself incapable of learning anything and forgetting anything. We can only hope that the lessons of history will be heeded, and it will not be forgotten that human nature is not different in India from what it is elsewhere.

## DEMOCRACY AND EMPIRE

THIS is an essay which won the prize announced by the Council of the Royal Colonial Institute for the year 1915. The subject was 'The applicability of the dictum that "a democracy cannot manage an Empire" to the present conditions and future problems of the British Empire, especially the question of the future of India.' The essay is supplemented by valuable appendices in the shape of charts, graphs and maps, illustrating the trade, population, forms of government, languages and races, of the different parts of the Empire.

The bibliography appended at the end of the essay shows that the books consulted are mainly those written by Anglo-Indians of not very liberal views, but notwithstanding this, it is no small credit to the author that he has often succeeded in rising superior to his authorities, and his views and pronouncements are on the whole, eminently sound and liberal, and if acted upon, would be sure to place the British Government in India on a firmer

foundation. The author is very hard on the cold weather tourists who writes sympathetically on Indian aspirations, and is very bitter against Lord Morley and those who were responsible for the annulment of the Partition of Bengal. He seems to entertain too great a regard for the 'man on the spot,' but among the men on the spot, that is, the Civilian bureaucracy, there are not many who will cheerfully subscribe to all the suggestions for reform contained in the book before us. The author also resents very keenly the incursion of lawyers into the domains of politics and administration. As a result, "ministers acquire a disingenuous subtlety in the answering of questions, a subtlety to which the legal training distinctly lends itself. The questions are apt to degenerate into mere badgering of political opponents, the answers into mere baffling of attack." On the main question his conclusion is: "History shows conclusively that a democracy as such cannot face a crisis. The crisis always brings the leader, who is trusted implicitly or the State falls. The Romans, wiser than we, made constitutional provision for the dictator in times of stress." We now proceed to give a summary of

\* *Democracy and Empire* by A. E. Dacheene, Milford, Oxford University Press, 1916  
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the author's views, using his own language as much as possible

"In the ancient Empires of the world, the lust of dominion is the sole impelling motive, the gathering of tribute the sole object, slavery the ultimate fate of the subjected" "most of modern his tory," on the other hand, "is the history of the struggle for the recognition of the rights of man —

On that recognition is based the whole of the civic polity of the twentieth century, and those states in which that recognition is imperfect must to the extent of that imperfection be regarded as uncivilised — the predominance of the republican form of government does indicate the prevailing trend. No one can doubt that the world is increasingly democratic. The protest against the concentration of all power in the hands of one man is wellnigh universal, the aspirations of humanity tend to find their (imperfect) realisation in the republic. It is useless to attempt to reverse this process. Democracy is almost synonymous with modernity, and the frankest recognition must be given to this fact. Recent history [of China, Persia, Turkey, Portugal] shows how widespread is the craving for democratic forms. In any scheme then of modern government this universal democratic trend must be reckoned with as one of the most potent influences we shall encounter. Freedom to assert his individuality to develop his natural faculties, to attain a reasonable standard of happiness and comfort is the inalienable right of every citizen. Any country in which there is an arbitrary interference with this freedom departs from the democratic ideal. However outwardly democratic may be its form of government."

This democratic ideal has been approximated in the west "by a constant struggle, now against tyranny, now against the ignorance and apathy of the people."

This struggle has no ending. It is in itself an evidence of vitality and a bestial contentment such as is the lot of a lethargic race tamely submitting to tyranny.... is probably the very worst condition in which human beings can find themselves.

Democracy has its merits in abounding measure. Against its fickleness, its weakness in crisis its pandering to the demagogic influence, we may set off other weighty considerations. It is imbued with a deep sense of what is due to the weak and helpless. It has an earnest desire to raise the fallen to alleviate the lot of the toiler, to render more healthy the conditions of labour. It places great dependence on education and desires to see everywhere the "carrière ouverte aux talents." It believes in the completest expression of national consciousness, and is full of sympathy for small peoples struggling to achieve that expression. It is with our race the genuine outcome of our instinct for freedom and is therefore worthy of respect. It is in accordance with the modern trend of affairs and it is hopeless to expect to reverse the present current. We must therefore accept the 'chos-jugee' and endeavour in every way to supplement deficiencies and remedy evils.

The vast Colonial Empire of England's foremost ally, France, has a population of 55,000,000 souls, and her colonial pro-

blems are chiefly concerned with the administration of coloured people

'France has not been unsuccessful in the administration of her colonies and in some particulars is ahead of Great Britain in the civic rights possessed by colonial citizens. For instance, Algeria is divided into three departments which form an integral part of France. Native residents of French colonies are citizens of the Republic, and the visitor to Chandernagore, the French town near Calcutta is always struck with the easy way in which the French speaking Bengalis assert their citizenship, and by their voluble discussion of the merits of their representative at Versailles.'

'Compared with Rome the British Empire is still in the prime of early manhood, and even if it is to last no longer than the Roman has an 'expectation of life of another 400 years.'

The British Empire occupies one fourth of the habitable globe and contains over one fourth of the world's estimated population. The trade with India is of immense importance to Great Britain. Wheat, rice, cotton, tea, jute, copra, rubber are imported in profusion from India. India serves as a great training school for Imperial administrators.

'The citizen of the Empire must be taken by his fellow-citizens at his worth as a man, without any tinge of race, colour or creed prejudice.'

India is at once the crowning glory and the most difficult problem of the British Empire. 'India cannot do without Britain. Equally Britain has need of India. If it had not been for India, the British Empire had never been. To the trade with India is due much of our past and present prosperity and wealth. Without India Lancashire were bankrupt. To our retention of India is due our present imperial prestige. To our training in and by India, is due our practical sagacity as administrators. Finally, to India we owe the most magnificent example of disinterested devotion and loyalty the world has ever seen. Down through the ages will be handed the splendid story of the scene in the Peers' Chamber when was read the Governor General's message containing that Homeric roll call of India's chiefs and princes.'

'From every point of view the employment of the Indian troops is to be commended. It is typical of the unity of the Empire. It is a tribute to the justice of our rule. It is in no sense the calling of a mercenary horde to the assistance of our tottering power, but admission of welltried and proven comrades to the inner brotherhood of our militant order. The valour and worth of these men has now been shown on many a stricken field. India has furnished contingents to the war, not in any sense proportionate to the spirit and desire of her princes and peoples, but in accordance with the express limitations of the Indian army system. Field Marshal Viscount French says of these men 'The Indian troops fought with great gallantry and marked success... the fighting was very severe and the losses heavy, but nothing daunted them. Their tenacity, courage, and endurance were admirable.'

Some of the author's pen pictures deserve quotation

'Kashmir, within whose vale of beauty are some



of the most effete people in the whole empire, 'Rajputana, and mother of heroes; 'the weaker peoples of Lower Bengal, whose physique is sadly reduced by the malarial infection due to the water logged soil; 'the Muhammadan with his Koran his magnificent devotion to God and his Prophet and his stirring memories of a thousand years of dominion' the fiery genius of the Maratha who once wrecked an Empire, (the Indian princes) these survivals of a feudal past, the smallest baron clinging grimly to his salute of seven guns; that bewildering kaleidoscopic medley which we call India, 'the central thread of religious observance which by a process of fusion or average is styled Hinduism.

'The distance of æons of our time separates the crude religious feeling of the Sonthal from the highly developed philosophy of the disciple of Vivekananda.' 'Had not intrigue destroyed the unity and British arms overcome the forces of this rising Maratha powers, there can be very little doubt that great part of India would have passed under Maratha dominion.' In this age it is not sufficient that internal and external peace should be preserved that justice should be administered strictly and impartially. The country must advance along the lines of modern progress. Education must therefore be fitted to the needs of the situation.

The Government must take the lead in all experiments for the improvement of agriculture, in a country mainly agricultural, it must encourage all research which has an economic end in view, it must encourage and facilitate the development of manufactures.

'The whole trend of the modern world is towards a greater measure of self government for all countries and dominions.' India is progressing along the path leading to a more democratic form of Government. The progress is slow but *not slower than is advisable*.

After the enunciation of so many excellent principles on self government and the advance of democracy, the above sentence seems to be distinctly disappointing, even retrograde. Fortunately, there are suggestions for the solution of some imperial problems 'which time and our sagacity must solve if the Empire is to endure,' suggestions which according to the author himself, would have seemed revolutionary to half the people of Great Britain before the war broke out, though now they are the commonplaces of newspaper discussion, and they go to show that the writer is convinced of the need of great reforms in India, and is really of opinion that the progress is not as marked as it should be. Let us now turn to those problems.

The personality of the sovereign arouses the intensest devotion of the Indian.

'The first great problem of Indian administration is then to enhance the *visibility* of the sovereign to masses of India without in any way impairing constitutional safeguards. It would however

be utterly unfair merely to arouse this loyalty. Our rule must prove itself worthy of it. We have for our own purposes summoned India from the isolation of centuries and the abstraction of ages. We have brought her into the circle of the modern nations with their search for wealth their restless keenness of invention their desire for progress or at any rate change. We must see to it that our India deserves its place in this circle. We must so train her people that they may be worthy fellow-citizens of the children of all the dominions. We must so strengthen their powers and initiative that they are no longer to be exploited by any adventurer who chooses to infect himself upon them. We must so develop India's natural resources and so train her people to develop them, that the country may become rich and powerful.

For a thoroughly prosperous India we must have indigenous capital. Sound schemes of technical education are necessary. The existing European joint stock banks are out of touch with the people. They are useless to the agriculturist or landlord. Their resources are not applicable to, nor their advice available for indigenous enterprise. It must always be remembered that the economic salvation of India lies in the employment of indigenous capital to which the *swadeshi* bank is indispensable. If then the scale is to be held level as between the British and Indian investor Government must have strong research institutes. What is required is a well-equipped miniature Charlottenburg to which the possible raw materials of industry could be sent from all over the country, where they could be tested in which experts could be trained and whence such experts could be sent to any locality where to investigation or skilled guidance there was promise of economic reward. Finally, the arts and handicrafts of India must be fostered.

If we desire to treat India fairly we must grant her the same fiscal autonomy as is enjoyed by Australia and Canada. If we do not allow this we must drop all hypocritical pretence of ruling India for India's benefit and state clearly that we will not allow her to nurse her infant industries lest they grow to manhood and strangle our own. India has no voice in her fiscal arrangements. Her enormous export of raw materials largely goes to foreign countries. Her indigenous industries are swamped by imports from the United Kingdom and the dumping of manufactured goods from other sources. It must be remembered that the United Kingdom is practically alone in the civilised world in its adherence to free imports. If we are to deal fairly with India we must aim at fostering her industries and utilising her resources for her benefit and not selfishly for our own, or carelessly for that of foreign countries.

All these considerations—industrial, economic, and educational—are but preliminaries to our great work in India—the advancement of her people to the status of a self governing unit of the Empire.

But here we meet with the old familiar excuses urged by vested interests loath to part with self or power, e.g., 'The task is gigantic. Not for many generations will the end be in sight.' 'The pace must not be forced.' As soon as we come to close quarters with the problem, and descend from principles and theory to the region of practical politics, our wellwishers seem to get thoroughly frightened by the

vastness of the sacrifice of selfish interests needed in making an effective move in the right direction, and begin to indulge in platitudes about the need of caution and think that they have uttered the last word of political wisdom. They forget that it is this manifest unwillingness on the part of the bureaucracy to reduce their benevolent utterances into practice which so exasperates the people, and makes them doubt the sincerity of their liberal professions. The writer, for instance, touches the questions of the Indian army, speaks of its 'magnificent response,' its 'heroism and worth,' finds it 'difficult to see how the Indian revenue can stand any further charge under this head,' and leaves the question there, without a word on the imperative necessity of throwing open the commissioned ranks to Indians, and passes on to the problem of reorganising the Volunteer forces.

"The Indians of the educated classes are clamouring for the privilege of serving as volunteers, and with a section of Parsi volunteers now at the front, it is difficult to see how their wishes can long be ignored. Generally speaking, India after peace will be a new India indeed, and it is possible that it will be a more united India, in which the claims of many sections to fuller privileges of citizenship will be more valid and more insistent than they are at present. Those claims must then be met with every sympathy and consideration. In a united Empire the last scintilla of the Roman differentiation between citizen and subject must be extinguished."

Adverting to the expansion of local self-government, the author points out from the report of the Royal Commission on the Poor Laws how very little interest is taken in England in the guardian's elections, so that there is no effective public criticism. According to a statement prepared by the London County Council, the percentages of the respective Electorates voting at the various Elections were: "Parliamentary 78.3, County Council 55.5, Borough Council 48.2, Guardians 28.1." From this the writer infers that the nomination system is still necessary. But a more evident inference is that public interest in elections is proportionate to the importance of the issues involved, and that if lack of such interest in a country where the masses are educated does not render them unfit for self-government, a similar dereliction of duty in India where the masses are illiterate should not be advanced as an argument against the grant of full rights of citizenship. Nor is India singular in the matter of such muni-

cipal corruption as prevails there. Speaking of the United States, the writer says: 'Honesty compels one to admit that in no country of the first rank has municipal administration been so corrupt...' "In this connection it cannot be too strongly emphasised that any administrative scandal in England has a very mischievous influence in India. It is our honesty which gives us our Indian prestige, and we cannot without hypocrisy point out the defects of Indian members of the Local Boards if our own *izzat* is blackened by bribery, corruption or defalcation on the part of men similarly situated in England."

The writer suggests that an outlet for India's surplus population may be found in East Africa and the Soudan.

"If the question of mass Indian emigration were thus satisfactorily settled, Indians and Chinese of standing might certainly have facilities for visiting, travelling, or even settling in, the various dominions." "The new India of post bellum activities will be little inclined to abate its claim to full rights of citizenship. The association of Indian, Englishman, Canadian, and Australian on the battlefield, while it will lead to a better understanding, will certainly not tend to strengthen the Colonial position. How will John Smith, Canadian, feel when he learns that Dharu Singh, Sikh, to whom he owes his life, has been rejected with contumely from Canadian shores?"

As this is a war against tyranny, 'therefore one result of a successful issue should be an extension of liberty in the world.' We shall also see 'an impetus given to democracy.' 'India will feel the stirrings of a spring awakening.'

"One great means to that end [the consolidation of the Empire] as far as India is concerned is the extension and strengthening of provincial autonomy." "It is appalling to reflect that the lives and destinies of three hundred millions of Asiatics are to be influenced by us, and yet that not one in a thousand of us has any knowledge, or wishes to have, of them and their country." "We must learn a wise toleration, and a sympathetic outlook on the customs and desires of the myriad differing peoples who cluster under the august shade of our banner." "We have taken a step of the gravest import in our alliance with Japan and in admitting our Indian fellow subjects to the privileges of our fighting line. This step has called forth bitter reproaches from our enemy, who accuses us of deserting the white man's cause. We have not deserted it. We have enabled it in proclaiming that the old coloured races no longer exist only to be exploited by the white man. What we have proclaimed in time of stress we must uphold in time of peace. An almost divine sympathy and insight will be necessary in order to avoid the most hideous blunders."

The extracts we have made above, long as they are, will amply repay perusal. The change in the 'angle of vision', which is so repeatedly advocated by the author,

may or may not come. Let us hope, for the good of both India and England, that it will. The utter disregard of Indian public opinion betrayed in recent high civil appointments in India shows how deeply engrossed are the British statesmen with the affairs of their own country, and how little is the practical change which has come over the spirit of our rulers in the actual administration of the dependency. But

one thing is certain. The *post-bellum* reforms, if they are to satisfy Indian aspirations and the needs of the situation, must be much more thorough than our cautious author seems to think of. The book is got up in the best style, well bound, and offered at a very cheap price, and should have a large circulation in India.

POLITICS

## INDIAN PERIODICALS

C. R. Krishna Rao discusses the

**Possibilities and Limitation of Vernaculars in the Educational Review.** The abnormal system of teaching Indian boys through the medium of a foreign language, *viz.* English, should be dropped as soon as practicable. This may not be possible all at once but a start should and can be made immediately in the primary and secondary education of our children.

A great part of the time and energy of the student is wasted in acquiring the English language which is after all a means to an end. So long as English continues to be the medium of instruction means should be found to simplify it. The writer advocates the introduction of a more logical and reformed spelling which gives to one sound no more than one letter. The want of equivalents for scientific and technical terms in the vernaculars should not dishearten us, to start with we may import English technical words and gradually drop them with the progress of time, as they are doing in Japan.

Some of the limitations of vernaculars and their remedies are thus set forth by the writer.

First and foremost is the absence of suitable text books. The preparation of these has till now been left to private enterprise with what results it is unnecessary to state. To produce a really good text book the author must have not only a thorough knowledge of his subject but also possess a good command of the vernaculars. A combination of qualifications which is not easy to find in the same individual. Even in elementary text books technical words and expressions cannot be avoided. These are what may be called terms of art. If it is proposed to find or

coin suitable equivalents for these in the vernaculars no two authors would necessarily agree about them and it is of prime necessity that in the sciences, objects and processes should be denoted by only a single word. The most promising way of doing this business is to form an academy of scholars and scientists and charge them with the duty of preparing suitable graduated text books. When once they lead the way individual authors will follow in their wake.

The second objection has reference to the proviso on to teachers. At present in many schools there are boys speaking more than one vernacular. English is their common language now. But if instruction is to be imparted in the vernaculars then the schools will have to provide as many science masters as many history teachers as there are vernaculars represented in the school or leave the minority to shift for themselves. This is a practical difficulty, and one solution of it would be that in places where there is more than one school they agree that each will impart instruction in a different vernacular.

The third difficulty relates to the conduct of public examinations. If students are taught in the vernaculars they must be examined only in the vernaculars. There is a chief examiner who sets the questions and the assistant examiners help him in the valuation of the answers. The chief examiner is expected to supervise the valuation by his assistants so as to secure fairness and uniformity of standard. If the boys are to answer in the vernaculars the system that obtains at present must go. There must be as many chief examiners as there are vernaculars and as a necessary consequence a variety of standards, and not uniformity. It is possible to exaggerate the magnitude of this difficulty, but some means must be found to obviate it.

It is objected by the adherents of the old school of thought that if English is reduced to the status of a second language the student's knowledge of it is apt to be so meagre that he cannot follow lectures in the College classes. The advocates of the vernaculars also object on the ground that it is not consistent with national efficiency, that English should take the place of the vernaculars in College classes and they appeal to the example of Japan. It is easy to satisfy the first set of critics by altering the syllabus at the secondary stage or by devoting an extra year to the special study of English. The objection to the

## The Fine Arts of India.

In the course of a thoughtful article in the *Commonweal* P. Ramchand points out that politics is not the aim and end of a Nation, but only a means by which the Nation's aim is to be realised and that we are all working for Home Rule, because we think that Home Rule is the only proper framework on which the true progress of India can be built.

The task before the Home Rulers is thus set forth.

Home Rulers should work in all directions and should place themselves in close touch at least with all the prominent movements in the country, so that when Home Rule is actually attained, we shall not be unable to cope with it.

Religion Social Reform the spread of Education Fine Arts are all so many pearls of Indian Nationality and Home Rule is the string which is to join them together and give proper grace and dignity to them. The string is vital to the necklace break it all the pearls fall asunder (and that is exactly the state in which they are at present) but the pearls have to be polished before they are put on the string.

It is very disheartening to know that few people ever give serious attention to the development of our Fine Arts. Says the writer

As far as the educated youths are concerned I must confess that their appreciation of our National Arts is to say the least very disappointing. I have scarcely met any student who has showed a love for them rather have I found him with a vague impression that Indian Art is but the outcome of the eccentricities of an ancient barbarism. With this notion which is perfectly ingenious and which I am sad to say goes by too often unchallenged he cultivates a positive distaste for Indian Art. A distaste which he is very careful to hide and which under the circumstances necessarily forces him to shun all Indian Art wherever possible.

This disgust of the educated Indian youth towards his own Fine Arts is however not apparent where Music is concerned as in the case of painting and sculpture for music is the art most universally admired in India although the true appreciation of the right sort of music is on the wane.

The training which he has received in the course of his scholastic career is responsible for this dislike of the University-educated Indian youth for Indian Art. Indian Art is held in contempt by the sons of India.

I Because throughout his whole scholastic career, he is never taught what Art really is. Beyond poetry and English poetry too learnt through half a dozen poems and two or three dramatic works whose force of truth and beauty he may never be able to appreciate fully. He has no distinct notion of Art. Surely it is too much to expect him to appreciate Indian Art when he does not understand what Art itself is.

II Because his mind is so saturated with the Western mode of thought life and manners, and so

employment of the vernaculars in the University course is impossible in the present condition of things. The European professors in the various Colleges who teach the sciences and humanities have little or no acquaintance with the vernaculars.

We are gratified to learn from an article penned by a Dutch civilian and appearing in the *Commonweal*, that the demand of the Javanese for the introduction of

## Volunteering in Java

has not failed to draw the sympathy of the Dutch Government. We read that

Some Europeans and Javanese gentlemen at Batavia took the initiative in forming a Committee to induce the Government especially the Home Government, to take more efficient measures for the defence of Java.

The Committee elected a great many members from commercial and learned circles. The plan was to hold a great public meeting on the Queen's Birthday (August 31st) and send a deputation to hand over to Her Majesty to the State Secretary and Parliament, the motion which was to be carried at that meeting.

As soon however as the news of this plan became known at once similar Committees sprang forward in different towns. Medan (capital of Deli) Sumatra) Macassar (capital of Celebes) Surabaya Semarang Bandung Padang Menado and various other places of minor interest. The draft of a motion was framed by the Batavia Committee and negotiations began with the principal Javanese Associations. Sarekat Islam (800,000 members) Budi Utomo (the Association of the educated Javanese) the Princes League the Regents League (a Regent is the highest native official in the administration)—and the result was most gratifying as they were all found willing to carry the motion.

Plans are under consideration of the Government for an annual conscription of Europeans and educated Javanese. So the carrying of the motion included in some general way an acceptance of the idea of compulsory military service for at least some parts of the population.

On August 31st in nearly every place of any importance huge meetings were held. At the principal towns these were attended by ten even twenty thousand people. Everywhere the motion for adequate defence by a sufficiently strong army and navy, was unanimously carried with great enthusiasm. The motion was wired to the Queen and the Home authorities and was handed over by a special deputation—two Europeans one Javanese and one Chinese—to the Governor General.

A deputation has already been formed, presided over by the former Governor General Mr. Idenburg which will take the motion to Holland and hand it over to the Queen. It is due to leave early in January. The cost of the deputation about Rs. 50,000, are paid by different European firms and companies.

starved towards everything that is Indian, that he has lost all touch with the Indian spirit, and looks at everything Indian from the Western view point. So, even if he knows what Art is, he cannot be expected to appreciate Indian Art thoroughly, because it is the distinctive outcome of the National spirit of India.

III. Because the popular art of Ravi Varma, and the ear soothing music of our modern stage have stood a great deal in his way towards the true appreciation of the subtle beauties of Indian painting, and of the soulstirring scientific music of India. Ravi Varma's art is essentially alien to us in spite of the Indian subjects he treats of and, as such, sets back our forward march towards true Nationality; and in my opinion, both the Indian stage and Indian music will be greatly profited if only the stage would divorce its music from its precincts, thereby helping a great deal to the advancement of true music in the country.

IV. Lastly, because he has a mistaken notion that a work of art, if it is really a good one, is bound to appeal to him, however deficient he may be in his knowledge of Art. It is this childish notion that has worked a lot of mischief in his mind, and it is continually keeping him from appreciating Indian Art. It is difficult to convince him that it is only through a sound training in Art that one can truly appreciate a work of Art.

For the advancement of the Fine Arts in India the writer proposes the holding of a Fine Arts Conference annually and the creation of professorships of Fine Arts in each and every Indian University. The Hindu and the Mysore Universities may take the lead in this. He further proposes, and rightly too, that

*Every Home Ruler should make a deep study of it, and a study of Indian Art is as much essential to him as the study of Indian History, as it will reveal to him more vividly the glory of India's past. In fact, the study of Indian History and Art should go together and with this end in view, one should consider every Home Rule Library incomplete if it does not provide itself with books relating to Indian Art.*

### The Utilisation of Waste Products

The truth of Lord Palmerston's saying, that "Dirt is merely matter in the wrong place" is amply demonstrated by the ferts performed with the waste materials by the modern Engineer and the Industrial Chemist. Dr. Harish Chander mentions a few such instances in the pages of the *Wealth of India*. Says he:

Old tin cans cases and clippings are melted to be moulded into fancy buttons and toys for children, which sell throughout the world. Discarded shoes and pieces of rubber have become useful in manufacturing various substances. Not a single broken bottle or other piece of glass need be thrown away, for when crushed and mixed with the sweepings of street pavements, and certain kinds of earth and sand, it makes an excellent artificial stone for building purposes. Old rotten rags and pieces of cloth are bleached

and turned into best white note paper. All the toilet preparations and even confectionery are now manufactured and flavoured with numerous products extracted from coal-tar, which is a refuse of gas making plants such as are to be found in every large city. Beautiful colours of different shades, too well-known to be mentioned here, are the results of scientific labour on the same nasty substance. Saw dust thrown away as mere waste is used to sprinkle on the floors of cafes and butchers shops, where it prevents the dirt from sticking to the floor, and cemented with the hydrated oxide of magnesium, it is used for making excellent flooring tiles which are light and durable. Moreover 220 lbs. of this stuff, when distilled, yield 2 gallons of fine alcohol, with a series of important by-products. It is a fact that there are no less than 500 saw dust merchants in the city of New York alone, where they sell what is generally called 'waste' to the value of £4 00 000 every year. The slaughter house by-products are too numerous to be mentioned here. Bones are converted into artificial manures and animal charcoal, etc., and the very last drop of blood is made use of in making albumen and the like. Even the night soil and urine are made the source of so many useful compounds used in agriculture and medicine.

### Indo English Literature

G. V. Krupandhi writes in *East and West* for December to say that our talents are wasted away in trying to shine in a foreign language. The writer regrets the smallness of the output of Indian literature at the present day. For a thorough grasp of the idiom and sounds of a foreign language one must be born to the tongue. Only three Indians, says the writer, have created literature in the English language and they are Toru Dutt, Sarojini Naidu and Rabindranath Tagore. English being the medium of education in this country the vernaculars have lost their rightful place and been neglected. The writer correctly says that Sarojini Naidu with her splendid gifts could have achieved greater things if she wrote in Bengali.

It is worthy of note that the works of two of our greatest writers, viz., Rabindranath Tagore and Bankim Chandra Chatterjee are mostly in Bengalee. It would be a salutary change if our young men will instead of attempting English verse seriously, try to grasp the spirit of Western literature and express it in their own vernaculars. If the literary talents of our countrymen are devoted to the promotion of the vernaculars, India will no doubt raise a literature worthy of her ancient civilisation.

### Education in India and Europe

The November number of the *Mysore Economic Journal* contains an article from the pen of J. Chartres Molony of the Indian Civil Service which, we are confident, will

be read with profit and pleasure by those who want to see the spread of education in our country. In the course of the article the writer ably points out the fundamental difference in the views shared by Indians and Europeans regarding education. Says the writer

Admittedly European is more powerful, more prosperous, more healthy than India.

I do not assert that the European is invariably endowed by Providence with a better mind than the Indian. I merely state that the European perceives what is required and does almost automatically, many things that it takes years to make the Indian even consider. In other words the average European is infinitely better educated than the average Indian. The conclusion seems obvious—do as the Indian.

Perhaps just as some patients are best without medicine, so is the Indian best without education. Perhaps the education supplied is not quite what is needed. The latter seems to me the more probable alternative.

In Europe without saying how it is almost impossible to tell whether a man is educated or not. No one is difficultly or easily recognised in the East. In India if a man has passed certain examinations he is educated. If he has not passed if he is one of our old friends the "unpassed candidate," he is uneducated. India has in practice achieved the logical impossibility of simple conversion of a universal affirmative as follows—

All B.A.s are men of higher education.

Therefore all men of higher education are B.A.s. Or in other words no one who is not a B.A. is a man of higher education. And an Indian degree, unfortunately, has a definite market value, it practically assures its possessor of at least a miserable paid clerkship. *Per contra* it is difficult to obtain even a miserable clerkly wage without a degree. All this is lunacy to the West, where University education is prized but where a University degree is not an absolute condition precedent to the obtaining of a decent employment. In the eyes of the European employer, State or private, such degree is simply *prima facie* evidence that a young man has had an excellent opportunity for obtaining a sound general education, that at the most impressionable period of his life he has been under a sound sensible discipline by his elders who should have kept him out of vice and under a very sharp and effective discipline by his contemporaries that should certainly have kept him from "swelled head" and have taught him if he needed the teaching, that he must "brush his hair and teeth and speak the truth." But a young man is not an "untouchable" in the employment market simply because he is neither a B.A. nor even a matriculate.

On the day that he takes his degree the European, I know, feels that he is losing a Paradise on the same day the Indian student I suspect must often feel that he is escaping from a Purgatory. University days for the Indian too often have been days when he has lived in a squalid town lodging when he has been on a literal rack in his preparation for an examination in which he will probably fail (statistics show that the probability of failure are vastly greater than the probability of success) and wherein failure means a certain and final kind of damnation.

Shier poverty and the misery that poverty entails are often the hardships that weigh heavily on and handicap the Indian student. At times a boy who has it in him to learn is so ill kept back from learn-

ing by poverty the University will make a very long arm to help him.

Western University examinations apparently demand far less effort, certainly far less self-torture, than those of India. Failure to secure at least a pass degree is not usually an examination failure, it suggests that so and so has gone astray, has faded away from the University and out of University life altogether.

As regards "education of the people," more especially, "education of the working man" in India the writer observes

Underlying all that is said on this latter subject is generally a most fallacious assumption. This assumption is that nature really intended the working man the man who can use his hands to be illiterate, stupid of small account in other words "a cooly"; that the working man is by nature one thing, the "man who can or who ought to be educated" quite a different thing. Thus "artismanship" is abandoned to the illiterate. It is proposed to teach this illiterate mass early it would be a sounder strategy to introduce therein a literate leaven, to turn into artismanship those already educated or said to be educated. India first puts a boy to trade, lets him grow up at that trade, and then thinks of giving him some general education. Europe first gives a boy general education, and then only puts him to his trade.

The ordinary workman in Europe, certainly the "skilled workman of the City and of the Trades Union, is just as well educated as the Indian clerk, many such are better educated than the average Indian B.A. Europe would never have attained her present wealth, comfort, healthiness had she started with the axiom that all artismanship must be left as a close preserve for the illiterate, the uneducated, that a tincture of literacy was to be a gateless barrier dividing the clerk from the artisan.

The writer goes on to say

A cynical Moslem friend once observed to me that were Government to prescribe a certain degree of proficiency on the flying trapeze as sole qualification for clerkship, seventy per cent of Indian Schools would close at once, to be replaced next day by gymnasia. Disassociation of University examinations and Government service would probably result in a vast diminution of the number of University candidates a result which I fancy, the true educationist would view with equanimity. Those who remained would be the true stuff on which he might work.

To sum up

India needs to recognize that education is not a meaningless ordeal, which if successfully undergone, will entitle a young man to a scanty life pension, it is that which led rectly fits a young man to go out into the world and win advancement. Education is not the lost dog which one finds, brings to its owner, and, the advertised reward once paid, thinks no more about. Education is an aid to the doing of any thing; a sweepy will sweep all the better if he is educated and if he brings his education to bear on his sweeping.

The foregoing should assure our moneyed countrymen who are startled out of their wits at the mention of universal education,

and declare that this will certainly result in a dearth of menial servants leaving their comforts sadly neglected.

apart and are called the standing magistracy in opposition to the Judges the seated magistracy, as the former have to stand up in speaking to the Judges. These Prosecutors are obedient to the Prosecutor General (Procureur-General) who in his turn is bound to obey the orders of the Governor General but of nobody else.

### The Separation of Judicial and Executive Functions in Java

Whereas the Indian National Congress has been crying its loudest over the separation of Judicial and Executive functions in India with little effect, a definite advance made by Java in that line is recorded in an informing article contributed to the *Commonwealth* by an able Dutch Civilian.

Regarding the civil administration and the magistracy of Java we are told

The full regal power is placed in the hands of the Governor General, who appoints all officials except the Vice President of the Council (the Governor General is the President) the President of the High Court and the President of the *Chambre des Comptes* which controls the financial administration. In every territorial division the Governor General is represented by Residents in some parts called *justices* in India. Governors. Under the Residents work Assistant Residents (something like Collectors here), who are the real administrators in their respective subdivisions and are assisted by Controllers. These ranks of the Civil Service are exclusively reserved for Europeans. Besides practically under the Assistant Resident (though receiving the pay of a Resident) stands the highest native official the Regent and under him the district officers the under district officers and then the heads of the native communities villages (*desa*), hamlets (*kampung*). Of course where there are native rulers—sultans *rajas*—the part played by the children of the soil in the administration scheme is different, the European part however remains the same.

### As to the judicature

The jurisdiction over Europeans—both civil and criminal—is exercised by the Court of Justice of which there are six in the Archipelago and by the High Court at Batavia. Small civil affairs and contraventions come before the *landrecht*. All these Judges are European graduates. For the native jurisdiction there are a great number of Councils consisting of a European Doctor of Laws and some (usually three or four) notable Indians, with the right of appeal to the Courts of Justice above mentioned. The Judges are entirely free from all—even the smallest—Government influence and for all short comings these judicial officers must answer to the High Court only. The Prosecutors, as in all continental countries, are officials forming no hierarchy

### The writer goes on to say

In the days of our grandfathers the Presidents of Councils for native cases were the functionaries of the Civil Service, they perambulated their districts and presided over the Councils, and—as even now is mostly the case—the native members nearly always voted with the President, who also delivers the judgments. So the whole judicial control over the population was in the hands of the Executive officials.

In these far off days of course, the argument was put forward that the prestige of the civil functionaries would suffer under the new departure, however after the reorganisation had become a fact, no more complaint was heard and the prestige remains untouched. But it is true that the Executive still retained a mighty weapon with which to rule, and that was the Police Court jurisdiction, which still remained in its hands. In many districts of Java the Police Court jurisdiction is now in the hands of European graduate Judges called *landrecht*s specially designated for this work alone, and within two years hence this will be the case all over Java. As these Judges are under the supervision of the High Court the separation is now ultimately enforced.

In the islands surrounding Java this last step has not yet been taken, in some few regions the Civil officers are even still Presidents of the Councils, but doubtless there also the reforms will come in time, though it must not be forgotten that things are much more primitive there, the population having often scarcely risen above the savage state.

The only jurisdiction now not yet under the supervision and superintendence of the High Court is the police jurisdiction of trifling "contraventions" punishable by a few days imprisonment or small fines. It is enacted by Regency and District Courts, presided over by the Regents and District Chiefs—all Indians—assisted by minor Indian officials, and in some cases there is appeal to the Law Courts.

A final word may now be said concerning the fact that all Judges are Europeans. That also is to be changed in a few years. Even now the functions of Police Court Judges and President of Councils can be performed by Indians in theory, but only last year the first graduates came from the Law School—comparable with the Law Colleges in India—and these men are now in their probation period. Soon the Law School at Batavia will produce more graduates who can fill these places. So in a few years we shall have the pleasure of seeing them installed as Judges.

## FOREIGN PERIODICALS

Lala Lajpat Rai presents a sane and correct view of

### The Japanese Question

from the Asiatic standpoint in the pages of the *Outlook* (New York).

Till the Chino-Japanese War of 1894-1895 Russia was the great bogey of India.

No one in India thought the Chino-Japanese War was in effect a war to check the endeavors of Russia to create a hegemony for herself in the Far East. The feeling was that in weakening China Japan was playing into the hands of the European Powers. She herself was considered to be too small a nation to overcome European aggressions in China if the latter was rendered incapable of defending herself. The Asiatic sentiment was altogether in favour of China. They looked upon Japan's fight with China as the attempt of a younger member of the family to oust, humiliate, and destroy an elder who had so far been an object of respect and admiration. So, at the end of the war, when Germany and Russia stepped in to coerce Japan to give up the fruits of her victory and barred her from getting a foothold on the mainland, the Orient was disposed to look upon the interference as more or less an act of benevolence towards China.

Then came the Boxer rising. The Orient, though it did not approve of all that the Boxers did, was in full sympathy with them, and looked upon the Boxers' rising "as a protest against foreign aggressions in China and fully sympathised with their object."

The excesses and brutalities committed by the soldiery of the Powers after they had put down the rising roused the bitterest indignation of the Orient. The people of Asia did not like the Japanese taking part in the excesses or even standing by, considering that they belonged to the same race and were, in fact bound to each other by ties of blood and language.

The Japanese victories over Russia, on land and sea, during the Russo-Japanese War, created unbounded enthusiasm in Asia generally, but particularly in India. In fact, the Japanese successes were an impetus to the development of the Nationalist movement in India. It was Japan who proved that patriotism was not altogether a western virtue and democratic institutions were not the peculiar products of Europe. These could as well take root in modern times on Asiatic soil.

The present coercive policy of Japan towards China has, however, created dis-

satisfaction in India. The Orientals are perplexed at the constant bullying of China by Japan, as it is impossible for people sitting in India to realise how much of Japan's policy relating to China is inspired by the instinct of self-preservation.

The learned writer concludes his ably written article by saying that

Friendliness with Asiatic people does not imply hostility or conflict with non Asiatics, but, if it ever comes to that, Japan's strength, safety, and security will best lie in the affectionate sympathy and support of the billions of Asiatics, rather than in the half-hearted support of one or more European nations.

Young Japan probably considers this as sentimental and outside the scope of practical politics, so it is difficult to imagine what is going to happen.

Anyway Japan has the best wishes of the Oriental peoples in her progress, in the hope that she, on her side, will respect their manhood and integrity.

### Professional Training for the Police

forms the subject of an important article contributed to the *Survey* by Graham Taylor, which should deserve the serious attention of those who are at the head of the Police department in this country.

Every sane man will agree in believing that "policemen would be able to render greater service if they knew something about the nature and laws of evidence, about physiology and anatomy, elementary psychology, personal and public hygiene and practical sociology." To this end in view, we are told, the faculty of North-western University of the United States of America proposed classes three times a week.

And it was suggested that in addition to university instructors, specialists in various aspects of police work be secured to give the instruction. In addition to the topics above named, criminal law and procedure, first aid to the injured, the observation of charitable and penal institutions at work, and a comparative study of police administration were suggested.

The efforts of the United States to train the American policemen are thus set forth :

Cities in the United States have, of course, lagged far behind those in Europe in demanding professional attainments of their police. Philadelphia, St. Louis, and Chicago are among the American cities that have set up a compulsory thirty days' training course for



new policemen, although patrolmen are taught little more than to be clever and tactful, and to know something of the laws and ordinances they enforce.

In New York City Commissioner Woods has built up one of the best schools in the country. Heretofore a six weeks' course of instruction for recruits was all that was attempted. This has now been lengthened to three months and the curriculum broadened to take in nearly every branch of police service.

Ever since 1908 Berkeley Cal., which has a small police force of ninety members, has been trying to raise the educational standard of the department. The University of California was the first to offer initiative and academic assistance to this end. For eight years required courses covering the following topics have been furnished by some of its professors and other specialists: elementary rules of evidence, general principles of evidence, criminal law, elementary physiology, first aid to the injured and municipal sanitation, parasitology, elementary psychology and feeble mindedness in its relation to crime, psychiatry, physical defects and their relation to crime; social causes of crime.

As a practical effect of such training upon the morale and efficiency of the police department, August Vottmer, chief of police of Berkeley, bears testimony to the more intelligent manner in which much of the police work of Berkeley is performed by the officers. He further opines that

The police officer should be trained for the profession in much the same manner as physicians, attorneys and other professionals are prepared for their life work. There should be established in every state university a chair of criminology and no person should ever be appointed to do police duty until he or she has secured from such an institution the necessary degrees to qualify as an officer.

Salvatore Ottolenghi, director of the Schools of Scientific Police in Rome gives the following three reasons for the adoption of the new system

(1) To introduce a scientific method based on investigation in all the departments of the police. Every preventive and repressive measure ought to be based upon an actual and profound knowledge of normal and of criminal men especially. Each branch of the police administration should adopt the method, founded upon investigation, i.e., nothing else but the application of Galileo's experimental, objective and rational method which made experimental science possible. By extending this method of the study of moral evils, modern psychology, psychiatry, and anthropology were created. This method if applied to the police would serve as a safeguard against errors of any kind. It is the most reliable way to discover the truth.

(2) To seek the support of biology, psychology, and criminal anthropology for investigations, i.e., to reckon with natural laws when we investigate, cross-examine, and report on facts.

(3) To rest all police work on the thorough knowledge of man especially of the criminal type and to make use of the teachings of anthropology and psychology for the better prevention and suppression of crimes and for the discovery and more efficient supervision of criminals.

The writer holds that collegemen should

volunteer and train themselves for commanding police positions, as they do now for similar ranks in other departments.

We are at one with the writer when he concludes by saying

To help the right as well as to hinder the wrong, to make it easier to be good as well as harder to be bad, to encourage the better as well as to arrest the worse, to overcome evil with good, to promote virtue as well as to destroy vice and crime, to build up the town as a part of its plan for progress—these functions require in the police as well as in officials and citizens of every other class soul as truly as strength, character as surely as physique so all qualities and intelligence as well as other technical training.

### In an interesting article entitled Sleep and Summer Time

contributed to the *New Statesman* by *Lens*  
*we read*

We may study the natural course of sleep by means of exact stimuli of various kinds—tactile, visual, auditory and so forth—applied to the sleeper through the course of his slumbers. Directly we do so we begin to realize the importance of the factor of depth in sleep. Briefly, we find that the first hours of sleep are the deepest, whilst towards the natural end of a period of sleep a stimulus will suffice to awaken the sleeper which would have been of no avail some hours previously. The intensity of sleep is greatest, and its value proportional, during the earlier part of a period of slumber—at whatever hour of the clock that happens to be.

It is more difficult for most people to sleep well in the hot weather. In winter we can pile the clothes on and when once we are warm enough we shall sleep—partly, no doubt, because the comparative anaemia of the sleeping brain is favored by the withdrawal of much blood to the warm skin. But when the skin becomes too warm and starts to send messages of irritation to the would-be sleeping brain we are "in a pickle." Furthermore, the light begins to come in at the windows just when the natural intensity of our sleep is beginning to diminish. This would not waken us if we were sleeping as deeply as we did in the first three hours, say, after going to bed. But our sleep is now shallower; and so we wake or else short of waking, we sleep still nearer to consciousness, perhaps with many dreams; and our sleep being shallower, is less refreshing. We may exclude the light by means of photographic blinds and so forth but it is very difficult to do so effectively without simultaneously excluding the air and so raising the temperature of the bedroom, and losing in one respect what is gained in another.

For the child, sleep is the period of growth and construction, during the comparative cessation of katabolism the body builds up—in the process of anabolism—the new tissues from the food of the day. I have long taught that the factor of sleep is therefore one of cardinal importance, and that the eugenist is in danger of talking nonsense who makes genetic assertions about the various classes of the community without considering the extremely inferior quality of sleep available for the children of the classes whence almost all our children now come. The light comes into their eyes, their rooms are badly ventilated, and

the problem is thus markedly worse for them in summer than in winter. They are constantly subjected to noise, which spoils the quality of their sleep in a high degree. If we shut the windows to exclude the noise and give the children a chance, we injure them in other ways.

The most certain and general error about sleep is the assumption that it can be measured by the clock. Sleep has depth as well as length, and the factor of depth is the more important of the two. With sleep of healthy depth probably go the minimum of dreams or, at any rate, of dreams that can be remembered on waking. Evidently dreams are conditions of partial consciousness, which is the contrary of sleep though many healthy persons and good sleepers aver that they are regular and extensive dreamers. The character of dreams largely depends upon the nature of stimuli falling upon the sensorium during sleep, and also apparently, upon the nature of stimuli received during the previous waking hours. Thus it is asserted that the daily noise of modern cities is responsible for the increasingly auditory character all-given of the dreams experienced by modern citizens. But certainly visual dreams are diminished by sleeping in real darkness.

### Fraudulent Art

"The wealthy individual collector—often quite ignorant both of antiquity and of art, and inspired mainly by the sheer lust of possessing costly and envied things—has given an enormous impetus to the trade in forged antiques," so says W. J. Stevenson in the course of an interesting and informing article contributed to the *Chambers's Journal*.

This trade goes back almost as far as the history of art itself. It is curious that the work of forgers of past times having a distinct artistic value of their own has become the object of imitation by forgers of to-day.

The writer goes on to say

We possess today the forged scarabs and ornaments found in such quantities in perfectly genuine and untouched Egyptian tombs of the later dynasties. These were imported from Greece and as a rule are easily distinguished from the genuine article—being by no means such good imitations as those turned out in immense quantities from Birmingham today, and destined to be palmed off as genuine on the guileless tourist beneath the very shadow of the Pyramids. In their turn, Greek artists were imitated by the Romans, and both became the subjects of attention on a large scale in Italy when the Renaissance brought classical antiquities again into favor in Europe. Indeed as possibly the most illustrious of all fakers we must mention no less a name than that of Michelangelo—a good many of whose earlier works were chipped and buried, to be later resurrected and passed off by the dealers of his time as classical antiques. One example at least is still preserved in the shape of the "Hercules" at Turin bought by Caesar Borgia from the sculptor for a mere trifle after it had been returned on the latter's hands by an ignorant purchaser who had discovered the trick played upon him. Such artists as Fra

Filippo Lippi, Andrea del Sarto, Botticelli, and others of equal fame were not above turning out the most amazingly exact reproductions of famous pictures, either to the order of a patron or occasionally as a mere exercise in technical skill. In fact, in more than one instance, the question of which is original and which reproduction, has been ever since hotly debated. It was by no means unusual for a son or other relative to inherit alike the family name and skill and go on turning out paintings long after the reputed artist was laid under the sod. Such an instance was that of Jacob van Huysum, who signed most of his work with the name of the more famous Jan, while artists as skilful as Teniers the Younger would confine their talents largely to work in the style of others notably to that of Titian.

In plastic art quite the most notorious fabricator on record was the wonderfully gifted Bastianini. As a youth he was the assistant to a Florentine sculptor, and he developed an astonishing genius at imitating the best Italian work. About the middle of the nineteenth century his gifts were recognized by a Florentine antiquary, who gave him the means of studying the subject systematically, and of employing his talents in the work he genuinely loved. Work of his was sold as that of the best Italian sculptors, and examples found their way even to the Louvre and to South Kensington. A good deal doubtless, passes unsuspected even today, but the fact of Bastianini's existence was revealed to the world by his claiming a reward of six hundred pounds offered by the Director of the Louvre to anyone who could execute a work in similar style to a bust of the Italian poet Girolamo Benivieni. This bust had been bought by the Louvre for a large sum as genuine, though actually it had been made by Bastianini for his master, who had paid him fourteen pounds for it, and the offer had been made as a challenge to some experts who expressed their doubts of its genuineness.

Odesa, is the home of the "fake" antique jewelry trade, at least so far as gold and silver work is concerned. Cameos, intaglios and engraved gems of one kind and another mostly had either from Switzerland or from Vienna, though the finest examples come as a rule from Italy.

Statuettes of all kinds in clay, marble, alabaster, wax, and so on are turned out in Paris in immense numbers. Ancient Italian bronze statuettes are imitated to perfection in Tuscany, the fine green patina which so many collectors regard as a guarantee of age being produced by chemical means. Ancient ironwork is also a specialty of Italy, especially of Florence, and wonderfully exact reproductions of ancient armor and weapons are made both in France and Italy. Italy excels more particularly in the plainer and ruder work of the earlier period, while French workmen turn out the most magnificent imitations of the highly ornamented and valiant armor which was a feature of the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries.

A very great deal of pottery and glassware is today manufactured expressly to impose on the collector, and it must be admitted that in one important department—the manufacture of bogus Sevres and Dresden ware, London may claim the dubious honour of being pre-eminent. Paris manufactures the work of French potters from Palissy downward, while Italy, which does not disdain any species of fabrication does perhaps most in the direction of ancient Græco-Roman ware. Venice still turns out "ancient" Venetian glass while German and Bohemian ware of the best periods is still made in Hamburg.

## NOTES

## Can India Supply a Qualified Electorate?

Mr Lionel Curtis writes in *The Problem of the Commonwealth*

In India the rule of law is firmly established. Its maintenance is a trust which rests on the government of the Commonwealth until such time as there are Indians enough able to discharge it. India may contain leaders qualified not only to make but also to administer the laws but she will not be ripe for self-government until she contains an electorate qualified to recognize those leaders and place them in office. From its nature national self-government depends, not upon the handful of public men needed to supply cabinets and parliaments but on the electorate on the fitness of a sufficient proportion of the people themselves to choose rulers able to rule. Such men there are already but not in sufficient numbers to assume the control of Indian affairs. (P. 207)

Mr Curtis is not unwilling to admit that India may contain 'rulers able to rule,' though 'not in sufficient numbers', the difficulty which he raises is the absence of a sufficiently large and qualified electorate to recognize those leaders and place them in office. Let us see whether we are not yet fit immediately to take the first step towards really representative and responsible self-government. Mr Curtis needs reminding that countries which are now self-governing like England, Canada or Germany, did not, when they started on the career of self rule, have an electorate sufficiently large and qualified to choose the leaders such as he requires India to show. But it may be considered impertinent on our part to suggest a comparison with the earlier stages of self rule in independent or self-ruling countries. So, let us take the case of a country which is dependent like India.

After a century and a half of British rule in India, we shall be content to begin with what political rights the Filipinos possessed before the passage of the Jones Bill in a modified form in 1916, and they have been under American rule for only 18 years. These rights, obtained within nine years of the American occupation will be understood from the summary of the Philippine constitution as described in the *Statesman's Year Book for 1916*,\* which we gave in the *Modern*

*Review* for November, 1916, p. 566. The Philippine electorate consisted of about 200,000 persons, before the passage of the new law a few months ago. The civic rights of the Filipinos have now been further expanded and the new law will grant the voting rights to about 800,000 men. But we shall be content, as a beginning, with the rights enjoyed by the 200,000 men before the passage of the new law. The Filipinos are not a more intelligent and civilized people than the Indians, nor were their ancestors more intelligent and civilized than ours. Nor can it be said that, before the American occupation, they were more accustomed to civilized methods of self-government than ourselves. The right to elect their legislators and rulers which they have hitherto exercised under American suzerainty can, therefore, be exercised by us.

The population of the Philippine Islands is nine millions in round numbers. We may take the male population to number four and a half millions. Thus the 200,000 voters form a little more than 4.4 per cent of the total male population. Can the British provinces of India show at least 4.4 per cent of adult males who are qualified to elect their rulers and legislators? That is the question.

Mr Curtis says

'The exercise of political power by a citizen must obviously depend on his fitness to exercise it. The

tive and president of the Philippine Commission, and eight Commissioners, three Americans and five Filipinos. The Philippine Commission constitutes the Upper House and the elective Philippine Assembly the Lower House of the Legislative body. The members of the Assembly hold office for four years and the Legislature elects two Resident Commissioners to the United States who hold office for the same term. These are members of the United States House of Representatives with a voice but not a vote. The islands are divided into 36 provinces of which 31 are regular and the rest special. The Government of each of the regular provinces is vested in a provincial board composed of a Governor and two vocals. The Governor is the chief executive of the province and presiding officer of the board. He and the vocals of the board are all elected by popular vote. The Government of towns is practically autonomous, the officials being elected by the qualified voters of the municipalities and serving for four years."

\* The Central Government in the Philippines is composed of the Governor General who is the chief executive

degree of fitness differs in individuals but in practice there must be some rough and ready tests such as that of domicile, age, property or education, by which it is determined

There would be no difficulty about the right of domicile, as for age, that of legal majority will do, regarding property and educational qualifications, there are free countries which insist on both, there are others which insist on neither, and there are some which insist on only one of the two

Some countries (e.g. Austria, Germany, France) have adopted the principle of what is often termed "manhood or universal suffrage" i.e. every male adult, not a criminal or a lunatic being entitled to a vote, but in all cases some further qualifications than mere manhood are required as in Austria a year's residence in the place of election or in France a six months residence. A common qualification is that the elector should be able to read and write. This is required in Italy and Portugal and some of the smaller European states in some states of the United States and in many of the South American republics — *The Encyclopaedia Britannica*.

A property qualification is required in many countries. As it is not possible to say offhand how many men in India possess a certain fixed property qualification, we shall judge of the number of possible electors according to the qualifications of domicile, age, and education. Indian males become adult at eighteen for many legal purposes. But for the right to vote, we shall take the age of majority to be 20, as e.g. in Hungary, or 21, as in many countries. Let us now see how many literate males of the age of 20 and over each British province contains, and what proportion of the total male population they constitute, according to the census of 1911

Province	Total males	Literate Males of 20 and over	Percentage of adult literate Males to total
Assam	3 467 621	220 652	Over 60
Bengal	23 365 225	2 363 230	" 100
Bihar & Orissa	16 859 929	1 009 137	" 50
Bombay	10 245 847	921 301	" 90
Burma	6 145 471	1 802 573	" 290
C. P. Berar	6 930 392	356 237	" 50
Madras	20 382 955	2 112 036	" 100
N. W. F. P.	1 182 102	53 244	" 45
Punjab	10 992 067	565 719	" 50
U. P.	24 641 831	1 097 097	" 44
India	124 213 440	10 500 263	86

It has been stated before that the

200,000 Filipino voters form a little more than 44 per cent of the total male population of the Philippine Islands. The table given above shows that the most backward provinces of India contain that and more than that proportion of adult males who can read and write and British India taken as a whole possesses adult literate males who are 86 per cent of the total number of males, and they would certainly be able to exercise the right of voting at elections as intelligently as voters of average intelligence in all free countries and certainly in the Philippines. It cannot be truthfully contended that our average of intelligence is lower than that in the least advanced of free countries which possess some sort of representative self government. If the Maoris of New Zealand and the Kaffirs and Hottentots can exercise the right of voting why cannot Indians? There are in India many illiterate men who have shops of moderate dimensions and farms of moderate size, which they manage successfully. They should be entitled to the franchise. There is not the least doubt that according to either property or educational qualifications (as for example in Portugal, where if a man can read and write he need not have the property qualification), in addition to the qualifications of age and domicile, there can be a sufficiently large electorate in every province of India. Our people have been accustomed to representative methods in caste and rural organisations from time immemorial. From social affairs to civic, the transition is not difficult of achievement, and elections in connection with village panchayats, unions, municipalities, local boards, district boards, provincial councils and the imperial council have been accustoming people to elections. We prefer not to refer here to the civic and political achievement of our forefathers.

The objection is sometimes raised that what is possible in a small country, is not practicable in a large one. But when our political critics have to deny that Indians are a nation, they assert that Bengal, the Punjab, Maharashtra, &c. are distinct and separate countries. Why not, then, give us the benefit of this assertion, and treat Bengal, &c. as distinct entities? These comparatively small tracts may then be made at least as autonomous as the Philippines were before the new law.

## Education as the Path to Freedom

Mr Lionel Curtis says —

'In the Dependencies a great majority of the citizens are not as yet capable of governing themselves, and for them the path to freedom is primarily a problem of education. Even in their own local affairs they can only be made responsible in so far as they are fit for the charge. It is the duty of those who govern them to do everything possible to fit them for it. But no power on earth can give self-government to whole communities which are not yet equal to the task' (P 18)

Education may here be taken to mean both general education and education in self-government. As regards general education, America has done more in 18 years to educate the Filipinos than England has done to educate India in more than a century. "Efficiency" stands in the way of the spread of education. Even before the war, financial stringency has always been trotted out as an excuse for not doing all that is necessary for educational progress, though at the same time money has been found for other more expensive but less necessary things. The Indian Civil Servants are the real rulers of India. They do not like education. Mr A W Ward, M A, Professor, Canning College, Lucknow, observed in a note which he submitted to the Royal Commission on the Public Services in India in 1913 —

'We are all accustomed to hear civilians say that education has ruined the country. This is not true,

Again —

'The educational department is represented in the secretariat by the judicial secretary who is selected for this office from the district judges. In consequence he has no knowledge of the administration of schools for he has had no experience. When therefore the director of public instruction sends up proposals to government, they are criticised on everything but expert lines by a man ignorant of educational principles and without any practical experience. As a result proposals are greatly delayed in execution, and frequently so mutilated as to be quite different in their operation from the original intention.

"The path to freedom" may lie through education, but sufficient education can be had in India only through freedom, unless we have self rule and can control the purse, we can never have sufficient education. It is a perfect vicious circle. Bureaucrats of the Indian Civil Service do not include an entirely literate India in their scheme of things, for they know that an educated nation will not tolerate the possession by them of exclusive privileges. As Prof Ward says in the aforesaid note

That Service is a compact body of men all appointed under exceptional terms of tenure of appointment, free of any period of probation in the country, and highly disciplined and organised. Is it not likely that such a body will put its privileges, its emoluments its prestige and its power of domination before its duties and its sense of public service to the country?

In education in self-government also America has done more for the Filipinos in 18 years than England has done for the Indians in more than a hundred years. Self-government can be learnt only in the school of self-government. As Mr Curtis himself observes, "the exercise of responsibility tends to increase fitness for exercising it. As every one finds in his own experience, it is in having to do things that a man learns how to do them and develops a sense of duty with regard to them. And that is why political power is and ought to be extended to whole classes of citizens, even when their knowledge and sense of responsibility is still imperfectly developed." This has been done in the Philippines, but not in India.

In a pamphlet entitled "*What should our Attitude as Christians be to Indian Nationalism*," Mr Edwyn Bevan says —

In all true learning the pupil is active as well as the master. No one could learn to paint if the teacher held his hand all the time and moved it without the learner's will. The learner has to try for himself and make his mistakes. And the more he learns the more independent he becomes of the teacher. Some old philosophers said, "I am teaching my pupils to do without me. Of course if Indians are allowed to act in any department of government on their own initiative and on their own responsibility they will sometimes make a mess of it. It is like a child learning to walk—it is only by tumbling that anyone learns to walk unsupported. The parent who withers his authority in order to leave scope for his child's free personality has often to be prepared to see the child go wrong. Some parents cannot bring themselves to that. But wiser parents know the time for each successive enlargement of their children's freedom."

Though it is rather funny to suggest that Indians are still like children learning to walk, the principle that it is only responsibility which fits men for it is sound. As for the possibility of our sometimes "making a mess of it," have not some free and independent and strong nations made a mess of it in recent years and months, not once or twice, but oftener?

**Alleged insufficiency of "rulers able to rule"**

Mr Curtis says that in India there are already "rulers able to rule," but not in sufficient numbers. How does he know?

In what kind of duties, civil or military, have Indians been given a fair chance to prove their capacity, to which they have not proved equal? It is the misfortune of dependent peoples that the proof of their fitness is made to depend upon the certificate of their foreign rulers, whose occupation would be gone, at any rate to a great extent, if they gave that certificate.

*The Philippine Review* says:—

Dependent peoples are always looked upon by westerners as short of qualifications, and, whatever their actual merits may be, they (their merits) are lost sight of under cover of such advisably prevailing belief that they (said people) are short of qualifications.

Their failures are magnified, and their successes minimized. Their failures are theirs, and their successes not theirs, and the latter are necessarily the work of their masters.

The mistakes of independent peoples are not mistakes to them; but the same mistakes, if made by dependent peoples even in the minimum degree, are considered mistakes in the maximum degree, deserving the most spiteful condemnation,—the result of their alleged lack of qualifications, character or what not.

Besides, dependent peoples are not in a position to act for themselves; for others act for them—those who, for one reason or another in one way or another, have assumed responsibility for their tutelage—and are always discriminated against, and subject to the pleasure of their masters whose convenience must obtain.

On the other hand, an independent people are free from outside prejudices, none cares to waste time searching for their virtues and vices, and they are *per se* considered as fully qualified people, particularly if before and behind them big modern guns can deafeningly roar defensively and offensively.

### An Assumption and a Pretension.

When we express a desire for self rule, it is generally assumed that we want to cut off all political connection with England; though it has been made clear again and again that, whatever the remote and ultimate result of the attainment of self-rule by us may be, the direct and immediate object of our political endeavours is a position within the British Empire similar to that of the self-governing dominions. This wrong assumption is to be found in two recent publications. Thus it is observed in Mr. Edwyn Bevan's pamphlet "*What should our Attitude as Christians be to Indian Nationalism*":—

If by our leaving India to-morrow India could start as a self-governing community, we ought to leave India to-morrow. But it is practically certain that if the foreign rule were withdrawn from India at this moment Indian native rule would not have the degree of efficiency necessary to make free India a "going concern" amongst the nations of the world. The more sober-minded even of Indians admit that the first

result of the withdrawal of the English would be chaos.

But does not the writer know that we do not want Englishmen "to leave India to-morrow"? As the equivalent of the untold wealth and other advantages which England has been deriving from her connection with India, we want Englishmen to help us to do without them more and more. We do not want to be in tutelage for ever. We want an acceleration of the pace of our political progress.

Mr. Lionel Curtis says in *The Problem of the Commonwealth*:

"Not one of them [British ministers] would venture to say that either of these countries [India and Egypt] can be left to shift for itself, or could even be placed, for the present, in the same position as Canada or Australia. Responsible leaders of the national party in India would scarcely repudiate this view, and any proposal to deal with India now as the Transvaal and Free State were dealt with in 1907 would strike some if not all of them with dismay. They would say that, whatever the rate of the progress to be made in that direction, the final authority in Indian affairs must remain, for the present, where it now rests" [The italics are ours].

Here the author has mixed up two different propositions. One is to leave India to shift for herself, and the other is to give her self rule, similar to, though it may not be identical with, that of the self-governing Dominions. The first is not our demand, and therefore it ought not to be assumed as if it were. We can no more at present shift for ourselves than the Dominions in their present condition can do so. Can Australia, left to herself, defend herself against a hostile Japan? Can Canada, left to herself, maintain an independent political existence against an inimical United States?

The real attitude of Indians to the British Empire is clear to those foreigners who have no axes to grind and who take an unselfish interest in our affairs. For instance, the Rev. J. T. Sunderland of America says:—

"While India wants freedom to shape her own affairs her wisest minds do not desire separation from England. They recognize many strong ties between the two countries which they would not see broken. While they are determined not much longer to lie prostrate beneath England's feet, they would gladly stand by her side, arm in arm with her, firmly united for great ends of mutual welfare and mutual strength. An Anglo-Indian Empire is one of the splendid possibilities of the future, binding Britain and her colonies and her great Asiatic possession into a powerful world spanning federation of free peoples. Something like this is the dream of India's greatest leaders and it is also the dream of not a few of Britain's most far-seeing minds."

As to the second proposition, we do think that India can at present be placed in the same position as Canada and Australasia. We do not look forward to it with the least dismay. We should like very much to know the names of the "responsible leaders of the national party in India" who would be dismayed at the prospect.

Mr. Edwyn Bevan observes:—

"It could hardly be right for us to take a course [i.e., withdrawal from India] which would entail distress upon millions for whom we have made ourselves responsible simply because some hundreds of men in the country tell us they would like it."

The underlying suggestion here is that Englishmen rule India and do not want immediately to withdraw from India primarily and chiefly, if not entirely, because they want to save us from the miseries of chaos. While we are by no means blind to the advantages of peace and order, our view is that the presence of Englishmen in India, whatever its advantages to us, is not in pursuit of a philanthropic enterprise. Englishmen are in India primarily and chiefly because it is a paying business to be here. "The White Man's Burden" consists of gold nuggets. The benefits derived by us from his presence are by-products, though like many other by-products they may be very valuable.

We do not mean to suggest that not a single Englishman has realised England's mission in India and acted accordingly. It would be contrary to the truth to do so.

### Political Philanthropy.

We read in *The Problem of the Commonwealth*:—

"The task of preparing for freedom the races which cannot as yet govern themselves is the supreme duty of those who can. It is the spiritual end for which the Commonwealth exists, and material order is nothing except as a means to it. The burden of achieving it cannot be limited to the people of the British Isles. To be carried to an issue, it must be assumed by all the Dominions fit for self-government. The heritage of freedom cannot be wrapped in a napkin, nor buried in the field of those who are heirs to it. It can only be kept where boldly lent, increased by usury, and spread to the uttermost parts of the earth."

This sounds loftily philanthropic. But how have the colonists performed their duties in this respect? In Canada and Australasia, the aborigines are everywhere in a hopeless minority; in fact, in some parts, e. g., Tasmania, they are non-

existent. It is, therefore, not necessary to give any detailed description of the political status of the aborigines in Canada and Australasia. It is in the Union of South Africa that the aborigines are in a majority in every province. Out of a total population of 5,973,394 only 1,276,242 are Europeans. Let us see how the lofty principles enunciated by Mr. Curtis have been followed there. The Senate consists of forty members, 8 being nominated by the Governor-General in Council, and 32 elected. Out of the eight nominated members, four are "selected for their acquaintance with the reasonable wants and wishes of the coloured races." But even these four are Europeans, as "each senator must be a British subject of European descent." The House of Assembly consists of 130 members, each of whom "must be a British subject of European descent." "As population increases the total number of members may be raised to 150. The seats allotted to each province are determined by its number of European male adults as ascertained by a quinquennial census," thus no regard being paid to the number or existence of the "natives," though they form an overwhelming majority of the population. The qualifications of parliamentary voters are also worthy of note. "In the Transvaal and Orange Free State provinces the franchise is restricted to white adult male British subjects." In Natal "coloured persons are not by name debarred from the franchise but they are in practice excluded." In the Cape province no colour bar exists only as regards voters. Here the number of registered electors in 1907 was 152,135, of whom over 20,000 were non-Europeans. It should, however, be remembered that there are 2,564,965 inhabitants in Cape Colony of whom only 582,377 are Europeans. Another fact to be specially noted is that even the right to vote enjoyed only by some "natives" in this province is grudged, as the following passage from the *Encyclopædia Britannica* will show:—

"In January 1905 an inter colonial native affairs commission reported on the native question as it affected South Africa as a whole, proposals being made for an alteration of the laws in Cape Colony respecting the franchise exercised by the natives. In the opinion of the commission the possession of the franchise by the Cape natives under existing conditions was sure to create in time an intolerable situation, and was an unwise and dangerous thing. The commission proposed separate voting by natives only for a fixed num

ber of members of the legislature—the plan adopted in New Zealand with the Maori voters. The privileged position of the Cape native was seen to be an obstacle to the federation of South Africa. The discussion which followed, based partly on the reports that the ministry contemplated disfranchising the natives, led, however, to no immediate results."

This shows the boasted political philanthropy of the colonists in its true light. As Mr. Polak has dwelt on the Asiatic exclusion policy in our last number we refrain from referring to it as an additional proof.

### A False Analogy.

*The Problem of the Commonwealth* contains the following passage, in support of the alleged self-imposed mission of the colonists to enfranchise us which we have examined in the previous note :—

"The larger the number of voters who can be trusted to consider the public interest before their own, the more freely can political power be extended to citizens whose patriotism is still short of that point and needs to be developed by exercise. Hence it is easier and safer to exercise a backward race in the practice of self-government in a country like New Zealand than in one like South Africa. And so it follows that in the great Dependencies more rapid progress towards liberal institutions could be made, if the people of the Dominions as well as those of the British Isles were jointly responsible for their government."

As the number of Europeans in South Africa is larger than in New Zealand, and as they are considered by the author fitter to exercise political power than the "natives," we do not see why New Zealand should be considered a better school for training the aborigines in the art of self-government than South Africa. What the author probably means is that the Europeans being in a very large majority in New Zealand and in a very small minority in South Africa, the proportion of Europeans to natives is larger in New Zealand than in South Africa; from which we deduce the curious principle that, unlike schooling in other arts, schooling in self-government requires that the number of the teachers must be greater than the number of the taught! Shorn of all self-deception, cant, or hypocrisy, this means that the European colonists will agree to teach the natives self-government only where and when these learners are in a hopeless minority and are not in the least likely even in the distant future to endanger the privileged position of the Europeans in any scheme of self-government!

But supposing New Zealand is a better training ground than South Africa, does that mean that in the latter country *no training at all* in self-government is to be given to the natives? For, except in the Cape province, the natives nowhere have the vote in South Africa, and even in Cape Colony the franchise has been sought to be taken away from them; and in no province can they become senators or members of the House of Assembly.

Let us, however, suppose that the Colonists are selfless missionaries and teachers of self-government to the natives. The European colonists in New Zealand are able to give the aboriginal Maoris training in self-rule because they are neighbors and because the former outnumber the latter. What the author says means then that, for the purpose of teaching the art of self-rule, (1) Europeans are to occupy the same territory as the natives, the two classes being thus permanent neighbors, and (2) the Europeans are to be numerically superior to the natives. Now, in India Europeans are not and cannot be the permanently settled neighbors of the Indians. How then can the proposed schooling be given to us even if the colonists were to be jointly responsible with the Britishers for our government? Obviously, in the author's opinion, self-government cannot be taught from a distance or by deputing an adequate number of competent teachers. If it could be, the New Zealanders could have taught the South African natives and the Indians the art of self-government by telepathy or by means of correspondence schools. As regards the second condition, viz., that the Europeans are to be more numerous than the "natives", this would be utterly impossible in India even if the entire sixty millions of the white people inhabiting the British empire were able to emigrate to and settle in India. We should still be more than five times as numerous as the whites.

When, therefore, the author says that because the Maori inhabitants of New Zealand have got votes under the white colonial rule, Indians also will get the franchise under the proposed rule of the colonists, he sets up an entirely false analogy.

Nor is he right in thinking that we are as backward in the art of self-government and in civilization as the Kaffirs, the Bushmen, the Hottentots, the Zulus and the Maoris. Men who propose to run the



whole empire should know something of the present and past history and condition of the largest part of that empire before presuming to teach others

### Ignorance of History.

Grouping India, Egypt, the African Protectorates, &c., together, Mr. Lionel Curtis is pleased to observe—

"Before these backward races came into touch with Europeans they had never realized self government in the sense in which that term has been used throughout this inquiry. Such governments as they had were unstable, and have always begun to disintegrate when exposed to the corroding action of private adventurers from Europe in search of wealth."

Indeed! Evidently Mr. Curtis has not heard of the republics, the kingdoms, and the Empires which existed in India for ages, long before the private adventurers from Europe in search of wealth set foot on Indian soil.

### An Example of Political Philanthropy in South Africa.

Reviewing a book entitled "*Native Life in South Africa*" in the *International Review of Missions*, Mr. Henry Haigh writes:—

It is a cry of pain, the cry not of an individual but of a race. That race has been for the most part loyal and peaceable. It is loyal to-day. But it is perplexed by the action of the Union Parliament. Suddenly and without seeming provocation, a Land Bill was introduced whose inevitable effect, apparently, must be to make the native a legal serf in his own land. That was how the black people interpreted it at the time of its introduction. That is how they regard it now, when it is on the statute book. At the best the Act seriously restricts, and was meant to restrict, the ownership of land by the natives. Outsiders might have supposed any such restriction to be quite unnecessary. Are there not five, or perhaps six black men to every white man, and yet do not the whites already control fourteen fifteenths of the soil? To people living outside South Africa it is hard to understand the policy which dictated such an Act. After all, the white people in that country have got to live with the blacks and would be hard put to it to do without them. In those circumstances common-sense, to say nothing of justice, would suggest that a place ought to be found for them in the body politic which would make them an element of strength and progress, not of uneasiness and peril.

What, then is their position to be? Already, vast ly preponderant in numbers and multiplying far more rapidly than the whites, in what relation are they to stand to those who by education and experience are their natural leaders and governors? Is South Africa to be counted the white man's land, and are the blacks to be regarded in perpetuity not as sons of the empire, free to use the opportunities which belong to sons, but as servants permanently restricted in their political rights, in their possessions and opportunities? That is the question fundamentally in debate all the controversy about the Land Act. Both frank expression during the discussion in

the Union Parliament. "If we are to deal fairly with the natives of this country," said one representative, "then according to population we should give him four fifths of the country, or at least a half. How are we going to do that?" Another said: "We should tell the native that this is a white man's country, that he is not going to be allowed to buy or hire land here, and that if he wants to be here at all he must be in service." The opposite view obtained expression also, but not largely or with equal emphasis.

The political philanthropists who have reduced the "blacks" to serfdom in their own land want to govern India. Ought we not be thankful?

The book which Mr. Haigh has reviewed is in his opinion "clear, moderate and informing and quite obviously sincere," and "written with loyalty and restraint." "The author is himself a South African native of the Baralong tribe."

By sheer natural intelligence, industry and weight of character, he has attained to a position of considerable influence and responsibility in his community. He is editor of an important native newspaper at Kimberly. When, two years ago, the natives decided to send a deputation to England to represent their feeling on the famous Land Act to the Colonial Secretary and the British public, he was naturally chosen as one of its leading members. In reading Mr. Plaatje's book, therefore, we are listening to a man who knows his people and is thoroughly trusted by them. Probably no better man could be found to expound native ideas and sentiments on a subject which has stirred them to the very depths.

### President Wilson and the Filipinos.

The latest number of the *Philippine Review* to hand tells us that "the Filipinos had been waiting for the result of the presidential election in the United States with the same anxiety and eagerness as if it were the result of their own presidential election. In the House of Representatives of the Philippine Legislature, this could be readily noticed. There, on the night of Wednesday, the 8th instant,—the next day after the election,—by the face of every member of the House it could at once be seen that he was deeply concerned when the first returns indicated that President Wilson was second in the race. On Thursday, when better returns were heard, to the effect that President Wilson was picking up, every Representative showed evident signs that he, too, was picking up. And when the final result was known, both the Senate and the House broke forth in rejoicings, and met together in joint session, on the morning of the 14th instant, to pass the following:—

Resolution of the Philippine legislature expressing the satisfaction of the Filipino people upon the re-

election of the honorable Woodrow Wilson as president of the United States

Whereas, The Honorable Woodrow Wilson has been reelected as President of the United States, and

Whereas As such President, the said Honorable Woodrow Wilson, in the message to the Congress of the United States and in his message to the Filipino people conveyed through the Governor General the Honorable Francis Burton Harrison, on the sixth of October, nineteen hundred and thirteen, has declared himself in favor of the independence of the Philippines, and

Whereas His re-election means, among other things, the ratification, by the people of the United States, of his policy in favor of the Philippines and the latter's ideals which policy he has proclaimed and sustained as the authorized leader of his people

Now therefore,  
The Senate and the House of Representatives of the Philippines in joint session assembled at the Marble Hall, Ayuntamiento, Resolved to express, as they do hereby express, the genuine satisfaction with which the Filipino people have received the news of the reelection of the Honorable Woodrow Wilson as President of the United States

Adopted, November 15, 1916

This sort of rejoicing on the part of a dependent people is not common. The Filipinos rejoice because they have good reasons to look upon President Wilson as a man who "will firmly stand by them and guide them to the goal, with all due safeguards for themselves, with full honour to America, and to the united good of mankind and the dependent peoples of the East and elsewhere."

The attitude of the Filipinos may be contrasted with the attitude of the Bengalis to Lord Ronaldshay, their Governor elect

### Responsible Government in the Philippines

It gives us great pleasure to learn from the *Philippine Review* that

A government directly responsible to the people has just been created in accordance with the powers vested in the Philippine Legislature by the new organic act, of the Philippines. Hereafter, the people will receive full account of the administration of its affairs, and no further antagonism between themselves and the officials of the government will be possible. The party in power will rule and the departmental policies of the administration will be determined by it. The departmental secretaries will be appointed after the prevailing party has been installed in office—selected from men of that party—and their term of office will be for three years only,—the legislative term of office. Public opinion will be given due recognition hereafter. This new form of government, in the language of Speaker Osmena, will be a constant spur to their sense of duty and to their consciences as patriots.

This last observation is very true, and worthy to be taken note of by the people and rulers of India

### Secret of a Nation's Ability to stand on its own legs.

The Indian Home Ruler has generally to answer two questions: (1) Can India stand on her own legs now? (2) Will India ever be able to stand on her own legs? The Filipinos have also to answer similar questions. Their reply can be gathered from the following paragraphs reproduced from the *Philippine Review*:

Quite often, when the question of our final independence is taken up officially and privately, many ask what will become of us when left alone to stand by ourselves. Under the present circumstances we have to admit that the question is not altogether unwarranted. However, sooner or later, the dependent relation of America to the Philippines shall terminate,—delayed perhaps only for such length of time as may be necessary for the establishment of our own government on a safe basis, and alone, on our own feet, we shall stand in the enjoyment of the blessings, as well as all the other *sequelae* of the new political status we have so dearly won.

The Philippines is now practically beginning its international intercourse and sooner or later will have to face more serious situations of an international and more complicated character. It undoubtedly has its place of honor in history but, like all other countries, it has to earn and keep it, that we may honorably enjoy it. We must, for our part, be determined to earn and keep that place for our dear Philippines, unless we are willing to waive our right to it. It looks now as if the Orient is going to be the field for the settlement of future international complications after the present war, and one way or another the Philippines will be affected by them.

On the other hand, we cannot foretell what our future will be. Over one hundred years ago, with the exception of the Earl of Aranda, no one believed that the United States would be what she is now. A little over fifty years since, Japan was not what she is today in the concert of world powers. Bulgaria was rather a negligible unit. The Philippines is now very advantageously started out, with the varied and wide experience of nations at her command, on the road of progress, and, no matter how small and weak we may be today, no one can tell that we are not going to stand high in the Oriental community at least. To our good fortune, the scientific exploits of the present war are teaching us how to practically overcome the main difficulties and odds small island nations used to begin with. We have the latent means and the resources therefor. What we need is self reliance and the wit to know and acknowledge what we are, with all our weaknesses and shortcomings as well as our relative position in the Orient, and then the determination, stamina, backbone—*grit*—to make good. Empty speeches, mere party satisfactions are of no avail. We should stick to facts, with complete disregard to self and selfish interests. This would mean concerted action by the individual and the community, that the Philippines may be ready to meet and honor the requirements and consequences of her new life.

Self-confidence is the first requisite for success.

It should be remembered that the people

justified in expecting the Government to adopt preventive measures on a more extensive scale after the war, making them a first charge on the public revenue.

#### POLITICAL UNREST AND ECONOMIC CONDITIONS.

To the same Association he made a sort of confession of faith regarding the genesis of political unrest when he said: "I share with you the belief that political unrest can often be traced to economic conditions." This is a sound proposition, which the Viceroy evidently lost sight of when prescribing to the Indian Association their duty in connection with the eradication of anarchism.

#### THE BENGALI DOUBLE COMPANY.

His observations on the Bengali Double Company make pleasant reading.

Recruits are still offering themselves for service and those enlisted are reported to be making satisfactory progress in their training. I am informed that the Bengali recruits are keen and smart, and that their conduct has been all that could be desired. I hope that the Bengali Double Company will soon be reported fit for service, and that it will not be long before it is given an opportunity of displaying its soldierly qualities in the field and thus justifying the favourable impressions already formed of its work.

#### EUROPEANS AND INDIAN ASPIRATIONS.

In the course of his reply to the address of the European Association the Viceroy made some statesmanlike observations on the proper attitude of Europeans to the aspirations of the people of India.

There is a great awakening of self consciousness in the ancient races among whom our lot is cast. This is largely due to the traditions of our own country and to teachings for which we ourselves are responsible. The seed we have planted is growing very rapidly and has now become a strong tree, and though we may sometimes think its growth strange, because it is not precisely the same as our own growth, yet we should regard these conditions with interest and sympathy, and the words you have used encourage the hope that your Association will not limit its activities to the pursuit of communal interests, but that you recognise that the strength of the British Empire lies not in the assertion of special privileges but rather in the ability she has so often shown in the past to understand and enter into the natural aspirations of the various peoples who form part of her wide dominions.

#### REPLY TO THE INDIAN ASSOCIATION.

Smooth phrases may be deceptive, though they may not be meant to deceive; whereas there is no mistaking the meaning plain speech. That is why we consider Viceroy's reply to the address of the

Indian Association most satisfactory, for it was a very plain spoken utterance.

#### ANARCHICAL CRIME.

That Association had said:—

We deplore the anarchical crimes, which represent a passing state of things confined to a handful of men and which, having their roots in political and economic causes, will, we are confident, disappear with the adoption of healing measures stimulating our material prosperity and diffusing broadcast the blessings of resiliency and contentment.

The Viceroy said in reply:—

You deplore the anarchical crimes which have of recent years constituted such a blot upon the fair name of Bengal. I welcome that sentiment and gladly recognise that the heart of the great mass of the people is sound, but this cancerous growth exists, and if it is only a passing state of things, as you suggest, it is taking a good many years to pass. Nor can I see at present any visible symptoms of natural decay. We have, I am thankful to say, been able seriously to check its progress, and this is largely due to the courage and skill of those members of the police service who have had the unpleasant task of dealing with this particular form of crime. They are mainly your own countrymen and their gallantry fills me with admiration and constitutes an example of which every Bengali may well be proud.

His Excellency dryly observed that if anarchism "is only a passing state of things, it is taking a good many years to pass." As "passing" is a relative term and as the causes of anarchism are serious, perhaps it is not staying longer in our country than similar political maladies in other countries, though we should sincerely rejoice in its early disappearance. For instance, we find from the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* that Fenianism arose in 1858, and its name had become practically obsolete only in 1877 when Michael Davitt was released on ticket of leave. We say only its name, because the "Irish Republican Brotherhood" and other organizations in Ireland and abroad carried on the same tradition and pursued the same policy in later years. The rebellious factor of the Sinn Féin movement, which was in evidence only lately, is Fenianism under a new name; and, as every student of contemporary history knows, Sinn Féin is still very much alive and has gained a new accession of strength from Lord Lansdowne's successful efforts to prevent a solution and settlement of the Irish problem.

Another example, that of Nihilism in Russia, may be cited. Our authority, again, is the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*. Nihilism originated in the early years of the reign

## NOTES

of Tsar Alexander II, between 1855 and 1860, and had not died out even so late as the opening years of the 20th century.

As anarchism in Bengal is not so serious and powerful a movement as Irish Fenianisms and rebellious Sinn Fein, or as Russian Nihilism, it is expected to take fewer years to pass away than similar movements elsewhere. For bringing about such a result, Government and the people will have to co-operate. Though Government do not acknowledge it, it is nevertheless fact that it is partly due to the attitude of the Bengal public to anarchism that the executive and the police "have been able seriously to check its progress." The Viceroy's praise of the Bengali police in this connection is just, but the public are also entitled to a share of the credit. His Excellency has, therefore, rightly admitted that the heart of the country is sound. If it were not so, if the active, though secret, sympathy of the public had been on the side of the anarchists, it would have been far more difficult to cope with anarchism than it has been.

## A "CANCEROUS GROWTH".

When the Viceroy spoke of anarchism as a "cancerous growth," he used a very apt comparison. We may be permitted to remind him that "when such growths are removed by the surgeon they are apt to return either at the same or at some other part." (Encycl. Brit.) Therefore, the surgical method of dealing with anarchism may not be sufficient by itself for the purposes of a cure, though it is undoubtedly considered one of the methods.

## INTERMENTS.

With regard to the internments His Excellency said :—

In the interests of the peace and quiet of India it has been necessary to deprive a number of the conspirators of their liberty, but you may feel sure that this action has not been taken on mere suspicion but on a firm assurance of their guilty participation. Your Governor, His Excellency Lord Carmichael, has personally investigated each case and in those rare cases which have come to me I have always myself examined the papers with great care.

The information that Lord Carmichael has personally investigated the case of every *detenu* has hitherto been withheld from the public. He had told us in one of his speeches only that an officer who was "fit to be a High Court Judge" did the work

of personal investigation. It was never surmised that our good Governor was so prodigiously industrious. Nor was it imagined that it was only excessive modesty which had hitherto prevented him from making it known to the public that he had personally investigated each case. As for the "firm assurance," as Lord Carmichael has said that the proofs of the guilt of the *detenus* are not such as can be placed before a legal tribunal, we cannot say that they amount to more than "mere suspicion."

## ANARCHISM AND POLITICAL PROGRESS.

We believe with Lord Chelmsford that "steady progress along the path of political development is one of the roads along which the happiness of India lies." His Excellency, however, went on to observe :—

But you may take it as certain that the prevalence of anarchical crime will not be regarded as a ground for political progress, on the contrary, the task of Government is beset with difficulty so long as those who wield power at home can point to this festering sore. Your Governor, who has earned a high place in your esteem and in whose wisdom I have from an acquaintance of many years the greatest confidence, has pointed out to you clearly the seriousness of this evil. I have noticed in your Press that some of you ask what you can do to help in this matter. In answer I would impress on you in your interests, as well as in those of the Government, that a more prominent place be given in your Press and on your platforms to the vigorous denunciation of these crimes. I confidently believe that if you could succeed in cultivating a sense of disapproval at the propaganda of anarchy, you would cut off at its source the streamlet of recruits which alone gives the movement any vitality.

We do not know why the Viceroy spoke with such marked emphasis when he said that "the prevalence of anarchical crime will not be regarded as a ground for political progress." No doubt some Anglo-Indian papers have sometimes written as if the constitutional party in India had been, like highwaymen, pointing the pistol of anarchism at the head of Government and saying, "stand and deliver" the political rights we want. Such insinuations are unworthy of serious refutation. It is to be hoped that His Excellency does not give credence to them.

It is not usual for the sanitary commissioner of a country to say that so long as a particular disease prevails, its prevalence will not be regarded as a ground for applying one of the indirect remedies. However, we shall be happy where

disappears, whatever the methods adopted for its extermination. And we shall fully appreciate political progress, whenever it may come,—before or after the death of anarchism.

History tells us that political reform has been one of the causes of the weakening and ultimate disappearance of "the physical force party" in countries where they have made their appearance. In England the several Reform Acts, the abolition of the corn laws, and other progressive measures were, no doubt, obtained by constitutional agitation. But there occurred also riots and disorders and, sometimes, bloodshed, as contemporaneous events, with which the agitators were not connected. These manifestations of lawlessness could not be used as reasons for delaying or obstructing reforms, because England was a free country. When there is no outward symptom of an inward political malady, when public life presents a smooth and contented appearance, change is opposed by the powers that be on the ground of its not being required. When there are such symptoms in the shape of some kinds of lawlessness or other, change is opposed on the ground that it would be construed as weak yielding to physical force, and would thus encourage acts of lawlessness. Advocates of progress have in many countries been placed between the horns of this dilemma occasionally. There have thus always been those who have thought that any reforms introduced after the occurrence of riots, assassination, &c., would be interpreted as a sign of weakness and as yielding to the forces of disorder. There have been in the past and there will be in the future men to put such construction on reforms, and to ascribe to fear and weakness what is really the outcome of wisdom and strength. But there have also been statesmen who have had the strength and wisdom to disregard such interpretations. For instance, we find it stated in the *Encyclopædia Britannica* in connection with a Fenian outrage: "This outrage, for which Michael Barrett suffered the death penalty, powerfully influenced W. E. Gladstone in deciding that the Protestant Church of Ireland should be disestablished as a concession to Irish disaffection." (Vol. X, p. 255.) The last sentence of the article on Nihilism in the same work of reference runs as follows: "The revolution-

ary propaganda temporarily led to a serious situation in the early years of the reign of Tsar Nicholas II, but a new era opened for Russia with the inauguration of parliamentary government." (Vol. XIX, p. 688.)

Examples may be multiplied, but we will content ourselves with only one more, taken from the same ordinary schoolboy's work of reference from which we have quoted so often already in the present issue.

"In 1837 a few French Canadians in Lower Canada, led by Louis Joseph Papineau, took up arms with the wild idea of establishing a French republic on the St. Lawrence. In the same year William Lyon Mackenzie led a similar armed revolt in Upper Canada against the domination of the ruling official dom, called, with little reason, the "Family Compact." Happening as these revolts did, just at the time of Queen Victoria's accession, they attracted wide attention, and in 1838 the Earl of Durham was sent to govern Canada and report on the affairs of British North America. Clothed as he was with large powers, he undertook in the interests of leniency and reconciliation to banish, without trial, some leaders of the rebellion in Lower Canada. For this reason, he was censured at home and he promptly resigned. But his *Report*, published in the following year, is a masterly survey of the situation and included recommendations that profoundly influenced the later history of Canada. He recommended the union of the two Canadian Provinces at once, the ultimate union of all British North America and the granting to this large state of full self government. The French element he thought a menace to Canada's future, and partly for this reason he desired all the provinces to unite so that the British element should be dominant.

"To carry out Lord Durham's policy the British Government passed in 1840 an Act of Union joining Upper and Lower Canada and sent out as governor Charles Poulett Thomson, who was made Baron Sydenham and Toronto. In the single parliament each province was equally represented." Vol. V, pp. 158-159.

We think the punishment of persons judiciously proved guilty, keeping watch on real suspects, and educational, economic and political reform, are the means of eradication of anarchism which should go together. If the peace and progress of the country can be secured by the adoption of the right means, it does not matter what a few decadent persons think of the reasons why such means were adopted. Men who possess information and are capable of calm judgment think that the British Empire need not be afraid of the anarchists were they even ten times as strong as they are.

#### DENUNCIATION.

His Excellency spoke of denunciation of anarchism as the only means which our

public men and the Press can adopt to put an end to the revolutionary propaganda by cutting off at its source the streamlet of recruits. Spontaneous denunciation has its value. It helps in creating an atmosphere of disapproval of anarchism. The indigenous Press in India has denounced these crimes again and again. So have our public men. The denunciation was naturally most vigorous when anarchism first made its appearance. The present viceroy being new to this country does not know all this.

We think, however, that something more than denunciation is necessary. Reasoned disapproval is of greater efficacy than the mechanical and monotonous repetition of denunciations. Putting an end to the perennial economic and political sources of discontent, thereby taking the wind out of the sails of the anarchists, is essentially necessary. Above all, it is necessary to create *reasoned and fact-grounded* hopefulness in young minds, to take the place of despondency. Youth has to be convinced by the logic of experience that constitutional agitation is a true means of political progress.

We read in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* that soon after the foundation of the Fenian Brotherhood, "the movement was denounced by the priests of the Catholic Church." But that did not kill it, though, of course this denunciation produced some good result.

#### THE PACE OF INDIA'S PROGRESS.

Regarding the pace of India's political progress Lord Chelmsford observed:

The growing self-respect and self-consciousness of her people are plants that we ourselves have watered, and if the blossom is not always what we expect it is not for us to blame the plant. There are doubtless some of you who think our footsteps halting and our progress slow, but I should be dishonest if I held out any hope that progress will be rapid. Neither the British constitution nor the British temperament is fond of catastrophic changes, nor are such changes consistent with developments on sound and healthy lines. Progress should be steady and sure, and in regard to it I believe that my views are in close harmony with those of my predecessor who was so happy as to win the confidence of India, and, using Lord Hardinge's words, I hope some day to see India hold a position of equality amongst the sister nations of which the British Empire is composed.

His Excellency himself, his predecessor, the British constitution and the British temperament are, in his opinion, against

rapid progress. The word "rapid," however, does not convey any definite idea of velocity; it is a relative term. His Excellency said: "I hope some day to see India hold a position of equality amongst the sister nations of which the British Empire is composed." May this hope be interpreted to mean that he expects its fruition during his own life-time? It can have no other meaning. It is to be hoped, however, that India will become politically equal to the other parts of the British Empire sooner than His Excellency thinks. In addition to the controllers of India's destiny which His Excellency has mentioned, there are other forces to be taken into consideration. We are not thinking of Providence in this connection, though we are firm believers in Providence as the final disposer of events; —we are thinking only of mundane forces. And they are the pressure of public opinion and public movements in India (if they can be made sufficiently strong), and circumstances originating in international complications or in events of international importance, like the present war. Forces like these may impel the British people to hasten less slowly in spite of their temperament. It is, moreover, not axiomatic that whatever is not suited to the British temperament is dangerous or wrong. For we find various non-British peoples have made solid progress with un-British rapidity.

#### "CATASTROPHIC CHANGES."

The use made by the Viceroy of the phrase "catastrophic changes" reminds us of the rapid changes introduced by the Japanese government in less than the lifetime of a generation, changes which have made Japan a formidable first-class power. There has been no consequent catastrophe in that country yet. In the Philippines America has just given the people a government responsible to them, after eighteen years of occupation. Substantial self-government had already been granted to them before within only nine years of American rule. There has been no catastrophe in the Philippines either, and we trust there will not be. The Americans are largely of British stock. The British temperament itself may, therefore, be considered capable of undergoing such a change as to favour a somewhat more rapid progress in India than has been to its liking hitherto.

### COMPETITION VERSUS TRADITIONAL PRIVILEGE.

To the Anglo-Indian Association His Excellency gave some very salutary advice, which the community which it represents will do well to lay to heart.

Indian competition, Indian claims and Indian qualifications are increasing yearly. If the Anglo-Indian community is to hold its own, it cannot rely indefinitely on traditional merit or traditional privilege. It must, in the highest stages of education at least, be prepared to meet its Indian competitors on their ground. The courses of Universities all over the world are becoming generally more alike. Let us have, where we can, separate residential arrangements at our Colleges for Anglo-Indian students, but do not let us rely too much on separate curricula or separate standards.

### The Indian National Congress.

The 31st session of the Indian National Congress, held at Lucknow, is especially noteworthy as the first sitting after the Surat split where all shades of constitutional nationalist opinion were represented. The British Empire, if it is to endure, as we think it will, must at no distant date become a commonwealth composed of autonomous units. The Dominions have already come out with their schemes of Imperial federation and their idea of what their place in it should be. As they are already self-governing, it was not necessary for them to make any demands relating to the management of their internal affairs; they had only to think of their external relations and powers. India not being self-ruling yet, has first to make a demand regarding her right to manage her home affairs, before she can think of formulating a scheme of Imperial federation from her point of view. This demand of Home Rule has fittingly been made by a gathering composed of all parties and wings of the nationalists of India. And it is not only the Indian National Congress which has made this demand, but the Moslem League, too, has demanded self-rule on behalf of the Musalmans. What is more, the Indian National Congress and the Moslem League have prepared a joint note embodying their scheme of self-government for India. It is very encouraging to learn that the number of delegates at Lucknow was 2,300, beating any previous record.

### The Congress Presidential Address.

The presidential address of the Hon'ble Babu Ambika Charan Majumdar was a

long, able, argumentative, patriotic and eloquent pronouncement, characterised by a refreshing outspokenness. He rose to the height of the occasion. He demanded Representative Government for India in unequivocal language. "Call it Home Rule, call it Self-Rule, call it *Swaraj*, call it Self-government, it is all one and the same thing—it is *Representative Government*." He showed that India fulfilled all the conditions precedent to self-government. He answered all the objections. Edwy Bevan's parable of the patient with broken limbs encased by the altruistic surgeon in a steel frame came in for special consideration. Many of Mr. Majumdar's arguments and illustrations must, of course, be old, though expressed in a way which bears the impress of his individual personality. But he has, as far as we can judge, said new things also. For example, take the following paragraph:

"Self control, strength of mind and fidelity are among the highest virtues of an administrator, and judged by these tests, have not Indians acquitted themselves in a manner worthy of the best traditions of any service in the world? Sir Satyendra Prasanna Sinha's resignation of his seat in the Executive Council is still a mystery to the public. But whatever may be its solution, it is an open secret that at a critical time he withdrew the resignation that he had tendered and stood loyally by the Government. Has anybody ever heard the faintest whisper of this incident from the lips of Sir Satyendra Prasanna Sinha? Then take another case. The Partition of Bengal had stirred the people of Bengal to a state of feverish excitement unprecedented in their history. Petitions and protests to Viceroy and Ministers were of no avail and after seven years of persistent agitation the people were awaiting in breathless suspense the decision of His Majesty. A despatch from the Governor-General in Council recommended a modification of the partition in August 1911 and Sir Syed Ali Imam was one of the signatories to this eventful document. Yet on the 12th December the Royal Proclamation came as a complete surprise both upon the local Governments as well as upon the people. The Partition was said to have been effected in the interest of the Mahomedans. But did Sir Syed Ali Imam either in his quivering lips or tell tale eyes betray in the slightest degree the dead secret of the prison house within this anxious period of five months?"

He disposed of "the most orthodox argument" against Indian Home Rule as follows:—

"The most orthodox argument, in fact the only argument, now advanced against this natural and legitimate demand is, that the mass are silent and have not joined in the cry. This is an ingenious argument; for an inarticulate mass will never speak and the reforms will not come. But, have the mass at any time and in any country spoken out before any reform has

been granted? The hydra-headed mass speak only in times of rebellion or revolution and even then under the inspiration of their leaders, who rise out of the educated minority, but their voice is not heard amid a process of silent evolution in the benefits of which they are bound to participate. Did the mass in England cry for the *Magna Charta* or the Petition of Rights or the Reform Bill? The educated few have everywhere represented the ignorant many and history tells us that they have always been their unaccustomed spokesmen. And then whose fault is it - that the masses in India are dumb and illiterate? The Congress has cried and Congressmen have tried their utmost for the spread of elementary education and they have been told that the time has not yet arrived for universal compulsory education for the masses. We do not know if the Astrological Almanac is being consulted for an auspicious day for such an undertaking."

"The Labour Party in the British Parliament is only of yesterday's growth and were Parliamentary institutions deferred till the grant of a nominal representation of its vast working population? And was it Cobden or Kier Hardie that organised the Anti-corn Law League or improved the wages of the labouring classes of Great Britain? And Cobden did not belong to any labouring class."

Mr. Majumdar made it quite clear that by self-government Indians did not mean merely a larger employment of Indians in the public services.

Is it any appreciable increase in our share in the administration that we demand on the permanent basis of the present system of government? Or is it a thorough change in the constitution irrespective of all considerations of larger employment of the children of the soil in the public services? To be more explicit, let us put the question in its naked form. Supposing the Public Service Commission, whose report is still a sealed book to the people of this country, have recommended that no less than one-half or even two-thirds of the appointments in the different civil services should be filled up by Indians, but that the present bureaucracy must always continue to be in power, would such a recommendation, even if accepted by the Government, satisfy Indian aspirations? I know the answer will be in the negative. Such an arrangement will only serve to add a number of Indian bureaucrats without adding a bit to the powers and privileges of the people, and there would not be much to choose between the present bureaucracy and its proposed substitute. It is the system and not the personnel of the administration from which the people suffer. It is the rotten soil that breeds rank weeds. It is only a radical change in the form and constitution of the Government, however slow or tentative in its character, but steady and continuous in its development, that can satisfy the growing spirit of the Indian people and remove their grievances. If the British Parliament remove their grievances. If the British Parliament remove the war to hold in one hand a very high percentage of the public employments and a small modicum of real Self Government in the other and to ask India to choose between the two, I am sure, she would unhesitatingly grasp the one and let go the other.

## "Our Demands."

Mr. Majumdar has summarised "our demands" under fifteen heads. These may be still more briefly expressed in his own felicitous words: "*The collar of a Dependency should be removed from India's neck and the coronet of an autonomous, self-governing state placed upon her head.*"

## Why we want Self-government.

Mr. Majumdar has made the question of self-government for India the main subject of his address. But in order to show why we want self-rule, it was necessary to show that *other*-rule has not sufficed to meet our needs. And this he has done with ample knowledge of the past and present forms of British rule in India, and insight into the present political condition of the country. He has passed in review the despotic, benevolently despotic and bureaucratic forms of British rule in India; described the "new spirit"; told how the bureaucracy has prepared its own coffin and written its own epitaph, by "the education given to the people, the system of local self government introduced into the country and the elective principle recognised in the higher Councils of the Empire;" and dwelt upon the discovery by the bureaucracy of "the mistakes of their predecessors" which, like the imparting of education, "have opened the eyes of the people," and its vain efforts to turn back the hands of the clock. Coming to the inevitable conflict between the new spirit and the old bureaucratic constitution, he quoted Burke and Morley.

"I am not one of those," says Burke, "who think that the people are never wrong. They have been so frequently and outrageously, both in other countries and in this. But I do say that in all disputes between them and their rulers, the presumption is at least upon a par in favour of the people." In quoting this dictum of Burke with approbation Lord Morley, who has recently dealt more with India than any other living British statesman, adds—"Nay experience perhaps justifies him in going further. When popular discontent is prevalent, something has generally been found amiss in the constitution or the administration." And truly does Burke observe "The people have no interest in disorder. When they go wrong, it is their error and not their crime."

Mr. Majumdar says that "it is not to be presumed that we are wholly insensible to its [Government's] many good points or are unable to appreciate them."



function of critic makes it necessary to dwell more on its defects than on its merits. These defects and shortcomings he has pointed out in the fields of education and the administration. The operations of the Press Act and the Defence of India Act have been passed in review. Mr Majumdar has drawn pointed attention to and exposed the erroneous character of Sir Stanley Batcher's ruling in the recent Tilak case that the condemnation of the Civil Service *en bloc* is tantamount to a condemnation of the sovereign authority as the service is an agent of that authority.

The colour bar immigration the arms act the internments the swadeshi movement and industrial development and a national militia are some of the other topics with which he has dealt.

### 'Efficiency' of the Bureaucracy

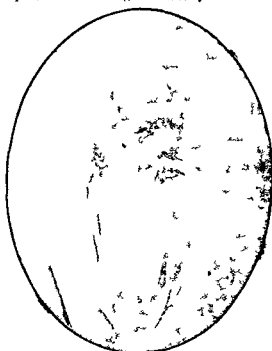
The Indian bureaucracy has given itself a certificate of efficiency and its friends have endorsed it. The president of the recent session of the Indian National Congress also says 'Its efficiency is indisputable'. But from whose point of view? It has been very efficient for the purposes of the administrators but not so efficient so far as the needs of the people are concerned. India is the poorest unhealthiest and most illiterate country under a civilised government that the world can show. It is the only perennially plague infested country under a civilised government. This shows that the servants of the Crown are not efficient from the point of view of the people. If Mr Majumdar had clearly dwelt on this sort of test of efficiency, his plea for Home Rule strong as it is would have been stronger still.

### Pandit Jagat Narayan's speech.

The speech of the Hon'ble Pandit Jagat Narayan chairman of the Reception Committee of the 31st Indian National Congress was a very able lucid and convincing utterance. It is also distinguished for its literary quality. He pointed out that for the first time since the unfortunate split at Surat we witness the spectacle of a united Congress. He drew attention to the fact that both the Hindu and Musalman communities share the same aspirations today. Self government was the main topic that dwelt upon. He observed —

Statesmanship demands that Great Britain should

announce to the people of this country that a self governing India is the goal of her policy and grant us a substantial instalment of reform after the war as a step towards that goal. Representative government should be made a reality by the fullest control over civil affairs being given to the elected representatives of the people whose decisions should be binding on the executive. Indians should no longer be deprived from an honourable participation in the defence of their hearths and homes but should be given every opportunity of developing their martial spirit. The slow deterioration which is taking place in the manhood of the race is one of the saddest results of British rule in India and steps should be taken to repair the injury as early as possible. It is also essential that in any scheme of Imperial Federation India should occupy the same position as the self governing dominions. The memorandum submitted to his Excellency the Viceroy by our elected representatives although not a complete statement



MR. AMB KACHARAN MAJUMDAR

of our demands proceeds on these lines and the same principles underlie the scheme of reform which has been prepared jointly by the All India Congress Committee and the Muslim League Reform Committee and which will soon come before you. But these reforms which fall far short of colonial self government cannot satisfy India for all time to come and in any legislation undertaken to give effect to them it should be provided that full responsible government shall be conferred on her within a generation.

This time limit is the farthest that could have been suggested by a nationalist. We think a decade should be quite sufficient.

He then discussed a few objections urged against our modest demand. He was able to meet them satisfactorily by citing facts and events from the histories of Great Britain, Canada, Australia and South Africa. The detailed examination of the condition of Canada at the time she was granted self government, was particularly valuable. He went on to say —

But the task of the advocates of self government for India is not over when they have proved her fitness for it. Even if it be conceded it is said that free institutions should be introduced into India, this is not the time for stirring up controversy. Great Britain is engaged in fighting a powerful and determined enemy, to crush whom will be needed all the strength and resources of the Empire. It is the duty of every loyal citizen to do nothing at this juncture which will divert her attention from the successful prosecution of the war. We acknowledge our obligation to refrain from doing anything which will embarrass the authorities and are cheerfully rendering every assistance we are capable of in the titanic struggle which will decide the fate of Europe. But at the same time we owe it to ourselves that we should make our people understand the inner meaning of the struggle and be in a position to make our wishes and sentiments known to the British Government when the reconstruction of the Empire is taken in hand. If Indian claims are to have any chance of being seriously considered, we must be able to place our views before the authorities when plans for the reorganization of the Empire are being discussed. This requires that our demands should be formulated in the form of a definite scheme and that sufficient time should be given to the country to discuss it thoroughly. Unless this is done there is a great danger that we may be told that we do not know our own mind or that our views give expression only to the aspirations of a microscopic minority. Clearly therefore we cannot impose silence on ourselves till the conclusion of the war for it may be too late then to do anything. On the contrary it is our duty to lose no time in educating public opinion and in discussing the vital question of India's position in the Empire after the war, in the press and on the platform. The time has certainly not come when we should press our claims on the attention of Government but it is not a moment too soon for making up our own minds on the subject.

And he proved also from what England and the colonies were doing and from other considerations that we were justified in bestowing attention on the most vital problems affecting our country's future. Nay, more, it would have been a most culpable neglect of duty if we had not done what were doing.

### The Industrial Conference

The presidential address of the Hon'ble Rai Sitanath Roy Bahadur at the 12th session of the Indian Industrial Conference held at Lucknow, was concise, clear and informing. It is interesting even to the general reader owing to its freedom from

technicalities and "shop," and useful to industrialists because of its not being amateurish.

After a few preliminary observations, he drew attention to the mournful fact that "industrially India is almost on her last legs."

In 1891, 62 per cent of the people were returned as depending on agriculture in 1901, 68 per cent and in 1911, 71 per cent. In England of every hundred workers, 58 are engaged in industrial pursuits, and only 8 in agriculture, whereas in India the industries give employment to only 12 per cent of the population. This is on the face of it an unnatural state of things. It is a well known fact that the occupation of agriculture besides being precarious is not so remunerative as manufacture. The result is that we are to day very



THE HON'BLE MR. SITANATH RAY

poor compared with other nations. And yet there was a time when India was reckoned among the richest countries of the world.

The general notion which prevailed among Europeans that India has always been a mainly agricultural country is a wrong one. History tells us that, in very early times, the articles of export from India consisted of manufactured goods, while the imports were mainly raw materials. The Hindus attained to a marvellous perfection in manufacture at a very early period. That great writer on Indian polity, Chanakya, gives a detailed description of the various arts which were practised in India in the

are connected with the system of caste or with the subjugation of women. He urged the raising of the depressed classes, abolition of caste, of early marriage and of enforced widowhood.

Babu Jyotishwarup of Dehra Dun was elected president. His address, too, we find very meagrely, and perhaps for that reason somewhat unintelligibly reported. He expressed the view that there must be social reform, for in it lay the salvation of the country.

To make the organisation of social reform a really living one they should appoint a small working committee and a journal to record the workings of the working committee. He next urged the education of girls and women which was of the utmost importance to attain perfect womanhood and forcibly denounced child marriage. In his opinion the marriageable age for men should be 25 and for women sixteen years. The President advocated widow re-marriage and the abolition of purdah and the caste system. In conclusion he urged intermarriage, interdenominational reclamation of the depressed classes, the criminal tribes and fallen women.

It is to be hoped Babu Jyotishwarup did not, as reported above group the depressed classes, the criminal tribes, and fallen women together. For the depressed classes are victims of social tyranny. No moral stigma attaches to them as to the criminal tribes. And fallen women are what they are partly because of unjust social customs and partly owing to their own moral lapses.

When the president had finished speaking the assistant secretary briefly narrated the work done by the conference during the previous year.

The Assistant Secretary then briefly narrated the work done by the Conference during the previous year. The Conference adopted the resolutions urging abolition of the caste system and requesting Government to introduce a Bill to declare the validity of intermarriages amongst the Hindus. Another resolution urged the Government to provide better facilities for the education and elevation of the depressed classes and the next resolution urged upon the Hindu community the desirability of admitting people of other faiths into its fold. The Conference urged the abolition of early marriage, curtailment of expenses in marriage and other ceremonies, abolition of purdah, education of women, widow re-marriage, encouragement of foreign travel, temperance and social purity.

The Conference re-elected Sri Narayan Chaudhary as the General Secretary and Mr. G. K. Devadhar of the Servants of India Society and Mr. D. G. Dalvi of Bombay as Assistant Secretaries for the ensuing year.

### The Viceroy at Dr. Bose's Laboratory

Their Excellencies the Viceroy and the Governor of Bengal says *The Bengalee*, visited Dr. Bose's private laboratory in Upper Circular Road to see the demonstra-

tions of his most striking discoveries. So interesting did this prove that H. E. the Viceroy stayed for nearly two hours, taking the keenest interest in these radical advances made in modern science. Their Excellencies also went over the Bose Research Institute, which our distinguished Indian "savant" is going to found for the perpetuation of India's contribution for the world's advance in science. The new methods of inquiry initiated by Dr. Bose are so novel that they would always be associated with this country. In the Bose Institute it is intended that a limited number of post graduate scholars would receive special training to devote their whole life and undivided energies to the cause of science. The Viceroy expressed his high appreciation of the work already done and of the object of the Institute. One important practical outcome of Dr. Bose's recent research specially interested His Excellency, this was the transplanting into the grounds of the Institute of two moderate sized Banyan trees a task that would have been regarded as impossible. But by rendering the trees unconscious by the action of suitable narcotics they were protected from the great shock consequent on uprooting and the trees are now showing vigorous growth. Another recent invention of Dr. Bose which interested His Excellency was the High Magnification Crescograph, which magnifies and records the growth of plants in a period as short as one second. The high magnification attained varies from ten thousand to a million times. This has outdistanced the highest power of the microscope by many thousand times. A concrete idea of this will be obtained, says our contemporary, when it is realised that this kind of very high magnification of imperceptible movements will convert the pace of the proverbially slow footed snail to the speed of a rifle bullet.

### Joint Conference of Moslem League and Congress Committee

We are glad to note that the only question on which there was any serious difference of opinion between the Moslem League and the All India Congress Committee has been settled. It will now be possible to formulate a scheme of self government which may be presented as the demand of united India.

Sufficient funds should now be raised

for propaganda work both in India and England

### "A National Congress Fund"

The *Gujarati* has written at some length on the subject of a National Congress Fund for the purposes of propaganda work, and worked out elaborately the means and methods of raising it. It says

For the present we think about 2½ or four lakhs of rupees should be raised as a permanent provision for the maintenance of the All India Congress Committee and the Congress organ in England as has already been suggested by the All India Congress Committee, and about three lakhs should be collected for carrying on vigorous agitation in England and India and for adopting suitable measures for the attainment of the reforms that may be approved by the coming Congress. In round figures 25,000 LAKHS may be put down as the maximum to be collected to meet the present emergencies of the situation though permanent measures will have to be devised also for adding to the Fund from year to year by increments, however small.

Some of the means suggested for collecting the amount are given below

We propose that donations and endowments should be invited from wealthy Indians throughout the country and that those who pay Rs 25,000 for the sake of their motherland should be regarded as Patrons of the Congress and those who pay Rs 10,000 as Life Members. Their names should be published in each annual report of the Congress. A corps of Congress Volunteers should be formed in each city or town to make house to house collections every year on some important holiday that may be appointed in each province or district. Congress Fund Boxes should be put up at such places as may be determined by local Congress Committees or other bodies recognised by the Provincial Congress Committee. Every leading Congress paper in India should open its columns for receiving subscriptions to the National Fund. Every Congress Committee and other bodies recognised by the Provincial Congress Committees will be called upon to collect subscriptions so far as they can and in such ways they think proper.

The holding of large public meetings which will be addressed by well known Congressmen and other speakers and at which collections will be made on the spot. The next expedient that may be adopted is to invite the people at large to contribute at least five rupees on the occasion of each marriage or other joyous social or religious function and appeal to all patriotic testators to set aside some amount, however small, for the cause of the Congress. We are further of opinion that the delegation fee should be raised from Rs 10 to 15 and this excess should be absorbed into the National Congress Fund. In the alternative we suggest that each Reception Committee should be required to set aside 5 or 10 per cent of the surplus if any in its hands for the purposes of the Congress Fund after all the accounts have been finally settled and after it has set aside the fixed minimum contribution of Rs 3,000 for the British Congress Committee.

Our contemporary has also calculated

how much each province of India ought to pay on the basis of its total male population, if one pie and one pie per head respectively were collected. Another table shows how much can be collected from each province if each person literate in English paid eight annas. A third table shows how much can be collected if each literate person contributes one anna. In the fourth table, it is shown how much can be collected from each province if each person who pays income tax pays (a) 7 pies for each rupee paid and (b) one anna for each rupee paid as income tax. The *Gujarati* admits that the calculations in all the tables are made on an arbitrary basis and may result in justice to some classes or province while making a comparatively light levy on others. But these differences can be adjusted. Our contemporary's proposals, suggestions, observations and tables are worthy of serious attention.

### Man power and the Franchise

Major Cartwright in his pamphlet "*The Commonwealth in Danger*" (1793), contrasts England and France as they were during the Revolutionary war. The French Republic, relying on the populace, had more than a million of men under arms. Great Britain was "a disarmed, defenceless, unprepared people, scarcely more capable of resisting a torrent of French invaders than the herds and flocks of Smithfield." How, then, could the danger be averted? "Solely," he replied, "by trusting the people and by reviving the ancient laws which compelled householders to bear arms. But this implied the concession of the franchise." "Be bold," he said. "Make the kingdom a commonwealth and the nation will be saved. A million of armed men, supporting the state with their purse, and defending it with their lives, will know that none have so great a stake as themselves in the Government. Arming the people and reforming Parliament are inseparable."

By the talisman of trust in the people France conjured up those armed hosts which overthrew old Europe. [Instead of] trusting and arming the people, Pitt was fain to plod along in the old paths and use the nation's wealth, not its manhood. (Hence his failure.) (H. Rose's *Wm Pitt and the Great War*, pp 280-81)

The British Empire, if it is to remain intact for a long time to come, must use

# The United States of America : A Hindu's Impressions and a Study.

By Lala Lajpat Rai.

## Opinions of the Press.

### *The Tribune of Lahore :*

It is a sumptuous volume of 420 pages, beautifully illustrated and elegantly got up. Deferring to a future issue our review of this highly interesting publication, as we ought to, to estimate its worth properly, we must state that it is one of the most valuable works ever written by an Indian.

### *New India of Madras :* A BOOK FOR THE HOME RULER

It is refreshing to find that Lala Lajpat Rai, though far away from his native land, is still able to render the Motherland useful service in one capacity or another. The latest instance of the same comes to us in the form of a book, nominally styled the 'United States of America,' but really a comparative study of the present position of this country with respect to that of one of the most forward western Nations. Every paragraph in the book leads us to understand what huge blessings are conferred on people in the West by their respective Governments, and one wonders, if not despairs, when in India the authorities will ever pay so much attention to the progressive departments.

It should not be supposed that the book is of use only to the politician. Far from it. It has much valuable instruction for every Indian, even for him who is not inclined to work in any department for the regeneration of his country. The main excellence of the book lies in the fact that the author is one of our greatest and noblest patriots, who knows exactly where India lags behind, and where progress is urgently needed. No student of our National life should fail to study every topic discussed in its 420 pages.

### *The Hindu of Madras :*

Lala Lajpat Rai has, at great pains to himself, studied on the spot select problems in the U. S. A. with an eye, as he says, to their practical usefulness for our own development. The result has been an admirable account of them and of the manner in which they have been dealt with in the United States.

The treatment of all these is as interesting as it is instructive, and we trust our countrymen will avail themselves of this opportunity of getting an insight into the problems of the United States which, as we have observed above, will be of no little advantage to them.

### *The Bulletin of Lahore :*

"The United States of America - A Hindu's Impressions and Study" by Lala Lajpat Rai is a book of

the hour, and will no doubt be read with considerable interest and profit by all who regard the world as more than a necessary corollary to his own comfortable corner. A praiseworthy feature of the book, so far as Indian readers are concerned is the consummate ability with which the Indian writer has dealt with the problems of the United States "with an eye to their practical usefulness to our own development." The subjects selected for study are commendable for variety and importance.

### *The Express of Bankipur :*

Lala Lajpat Rai has just embodied the experience of his travels in America in an interesting volume which may be perused with great profit by our countrymen. He places before the Indian public what they have to aim at in order to reach the high level of efficiency of the Americans or any other civilised people.

### *The Indian Social Reformer of Bombay :*

Lala Lajpat Rai has written an interesting book on the United States of America. He tells us in his Preface that his selection of subjects for particular study in this book, was made with an eye to their practical usefulness for our own development. He is of opinion that, in several respects, the problems of the United States are very similar to those that face us in India. The book before us is, therefore, of much interest. A hasty glance at its pages shows that Lala Lajpat Rai has not left out any feature of American life which is of interest to Indians.

### *Young India of Bombay :*

One of the most brilliant chapters in Mr. Lajpat Rai's book, "The United States of America," is that which deals with the Government of the Philippine Islands.

### *The Commonwealth of Madras :*

"Two books of considerable importance to our countrymen have been published during the past fortnight. 'The Report on Educational Progress in Baroda,' and Lajpat Rai's 'The United States of America. A Politician.'"

### *The Induprakash of Bombay :*

In his brilliant work on "The United States of America," Lala Lajpat Rai devotes three very interesting chapters to a minute treatment of the subject of education in the U. S. A.

With this the third article, we bid a respectful and regretful adieu to 'The United States of America' which would ever remain one of the greatest accomplishments of our Punjabi fellow-countryman patriot Lala Lajpat Rai. One cannot rise from the end of the chapter in this remarkable book, 'deal

the Woman in the United States, without being almost overwhelmed with a feeling of warmest admiration and deepest respect for the women of America the heroines who in the early days of colonization fought alongside their husbands in defence of hearths and homes, did yeoman's service during the Independence and Civil wars and are today the mainstay of American social and moral life

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The statue is seven feet in height, and is mounted on a six foot pedestal. It is the work of Mr G K Mhatre, the well known Bombay sculptor Mr Mhatre has been considerably handicapped by the fact that there was only one photograph of the late Mr Ranade, who had a strong dislike for the camera but those who knew him declare that the likeness is extraordinarily good Mr Ranade is shown standing in a characteristic attitude. He is wearing his judicial robes and is carrying in his right hand a legal scroll and the reproduction is so faithful that even the defect which Mr Ranade had in the right eye is clearly shown Mr Mhatre found the folds of the robes presented special difficulties and he had to place a cushion in marble at the back as a support

The arrangements for the raising of subscriptions and the erection of the statue have been carried out by a committee which had the Chief Justice (Sir Lawrence Jenkins) as the President, and Mr Narotam Moraji Goculdas as Secretary



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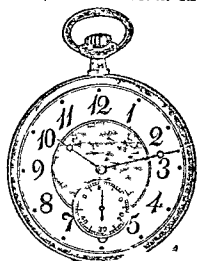
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# THE MODERN REVIEW

VOL. XXI  
No 2

FEBRUARY, 1917

WHOLE  
No. 122

## LETTERS

EXTRACTS FROM OLD LETTERS OF RADINDRANATH TAGORE

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Darjeeling,  
1887.

**H**ERE we are at Darjeeling Little B— behaved very well on the journey She hardly cried at all But she made enough of a commotion in other ways, she crowed *ulu, ulu*; she waved her hands, she called to the birds, though no birds were to be seen

The Suraghat crossing was an awful experience It was ten o'clock in the night, things were in hundreds, porters in units only, and but one man to five women When we had crossed over and got to the metre gauge train, we found that the compartments had four berths, while we were six people So I had to put the ladies and the luggage into the Ladies' Compartment

But this was in no wise so simple as it sounds In spite of the not inconsiderable amount of calling to each other shouting at porters and rushing about all over the platform which had to be got through, my sister would have it that I had not been any good The mere man, I suppose, does not come up to expectations, unless he can behave, on such occasions, like a wholly demented creature

And yet the number of boxes I have packed and closed, and then opened over again, and thrust under railway carriage seats, and hauled out therefrom, which I have run after, and which like Nemesis have pursued me, and have got lost and found again, or not found at all, or remained in the process of getting found, I am sure no male person aged twenty four has ever been afflicted with the like

It came to be so that I had a regular

attack of boxophobia, and the sight of a box gave me lock jaw. When I saw boxes in front of me, boxes behind me, boxes all round me, only boxes big boxes, small boxes middling boxes, wooden boxes, steel boxes, canvas boxes, boxes side by side, boxes one upon another, I felt utterly helpless and completely lost my natural powers of shouting and running to and fro So with drawn face, vacant gaze, and my sorry plight generally, I might easily have been mistaken for a shirker, and cannot dispute my sister's conclusion

From Siliguri to Darjeeling I had to bear the brunt of my niece, S—'s, enthusiasms Oh! How wonderful! How charming! How lovely! She kept on nudging me and exclaiming "Oh, look at this!" "Do look at that!" What could I do? I had to look at everything I was asked Sometimes it was a tree, sometimes a cloud, sometimes a huge flat nosed hill woman, and sometimes things which eluded me as they passed out of sight, leaving S— murmuring her regrets at what I had missed

The train sped on It grew colder and colder Then came the mist, then sneezes and colds in the head, then shawls and rugs and quilts, then numbed hands and feet, blue faces and hoarse voices, and then Darjeeling

Again those boxes, bags and bundles, burden on burden porter on porter. And still more things in the luggage van, to be recognised, sorted out, taken charge of and placed on the backs of the porters The luggage ticket had to be shown to the presiding official, the official had to be argued with, the things refused to tally, all kinds of arrangements had to

be made for the missing ones to be sent on and the whole process took me a good two hours

10

Sheldah  
1888

Our house boat is moored to a sand bank on the further side of the river. It is a vast expanse of sand stretching away on every side its ends nowhere in sight with here and there a streak of water running across though sometimes what looks like water is only sand.

Not a village not a human being not a tree not a blade of grass—the only breaks in the monotonous whiteness being in places gaps and crevices showing the layer of moist black clay underneath.

Looking towards the East there is the endless blue above the endless white beneath. Sky empty earth empty too—the emptiness below hard and barren but overhead broad and ethereal—one could hardly get elsewhere such a picture of starling desolation.

But on turning over to the West there is the water of the currentless bend of the river fringed with its high bank up to the edge of which spread the village groves with the cottages peeping through looking like an enchanting dream in the evening light. I specially tell of the evening light because it is in the evening that we wander out and the evening aspect is the one impressed on my mind.

In Calcutta one is apt to forget how wonderfully beautiful is Nature. Only here does one fully appreciate what a profoundly important event happens in the world when every day the sun goes down amidst the peace of these trees and every night the stars in their myriads pleadly come forth over the silence of these endless grey sandy solitudes.

The immense page of the book of the universe which the sun every time silently turns up from the East when it rises and as softly turns over against the western sky when it sets—what wondrous writings are to be read thereon and this thin flowing summer stream with its bed of sand stretching to the horizon banked up on the one side and its picture like shore on the other what a marvellous silent school is here! But words like these will sound too much like poetry and therefore out of

place in the metropolis here they are no more than obvious.

Let loose on the sands in the evening the children with their attendants wander about my nephew Balu strolls off by himself I go my way and the two ladies in a different direction. In the meantime the sun completely disappears—the golden light in the sky dies away and everything becomes dim and shapeless. Then as I walk on I am suddenly conscious of a faint shadow accompanying me and become aware that the crescent moon has asserted itself. The white moonlight on the white sands makes it still more difficult to distinguish anything one has to guess where it is and where water where earth where sky. So the whole scene appears as unreal as a mirage.

Yesterday when I returned after my wanderings in this world of Maya I found only the children had come back—none of the others. I settled myself down in a chair and tried to read a book on the obscure subject of Animal Magnetism in the no less obscure light of our little lamp. But still they did not arrive. I put aside the book with its open face downwards and went out on deck. I mounted the upper deck but could see nothing in the way of approaching specks—it was all one vague whiteness. I shouted for Balu at the top of my voice but the sound faded away into the distance in every direction and brought no response. Then all at once I felt a collapse of spirit like an open umbrella suddenly released.

Gafur the cook stepped down the gang way with a lantern. Prasanna the maid sailed off with another. All the boatmen turned out and went forth and so did I. We scattered in different directions. I kept on shouting Balu. Prasanna called for Mother. And the boatmen bellowed out Babu! Babu! at intervals till quite a number of anguished cries filled the silent night of this desert. But not a sound came back in return. Once from some way off Gafur's shout was heard. I discerned them! Only to be followed by a No! No! in correction of the mistake.

To be able to imagine my state of mind you must also imagine the silence of the night the empty solitude of the sands the swaying spot of light made by Gafur's distant lantern the anxious calls now heard

• Servants call the mistress Mother

here, now there, helplessly losing themselves in space, the spasm of hope at some imaginary discovery, the completeness of the depression which followed.

Impossible fears began to assail me; there might be quicksands; some one might have fainted. All kinds of wild animals crossed my mental vision. How easy for those who need take no care of themselves, to cast their burden lightly on others, I inwardly raged, as I worked myself into a violent antagonism to the Emancipation of Women!

And at last, after an hour, came the news that the lost party had in some mysterious fashion managed to follow the sands right on to the opposite bank and could find no way of crossing back. The boat was cast off and taken across; its presiding goddess re-entered her shrine; and Balu swore determinedly that never again would he allow himself to get mixed up in their party.

Every one was tired and repentant, so I had to keep to myself the homily I had prepared for the occasion. This morning I somehow found it impossible to get angry

## 11.

Calcutta,  
1889.

When the train started, little B— after taking a look all round, turned grave, as if wondering whence she had come, whither she was going, and what, indeed, could be the end and aim of man's journeyings; and as she pondered we saw her gradually overcome with yawn after yawn, till presently she put her head on my knee, stretched her legs on the seat, and fell fast asleep.

I was also beset with musings over the joys and sorrows of life, but in my case they did not bring me sleep. So I hummed to myself an improvisation in the mode *Bhairavi*.\* The modal forms and features of the *Bhairavi* conjure up a peculiar aspect of the universe, from which a deep melodious pain seems to be wrung by dint of the continuous grinding of the wheel of Law. And, curiously enough, as I hummed on, the morning sun grew wae, the trees ceased to move as though to listen, and the blue unwinking eye of the sky, dimmed with mist, tearfully looked on.

As we neared Kirkee station I caught

glimpses of the old sugar-cane field, the row of trees, and the glazed front of the house; and for a moment felt a kind of pang.

How curious! When we lived there I had no particular affection for the place, nor can I say I felt any emotion on leaving it; and yet when, for a fleeting moment, I see through the windows of a railway carriage that lone house with its empty rooms and deserted play ground, my heart leaps out to it like a lightning flash, and a shock passes from one end of my breast to the other.

The train flies past, the sugar-cane field and all the rest vanish in the distance, and the whole thing is over; except that the shock leaves the pitch of both high and 'low strings of my mind flattened 'by quite a tone and a half!

The locomotive, however, continued to speed its way over its iron road without wasting a thought on such trifles; it never has the time to spare to trouble over the sentiments of passengers, so busy is it gulping in water, puffing out smoke, and roaring and rattling on. This gives a splendid opening for a comparison with the way of the world, but the thing, I believe, has been done before, moreover I have no use for it just now, so I merely allude to the opportunity.

By the time we reached Khandalla it became cloudy and came on to drizzle; the hills grew hazy as if smudged out with a rubber, some outlines showing here and there, the rest leaden and blurred. . . .

The day wore on; poor B— began to fret without rhyme or reason; though still cloudy it became warmer and warmer; and the time refused to pass. Each minute seemed to want to be pushed before it would move on.

Fortunately it rained hard at last, and then we enjoyed looking out from the closed windows. In one place a fresher indulged in some highly absurd gambols, swelling and boiling and foaming and swirling, snatching up pebbles and rushing along, knocking its head against a boulder, wrestling with it, jumping over it, dancing round it, and altogether carrying on in a perfectly mad way, the like of which I have never seen.

When we arrived at Sohagpur, in the afternoon, it had stopped raining; and as we left the station I could see the sun, very very red indeed, going down behind the clouds.

\* See note to No. 14

I began to feel that while time was flowing on, unheeded, over the rest of the world, immersed in its work or play, eating or drinking, reading or conversation, for me it was a case of battling against its current, each and every wave buffeting my breast, my face

We duly arrived at Howrah Station. First our head doorkeeper, then J—, then S—, one by one came into view. Then the hackney carriage on the top of which were piled our things including rolls of bedding, the maid's battered old tin box, a bath tub filled with infantile odds and ends—clothing, water pots, feeding bottles, and inside which we reached home.

There was the usual hub-bub, the crowd, the servants upper and under, bending more or less low according to their rank, the differences of opinion as to whether or not we had improvised, the snatching and cuddling of little B— by all the girls of the house, the gathering round the table, and finally bath and breakfast and all the rest.

12

Shazadpur,  
1890

The magistrate was sitting in the verandah of his tent dispensing justice to the crowd awaiting their turns under the shade of a tree. They set my palanquin down right under his nose, and the young Englishman received me courteously. He had very light hair, with darker patches here and there, and a moustache just beginning to show. One might have taken him for a white-haired old man but for his extremely youthful face. I asked him over to dinner, but he said he was due elsewhere to arrange for a pig-sticking party.

As I returned home tremendous black clouds came up and there was a terrific storm with torrents of rain. I could not touch a book, it was impossible to write, so in the I know not what mood, beloved of poets, I wandered about from room to room. It had become quite dark, the thunder was continually pealing, the lightning gleaming flash after flash, and every now and then sudden gusts of wind would get hold of the big *lechi* tree by the neck and give its shaggy top a thorough good shaking. The hollow in front of the house soon filled with water and as I

paced about, it suddenly struck me that I ought to offer the shelter of the house to the magistrate.

I sent off an invitation, and then on making an investigation I found the only spare room occupied with a platform of planks hanging from the beams, piled with dirty old quilts and bolsters. The servants' effects in the way of an excessively grimy mat, hubble bubble pipes, tobacco, tinder and two wooden chests littered the floor. There were also sundry packing cases containing useless odds and ends such as a rusty kettle lid, a bottomless iron stove, a discoloured old nickel tea pot, an unworkable filter, a soup plate full of treacle blackened with dust. In a corner was a tub for washing dishes, and from nails in the wall hung moist dishcloths and Gafar's livery and skull cap. The only piece of furniture was a rickety dressing table with water stains, oil stains, milk stains, black, brown and white stains and all kinds of mixed stains. Its mirror was resting against a different wall, and its drawers were the receptacle for a miscellaneous assortment of articles from soiled napkins down to bottle wires and dust.

For a moment I was overcome with dismay, then it was a case of send for the manager, send for the storekeeper, call up all the servants, get hold of extra men, fetch water, put up ladders, unfasten the ropes, pull down the planks, take away the bedding, pick up pieces of broken glass, but by and by, wrench out the nails in the wall, one by one,— Confound you, there! what are you staring at? Look sharp, get hold of something else!" O Lord, there it goes! Crash! Bang! Smash! The chandelier is let fall and its pieces strew the floor. Pick them up again piece by piece. The dirty mat I whisk off the floor myself, and tuck out of the window, dislodging a horde of cockroaches, my messmates who dine off my bread, my treacle and the polish on my shoes.

The magistrate's reply is brought back, his tent is in an awful state and he is coming at once. Hurry up! Hurry up! Presently comes the shout "The *salub* has arrived." All in a flurry I brush the oil off my hair, my beard, and the rest of myself, and as I go to receive him in the drawing room, I try to look as respectable as if I had been reposing there fortably all the afternoon.

I went through the shaking

and conversed with the magistrate outwardly serene, but with misgivings about his accommodation now and then welling up inside. When, at length, I had to show my guest to his room, I found it passable, and if the homeless cockroaches do not tickle the soles of his feet, he may manage to get a night's rest.

13.

London,  
October: 1890.

Is man a machine that he should go exactly by rule? The workings of his mind are so vast and various, so divergent in tendency, so changeable in relative strength, that he needs must be swayed now this way, now that. This is the sign of his life, the test of his manhood, the contradiction of his materiality. He who has no weakness of hesitation has a narrow mind, inelastic and lifeless.

The thing that we revile as passion or desire gives us our motive power, and is opening us out, through joy and sorrow, right-doing and wrong, more and more into the infinite.

Our error in wholly blaming our passionate tendencies resembles that of a river complaining at every turn: "Where, oh where is the sea,—this is but a forest, this a desert, this a shoal,—is then the force pushing me on, perchance leading me astray?"

We are also daily passing through doubts and hesitations, we cannot see our goal. Only He knows exactly how we are to reach it who has given us this immense impetus of desire.

Our great mistake is to imagine that this power will forsake us where it has brought us, forgetting that it will also lift us away therefrom. The very thing which leads us into error shows us the way out,—such is the course of life.

He who has not a sufficiency of this life force, whose mind it does not impel to its mysterious, multifarious unfolding, he may be happy, he may be righteous, they may call his narrowness strength of mind, but he is, after all, poorly equipped for life's eternal journey.

14.

Patisar,  
1891.

I have had the house-boat removed from opposite the estate offices and moored in a

more secluded spot. There is no such thing as noise here, you cannot have it even for the asking, though you may get it, along with other things, if you go to the local market-place. Further, where I am now, you cannot even get the sight of a human face.

All round there are the fields, spreading away to the horizon; the crops have been cut and taken away and only the stubble covers the ground. After being cooped up the whole of yesterday, I went out for a walk over these fields at sunset. The sun got redder and redder till it completely disappeared behind the lowest line of the horizon; but what shall I tell of the wonders of the beauty which the world took on thereafter?

At the extreme edge of the fields was a fringe of trees, and there the play of dim purples and reds wrought such an enchanting vagueness,—it seemed to picture the very home of the spirit of Evening, where she retires at the end of the day, languidly to cast aside her ruby mantle, deftly to light her own evening star. Whom does she await there, with the vermillion bride-mark in her hair-parting, as, in the calmness of her solitude, she restfully reclines stringing her garland, and hums into being the stuff that dreams are made of?

Over the endless fields falls a shade,—of soft melancholy; not exactly tearful, but like the mist which gathers under the broad eye-lashes of a wistful, unblinking gaze. One may imagine that Mother Earth, kept busy in populous places with the turmoil of her children and her household duties, thus sighs forth,—whenever she gets a little solitude, a little leisure, a bit of open sky,—the divine discontent of her immense heart.

I doubt whether India's broad level fields and free open skies are to be found anywhere in Europe. That is why it is our people who have been able to discover this eternal yearning of our great big Earth, and why the *Puravi* or *Tori* modes of our music voice the cry of the world in its vast wholeness, rather than the homely sentiment of this one or that. The other aspect of the world, in which it is work-a-day, affectionately domestic, limited, has not impressed itself so much on our people,—we have been so moved into aloofness by the glimpses of its lonely infinitude. And so pangs pluck our hearts whenever fingers pluck from Sitar strings

the characteristic nuances of the *Bhairavi* mode

When vester lay the whole evening was in the *Puravi* mood the one human creature within miles was myself the only other I. turbaned and stiff on guard staff in hand by the gangway of the boat To the little river on my left—lost to sight after the next bend within its steep banks with not a ripple on its surface—the evening light clung for a while like the dying gleam of a wan smile The silence was as vast as the expanse of the fields broken only by the plaintive cries of a bird alarmed by my passing too close to its nest in the stubble Gradually the waning moon rose over the scene as lost in thought I pursued with bowed head and slow footsteps the narrow track winding along the edge of the river

#### TRANSLATOR'S NOTE

The *Ragas* or modes of the classical music of Hindusthan or Upper India (the term India Music is vague as the Northern Southern and various provincial styles are all widely different) are in a technical view so many scales each comprising a limited number of notes selected from a full chromatic scale which differs from the European tempered chromatic scale in having more than one intermitted alternate tone in the spaces between two full tones; though more than one such flat or sharp of the same note is not used in one and the same scale except momentarily in passing from one part of the scale to another which is rarely done in staccato fashion These modes are further distinguished by the relative importance of the notes and other rules governing the progress on the scale

From the standpoint of feeling the different melodic types thus created are deemed to afford suitable artistic expressions of the reactions on the human mind of the different moods of nature as expressed in the seasons of the year the times of the day in pastoral surroundings amid human pomp and festivity as well as in less defensible connections

The *Bhairavi* though called a morning *Raga* has been more recognised by virtuoso to be rather a universal expression of the elusiveness of the fleeting moments whose subtle changes take the waxing and waning day though its course and so is no longer restricted to any particular hour

The *Puravi* is a distinctly early evening *Raga* which to mention on any one of its less subtle elements the aspect of waning of closing down is more definitely brought out. The earlier sunrise early morning *Ragas* not mentioned here in which the aspect of awaking or unfolding is particularly marked

The *Tori* is so a morning *Raga* is perhaps more typically a pleasant rather than a disciplinary aspect which gives the world after its awakening and is followed by later morning modes as for example the *Ala* is an expression of the relaxation and relief of the soul going into a spacious aloofness in the soul seeks and finds

\* See note at end

The exact mood picture which corresponds to a particular *Raga* must always largely be a question of the reacting temperament though some pictures are decidedly more authoritative or orthodox because they find a place in the old literature on the subject

15

Kaligram  
1891

Just the kind of afternoon to live through There is not a soul to chide me on nor is it yet time for my work and for the *ryots* to crowd around I am feeling listlessly comfortable and indescribably irresponsible as if the thing called necessity has departed from the world and bath and toilet and having one's meals to time are obsolete superstitions left behind in far away Calcutta

This is the prevailing mood all round here There is a bit of a river, but it has no current to speak of and lying snugly tucked up in its coverlet of float ng weeds it seems to be thinking that since it is possible to get on without getting along why bestir oneself to stir? So the sedge which lines its banks is hardly disturbed by any movement until the fishermen come with their nets

Four or five large sized boats are moored near by alongside each other On the upper deck of one its boatman is fast asleep in the sun rolled up in a sheet from head to foot On another the boatman also basking in the sun leisurely twists some yarn into rope On the lower deck in a third an oldish looking bare bodied fellow is leaning over an oar, staring vacantly at our boat

Along the bank there are various other people but why they come or go with the slowest of idle steps or remain seated on their hunches embracing their knees, or keep on gazing at nothing in particular no one can guess

The only signs of activity are to be seen amongst the ducks who are quacking clamorously gaily thrusting their heads under water and bobbing up again to shake off the water with equal energy, as if they are repeatedly trying to explore the mysteries below the surface and every time shaking their heads to report There's nothing! There's nothing!

The days here simply drowse in the sun all the twelve hours and silently sleep away the other twelve wrapped in their mantle of darkness The only thing one wants to do in a place like this is to gaze

and gaze on the landscape, swinging one's faucies to and fro, alternately humming a tune and nodding dreamily; as does the mother on a winter's noon-day, her back to the sun, rocking and crooning her baby to sleep.

16

Patisar,  
1891.

At this spot the little river has bent itself into a cosy corner in which I lie, hidden away under its high banks, invisible from any distance. Boats come from the North, towed along by their crew, and pull up in astonishment when on turning the bend they come upon the unusual sight of the house-boat here. "Hullo, there! Whose boat is this?" comes the shout. "The *Zamindar* Babu's." "Why here and not at the *Kutcherry*\* moorings?" "He has only come to take the air." I happen to be here for things more solid than air, but these are the questions and answers which pass.

I have just got through my midday meal. It is nearing half-past one. They have unfasted my boat and it is slowly drifting towards the Office. There is a strong breeze, but not exactly cold, coming as it does through the noonday sunshine. The boat makes a swishing sound as it passes through occasional patches of floating weeds, resting on which little tortoises, with necks craned forward, are sunning themselves.

At intervals come little villages of clustering thatched cottages; with here and there mud walls standing unthatched, and a few hay-stacks; plum trees, mango trees, *aswatha* trees, bamboo clumps; one or two goats grazing, some naked children playing about.

To the edge of the water reach the sloped bathing places, where some are washing clothes, some bathing, others scouring pots and pans; a shy village bride, her water vessel clasped against her waist, parts her veil by the breadth of two fingers to cast curious glances at the *Zamindar* Babu, while a sleek oil-anointed youngster, holding on to the loose end of her *sari*, also satisfies, with steadfast gaze,

his curiosity regarding the writer's features.

Here a few boats moored along the bank; there a fishing boat, half submerged, waiting to be pulled out of the water; more rarely cows, with their little boy attendants, come to browse on the lusher grass at the river edge.

Where else can there be afternoons of such perfect peace and quiet?

17

Kaligram,  
1891.

Yesterday while I was giving audience to the *ryots*, five or six boys made their appearance and stood in a primly proper row before me. Before I could put any question, their spokesman, in the choicest of high-flown language started: "Sire! The grace of the Almighty, and the good fortune of your benighted children have once more brought about your lordship's auspicious arrival into this locality." He went on in this strain for nearly half-an-hour. Here and there he would get his lesson wrong, pause, look up at the sky, correct himself, and then go on again. I gathered that their school was short of benches and stools. "For want of these wood-built seats," as he put it, "we know not where to sit, ourselves, where to seat our revered teachers, or what to offer our most respected superintendent when he comes on a visit."

I could hardly repress a smile at this torrent of eloquence gushing from such a bit of a fellow, which sounded specially out of place here where the *ryots* are given to stating their profoundly vital wants in plain and direct vernacular, of which, even, the more unusual words get sadly twisted out of shape. The clerks and *ryots*, however, seemed duly impressed, and likewise envious as though deploring their parents' omission to endow them with so splendid a means of appealing to the *Zamindar*.

I interrupted the young orator before he had done, promising to arrange for the necessary number of benches and stools. Nothing daunted, he allowed me to have my say, took up his discourse where he had left it, finished it to the last word, saluted me profoundly and marched off his contingent. He probably would not have minded it at all had I refused to supply the seats, but after all his getting it by heart he would have

\* The estate offices

† Anointing with mustard oil is the usual preliminary to a bath in Bengal



bitterly being robbed of any part of his speech. So though it kept more important business waiting, I had to hear him out.

18.

Kaligram,  
1891.

Oh, how I love this great, old Earth of ours, lying there so quietly! I feel I want to clasp in my arms the whole immensity of her, with her trees and foliage, rivers and fields, her sounds and her silences, her mornings and evenings.

What heaven is there which can give us the like of the earthly riches she has bestowed on us? Other things heaven may have, for aught I know, but where shall I get the intimate kinship of this tenderly weak, appealingly tremulous, immature humanity to offer us?

Thus dusty old Mother of ours,—our very own Earth,—in her golden fields, on the banks of her bounteous rivers, amidst

the joys and sorrows of her loving households, brings to our door the tear-begotten wealth of her poor, mortal children. We, with our sad destiny, cannot even keep and save her loved ones, whom cruel, unknown forces snatch away off her very breast; and still the poor old thing goes on doing the very best she can for them. I do love her so!

A vast melancholy overshadows her countenance, as though she is weighed down by the thought: 'Daughter of the gods am I, yet their power has been denied me. I love, but cannot keep; I begin, but cannot complete; I give birth, but cannot save from death.'

For that I cannot forgive heaven; and so I doubly love the home of my humble old Mother Earth, just because she is so weak, so helpless, so distracted with loving anxieties.

Translated by  
SURENDRANATH TAGORE.

## KRISHNAKANTA'S WILL

By BANKIM CHANDRA CHATTERJEE.

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### CHAPTER V.

NEXT morning Haralal walked straight to Brahmananda's house. When he got there, without stopping he went and peeped into the kitchen. Rohini was there busy in cooking. She pretended not to see him even when he stepped up and stood near her. "Look at me, Rohini, the pot won't crack," said Haralal.

Rohini looked up with a smile.

"Have you got it?" he asked.

She made no answer, but went and brought him what he wanted. Haralal knew at a glance that it was his father's will. A sinister smile was on his face. "How did you get it?" he asked.

Rohini began her story. She invented one; and she took the will from his hand to show how it lay between two boxes, which stood upon the chest of drawers. When she had finished speaking she left him abruptly. Haralal, not seeing the will

in her hand when she returned, asked, "Where is the will?"

"I have kept it," said Rohini.

"I want to be going now. I must have it," said Haralal.

"Why, I think there is no haste."

"I cannot afford to wait. I must be off."

"Well, if you must, I will not detain you," said Rohini.

"The will? Let me have the will. Don't keep me waiting for it."

"You may leave it with me," said Rohini.

"Nonsense, I must have it."

"Whether it is with you or me, it is all the same."

"How? Why did you steal it if you will not give it to me?"

"When you have married a widow, I will give it to your wife."

Haralal pretended not to see what she was driving at, and only said, "Don't

detain me any longer. You want money, I can see. Let me know what sum will satisfy you."

"I don't want money; you know what I want," she said quietly, and evidently fighting against shyness.

"I am sorry I cannot comply with your wish," said Haralal. "If I have forged, I have done it for my own good. You stole; can you say why you did it?"

Rohini was astounded.

"Whatever I am" continued Haralal, "still I am Krishnakanta Roy's son. I cannot take to wife one who stole."

His words cut her like a whip. She rose to her feet abruptly; and pushing back her veil, and flinging an angry and scornful look at him, said, "Who told me to steal? Who put the temptation before me? Who was so silky and smooth in order to deceive a poor woman by taking advantage of her simplicity? Can there be anything more wicked and dishonourable than this? And you plume yourself on being the son of Krishnakanta Roy! Shame on you. Had you been a woman I wouldn't have spared the broom. But a wretch as you are, I allow you to depart in peace."

Haralal was cowed by her sudden and very bold attack. A malicious smile was on his face, and he withdrew without uttering a word.

## CHAPTER VI.

Brahmananda had no servants in his house because he was a poor man. Whether to have servants is a blessing or no blessing we do not know; but of this we are sure that in a house where there are no servants there are no such things as lying and backbiting and quarrel. There is very often a scene in a family where there are a number of female servants. They can never agree, and whenever they can get an opportunity they fail not to break the peace of the house by quarrelling, and accusing and abusing one another.

Brahmananda had no servants, and therefore there was peace in his house. As for female members he had none except his niece, Rohini. She kept the house scrupulously clean. She cooked food, drew water, scoured the plates and performed every other household work quietly and without a murmur. Their drinking water she fetched in a pot every day from a particular tank, called the Baruni tank, which was at a little distance from their

house. This was the best and largest tank in their village. The water of it was good enough for drinking purposes, and it was so clear that one could see to the bottom.

On the day following the one on which she had an altercation with Haralal she was going to the tank to fetch water as usual, and she looked so sad and disappointed. It was the time of spring, and nature wore a smiling look. Everywhere the trees were in blossom, and the air was laden with a sweet perfume. There were the koels\* whose loud clear calls were heard from time to time. On other days their notes made no impression on her mind, but on this day when she heard them a strange feeling came over her. She thought as if she had lost something; as if something was wanting; as if her life was a blank. She thought of her late husband, and of her lonely state of a widow of her age, and of widow-marriage, which she had heard was not forbidden by the shastras. "Why should I not," she said to herself, "enjoy my spring of life? What great sin have I committed that I should be doomed thus to suffer? There is Gobindal's wife. How happy she is. She has got such a nice young husband. And here am I, a hapless woman, destined to toil and go without a single comfort in life."

As she was thus musing a thrilling sonorous coo-oo burst forth from among the trees near by, which made her look around with a start. "Hold your tongue, you rascally knave; you awaken painful feelings in me," she said. These words were addressed to the poor bird, which of course meant no offence.

In a little time Rohini reached the tank; but she felt so miserable that she sat down to weep.

## CHAPTER VII.

The Baruni tank with its double border, one of grass, whose growth was regularly kept in check by the mowers, and the other next, of a garden on its embankment, looked, as it lay, like a mirror with the trees beautifully reflected on its clear waters. The tank, and the garden enclosed with a wall belonged to Krishnakanta Roy. Rohini was weeping, sitting on one of the landing stairs. The sun was near its setting. From among the trees on the embankment somebody was watching her.

\* In Sanskrit poetry the notes of the koel in spring are held to excite feelings of love.

It was Gobindalal. He wondered why she was weeping. His conjecture, however, was that she might have quarrelled with somebody. How was he to know what actually the cause of her sorrow was? However, he felt pity for her. He thought he would go and inquire.

The sun was down. The cattle were being driven home from the field, the lowing herd moving on at a quick pace, kicking up the dust with their feet. By and by the shades of evening closed in. The waters of the tank looked black, and the birds took shelter among the trees. Then the moon rose, shedding its silvery beams upon the earth. But Rohini—she was still there and weeping, her head leaning on her right hand. "Why, I think I will ask why she is weeping," said Gobindalal to himself. He rose to go to her.

"Rohini," said he, going down very quietly to her, "why are you weeping? What is the matter with you?"

Rohini started and looked up. Knowing at a glance who the speaker was, she quickly rose to her feet and stood, holding her head down, and without saying a word.

"What's your trouble, Rohini?" he continued. "Let me know it. I may be of service to you."

She was still silent.

Gobindalal was somewhat grave and reserved. He was not given to flirting, nor was he ever known to talk lightly to any woman. Among the young people of the village he was more respected and held in greater esteem than his cousins. Besides he was a very handsome young man. Rohini respected him. This day, however, when he spoke to her she loved him she knew not why, and thought she could die for him.

"Well," said Gobindalal again after a pause, "if it is anything you cannot say yourself, let me know it through my wife or any other woman belonging to our house. I give you the assurance that if in anything you require my help you shall have it."

Rohini spoke now and said, "I will tell you; but not to-day. I will tell you all, and it is my earnest request that you will be pleased to listen to me."

Gobindalal readily complied, and left her.

Rohini filled her pot, and went home a lighter heart.

## CHAPTER VIII.

On getting home Rohini engaged herself in preparing the evening meal. This day she managed to get it ready earlier than usual. Brahmananda had his meal, but Rohini touched no food, for she had no inclination for it. She shut herself up in her room, not to go to bed but to consider what should be done regarding the will.

We have two counsellors, one, our conscience, which always tells us to do what is right, and the other, the devil in us, that delights in leading us astray.

Rohini's conscience said, "It was very wicked of you to steal the will."

"How?" said she or rather the devil in her. "I haven't given it to Haralal."

"You must return it to Krishnakanta," said her conscience.

"Bah!" said she, "when he demands how I got the will or how came the false will in his drawer, what shall I say? Would you have me be handed over to the police?"

"Then why don't you," said her conscience, "go to Gobindalal and own everything to him? He is a kind man. If you fall on your knees before him and ask his protection he will not refuse it you."

"But Gobindalal," said she, "will have to tell all to Krishnakanta. And if Krishnakanta hand me over to the police, how can Gobindalal protect me? I think it is better to keep quiet now. When the old man is dead I will give the will to Gobindalal. And I will throw myself at his feet and ask his pardon."

"Of what avail would it then be?" said her conscience. "The will that will be found in Krishnakanta's house will of course be taken as genuine. If Gobindalal produce his uncle's will, it won't stand, and he will be accused of forgery."

"Well, I know better what to do," she said. "I will keep quiet about it; and that is, I think, the best and safest course to adopt under the circumstances."

So she set light by the dictates of her conscience, and resolved in her mind to keep quiet about the will. Then her thoughts glided spontaneously to Gobindalal. How very gentle and obliging and handsome he was! How she loved and admired him! What would she not give to win his love? Her imagination painted him as beautiful as a rainbow. She thought of him and wept and thought and wept

again. Thus she passed the night, and she had not so much as a wink of sleep.

### CHAPTER IX.

Days passed, and Rohini had conceived a great passion for Gobindalal. She had been seeing him from a girl, but she had never experienced feelings such as she experienced now. What had wrought this change? Not the notes of the koels, nor the delightful time of spring when everything in nature is fresh and fragrant, unless they were as helps to bringing it about. The kind words he spoke to her that evening had impressed her deeply. They were as balm to her afflicted heart. She thought of the trick played upon her by Haralal. A thousand times she wished she had not stolen the will. By contrast Gobindalal seemed an angel.

If Rohini could have foreseen what was at the end of the path she was going to pursue, she would certainly have recoiled in horror. Could Gobindalal love her? What would she do if he could not! If she was to live to drudge and toil, why should she not die? What hope or comfort had she? And drowning she had heard was the best and easiest of all means of suicide.

She was, however, keenly sensible of the wrong she had done to Gobindalal by stealing the will. So she resolved she would go and get the forged will and put Krishnakanta's will again where it was in the drawer.

At midnight she set off to Krishnakanta's house to replace the will. There was no getting in at the back-door which was always shut early, and she was to pass through the gateway where, she knew, the porters usually sat up till very late at night. On this night they were singing songs. As she entered they stopped her and demanded who she was. On her saying that she was the companion of her master's daughter they allowed her to pass. As the house was well-guarded the door of Krishnakanta's bed-room was kept open at night. Rohini knew it. Before entering she stopped to listen. Krishnakanta was lying on his back and snoring. He was apparently fast asleep. She went in, taking good care not to make any noise. A candle was burning, which she extinguished at once on entering. Next she procured the key as before, and opened the drawer in which she had left the forged will. But somehow, as she turned the

key in the lock, in spite of her using great caution there was a little creaking sound, which roused Krishnakanta.

He wondered what the noise was about, and kept stock-still with his ears pricked up to listen.

When the snoring had ceased Rohini knew that Krishnakanta had awaked. She stood perfectly still.

"Who is there?" cried Krishnakanta.

There was no answer. Rohini was not what she used to be when there was nothing to disturb her peace of mind. She was much pulled down; and she seemed now not a little frightened, for her breathing was quick and audible.

Krishnakanta called for his servant, Hari. He called more than once, but in vain. His match box he had to his hand. With the aid of a match he lighted the candle, and discovered a woman standing near the chest of drawers.

Rohini would have been able to escape when she perceived that Krishnakanta had awaked, but she did not for Gobindalal's sake. She thought that the will must be replaced, and did not care for her safety.

"Who are you?" demanded Krishnakanta.

Rohini drew near to him and said, "I am Rohini."

"Rohini!" he cried. "What have you been doing here in the dark, and at such a late hour of the night?"

"I was trying to steal your will," she said.

"I am now in no mood for your jests. Come, tell me what you were about here. I do not believe you got in here to steal my will, but the circumstances I have caught you under are very suspicious."

"In your presence I will do what I came here for," said Rohini. "Afterwards you may deal by me as you think proper." With this she stepped up, opened the drawer and replaced the will, having taken out the forged one, which she was soon after hastily tearing to pieces.

"Oh, stop, stop, what is it you are tearing?" cried the old man in great alarm. "Let me see it. Oh, stop, do."

But before he could see what it was, Rohini had consigned the torn pieces of the will to the flame of the candle and turned them into ashes in no time.

"What have you burnt?" cried Krishnakanta, looking up to her in a great passion.

"A will, a forged will," said Rohini.

"Will! What will? Where is my will? where is it? Tell me, quick," cried the old man in the greatest of excitement.

"Your will is in the drawer," said Rohini coolly. "You can see if you like." She said this with such careless indifference that Krishnakanta was astonished.

He, however, took out his spectacles, adjusted them to his nose, and having satisfied himself that his will was all safe where he had kept it, turned to her and said, "Then what was it you destroyed?"

"A forged will," said Rohini.

"Forged will? Of whose making was it? Where did you get it?"

"I found it in the drawer," said Rohini. "I do not know by whom it was prepared."

"You do not know? How came you to know it was in the drawer?"

"That I will not tell you," said Rohini. Krishnakanta reflected a while. "Rohini," he said at length, "you are but a girl; you are greatly mistaken if you think that I cannot find out what the fact is. The forged will was of Haralal's preparing. You were bribed to steal for him my will and put the forged one in its place. But you couldn't do it, being found out, and so you destroyed the false will. Come, is it not true?"

"No, it is not," said Rohini.

"Then what is true?" said Krishnakanta, surveying her from head to foot. "Please don't ask me. I have been found in your room under suspicious circumstances, and you may deal with me as you like."

"Well," said he, "that you came here with a bad intention there is no doubt, and I must punish you as you deserve. I will not hand you over to the police, but I will have you turned out of the village to-morrow. And I will see you in disgrace by having your head shaven in the presence of all my men and the neighbours. For to-night you shall remain in confinement."

Rohini was locked up in a room for the night.

## CHAPTER X.

The grey dawn of morning was breaking over the world. A gentle breeze was blowing, and if the cuckoos were not yet heard there were other birds that had already begun their songs. At this delightful time of morning Gobindalal went and stood at the open window of his bed-

room. Here he was quickly joined by a very pretty looking girl.

"What makes you come here?" said Gobindalal.

"And you—what are you here for?" said the girl.

The reader need not be told that the girl is Gobindalal's wife.

"I am here to enjoy the morning breeze a while," said her husband.

"And why should I not enjoy it too? Why should you have this pleasure all to yourself, you selfish man?"

Gobindalal's wife's name was Bhramar. The term Bhramar means black bee. Her husband jokingly used to remark that she was given that name on account of the dark look of her skin. But although her complexion was dark, she was well-formed, and the cast of her face was beautiful. She was a very good and affectionate wife, and her husband loved her dearly.

"My dear, you always look charming in your nose-ring," said her husband. "I like this sort of trinket best because you look so lovely in it."

"You naughty man," said she, giving him a gentle pull by the nose. "I know you do not mean what you say."

"Oh, I do, my love," said he, as he held up her face in both hands and imprinted a kiss on her lips.

Presently an uproar was heard. "What's this noise about?" said Gobindalal.

"It is the servants, the ever noisy and quarrelsome set," said Bhramar.

The servants were up very early as usual; and a little while ago the *shup-shup* of the brooms, and the splashing of water and the tinkling of the plates showed that they were busy in sweeping and cleaning and washing and scouring. But suddenly these noises ceased, and a great clamour followed.

"I will go and see what is the matter," said Bhramar. And she left her husband and ran downstairs.

The women-servants were a very troublesome set in the house, and could hardly be kept under control even by Bhramar's mother-in-law who was the mistress of the house.

"What's all this noise about? What's the matter," cried Bhramar as soon as she appeared before them. They paid no heed to her words. As soon as they saw her they burst into loud exclamations of and astonishment. "I am sure I have

heard such a thing in my life," said one. Another cried, "How daring! I wish I could teach her a good lesson with my broom!" A third wished she could cut off her nose and ears. A fourth said she ought to hang for it. A fifth, however, observed that she should say nothing, considering that she knew nothing for certain. No sooner did the last speaker utter these words than the rest turned sharply upon her and taunted her, saying that she was too good and honest a woman to make herself a busybody in things that did not concern her. They made other cutting remarks, and were so clamorous in condemning her as a hypocrite that at last Bhramar cried, "Hold your tongues, you noisy rabble. I wish I could have you taught a good lesson for creating this disturbance in the house. Why don't you hang yourselves and let us be rid of you?"

At these words they set up a great howl, complaining that it was very hard that because they were servants they must put up with hard words and insult for nothing. They said they were sure they did not know what their fault was except that they had no bread at home; and that they would certainly not submit to be insulted in order to earn it. One of them, an elderly woman, burst into loud sobs, saying that had she not lost a son at her lying-in some thirty years ago, she would never have to work for her bread, for he would have been the stay and support of her old age. Bhramar, who was a jovial young lady, could not restrain her laughter at her words. "You fools," she cried, "why don't you say what has happened? Who is the person you would have taught a good lesson?"

When she had said that, there was a clamour again. They expressed their wonder at her not having heard the startling news that a robbery had been committed

in the house, and gave her a highly coloured account of what they had heard. What Bhramar, however, could judge to be the fact was that Rohini had stolen into Krishnakanta's bedroom for some hidden purpose, been found out and kept in detention. She returned to her husband and told him what was the matter.

"What do you think of her, dear?" said Gobindalal. "Do you believe Rohini went into his room to steal?"

"I don't believe it," said Bhramar.

"Why? What's your reason for your not wishing to believe it?"

"What do you think of her?"

"I would like to hear from you first," said Gobindalal.

"Well, because I never heard anything against her, and I have always held a good opinion of her ever since I came to know her."

"You don't mean that," said Gobindalal with a smile. "Shall I say why you wish to take her side?"

"Why?" asked Bhramar.

"Because she likes you very much, and can never bear to hear any remark made about your complexion."

"You naughty man, you are always for finding fault with my complexion. But I am as God made me, and I don't care what you or other people think of the look of my skin."

"I will go and see what I can do," said Gobindalal.

"Oh, poor girl! You must plead for her. You must try and see her set free."

"You have such a good and feeling heart, my dear," said Gobindalal, "and I am so happy with you." With this he kissed her and left the room.

*(To be continued.)*

TRANSLATED BY D. C. ROY.

## AN URGENT DEMAND FOR PREPAREDNESS IN INDIA

THOSE who have studied the Indian problem from the standpoint of world politics can realize that the Indian situation is not so safe as the common people think.

The greatest problem for the Indian people in the coming decade is how far they are ready to preserve their integrity as a part of the British Empire. The people of India should not sleep in the belief that

Japan is going to preserve peace in India in case of emergency during any future war. Yes during this war and as long as the Anglo-Japanese Alliance lasts in its present form Japan will do it. Political scientists will agree that in the past Japan has been most profited by the Anglo-Japanese Alliance, she has been able to eliminate Russia and Germany from China with the British support. But if Japan find that her national interest will be better served by not continuing the existing alliance with Great Britain after its expiry then nobody can blame Japan because the first duty of a state is to preserve its own interests. Every thoughtful observer who has any opportunity of studying Japan in recent years will testify with me that the Japanese people to-day regard Great Britain as their first rival in Asia. Hundreds of articles have been published in Japan during the present war by responsible persons expressing the opinion that the Anglo-Japanese Alliance should not be continued after its expiry and some of them have gone so far as to demand its abrogation during this war. Many Japanese think that the Russo-Japanese Alliance is more suited to their interest; they are inclined to think that with Russia's support they will also be able to eliminate Great Britain's influence in China and in the Pacific!

It is beyond doubt that during this war Russia will stand by Great Britain. But where is the guarantee that after this European war Russia will remain so friendly to Great Britain? Russia entered into this war to acquire some territory in the Balkans and also expected that she might get Constantinople through the British aid. So far as we can see the latter proposition is out of the question. If Constantinople be taken Great Britain will be extremely foolish if she allows Russia to occupy it because what guarantee is there that Russia will not use it against Suez, if she becomes opposed to Great Britain as she was in the past? Russia cannot get any warm water port in the China Sea unless she can destroy Japan and that is beyond any possibility for some decades to come. Russia must have a warm water port as that is very vital for her future. So far as it is known to us according to the published texts of the secret agreement between Russia and Japan (vide *Peking Gazette*) Japan is bound to

help Russia in her attempt to get an outlet in the Persian Gulf and in case Russia attacks India Japan is bound to help Russia. Of course all this is possible when the Anglo-Japanese Alliance and the Anglo-Russian Entente cease to exist (Here again we have the example of Roumania and Italy during the war).

Now Germany regards Great Britain as her worst enemy, and whatever may be the results of this war she will not be willing to shake hands with Great Britain as a friend. And the other day we heard from Professor Munsterberg of Harvard that after this war is over there will be a German-Russian and Japanese Alliance. Let us hope that this will never come about but it is absolutely desirable for the people of India to prepare for the worst viz a combination of Japan, Russia and Germany with her adjuncts Austria and Turkey on the one hand and the British Empire with her allies Italy and France and probably U.S.A. on the other. In this case would India be safe? Then are the Indian people ready to defend their country by warding off the marches of such enemy? Then Great Britain's hands will be tied in Europe and Australian and Canadian aid will be neutralized for obvious reasons and we all know that the Turco-German combination had a special programme against Egypt.

If ever that calamity comes what will be the position of India? Loyal India will not only have to defend herself but will have to do her share to defend Egypt, Burma, Singapore, Hongkong and other British possessions in Africa and Asia because the population of the Indian Empire is greater than all other parts of the British Empire. Are the Indian people prepared for it? We are sure that the loyal and brave people of India will not shrink to give their lives to defend their country and other parts of the British Empire as they have been boldly doing during this war. But for this contingency are 300,000 Indian soldiers and reserves enough? India has a population of 315 millions and in case of absolute necessity an army of five millions of men of all arms can be raised but where are the requisite number of Indian officers and arms and ammunition for these men? Will these men show the qualities of trained soldiers in the day of great trial? That Great Britain will not in the aforesaid contingency, be able to

help India much with much aid, is beyond doubt. Then the immediate need for Great Britain, for her sake and for the sake of the preservation of the British Empire, is to take the people of India into equal confidence and have a thorough-going programme of Preparedness for them.

The Programme :—

1. Repeal of the Arms Act.
2. Training of worthy Indians as officers—not as mere Jamadars, Subadars and Subadar Majors, the majority of whom do not possess the fundamentals of common school education. (Military engineers, artillery, infantry and cavalry officers, efficient strategists, capable medical officers, etc.).

3. India should have her own Navy and this should be manned and officered by the Indians as is done in the case of the Australian navy—a glorious part of the British Navy.

4. India must have factories where big guns can be forged and the Indian people must learn this business.

5. India must have many up-to-date explosive and ammunition factories with Indian chemists and Indian directors.

6. India must have an efficient Aero-plane Corps manned by Indians.

7. It has been proved beyond all doubt, during the Russo-Japanese War and the present European War, that the wars of the Twentieth Century are scientific wars. The less educated are the soldiers, the less efficient are the armies; then measures must be immediately adopted to introduce a better system of education for the people of India.

Imperial interests demand that the Indian leaders and the British Indian Government should wake up to the necessity of a thorough-going preparedness for the future, so that the people of India may not have to repent and say, "Ah! it is too late." If ever it be too late to carry out this programme by taking the Indian people into equal confidence, as it has been done in Canada, Australia and South Africa, then the fate of the Indian people may be as disastrous as of the changing of the yoke, and the fate of the glorious British Empire may be its disintegration. May Heaven forbid it and may we hope that the people and rulers of India will pay heed to this timely warning and do their best to inaugurate an adequate programme of preparedness for the safety of India and the British Empire.

A Japanese Friend of India. †

## TWO POEMS

BY J. E. ANDREWS.

### A LETTER.

Dear Jim,—the little ones have prayed,  
And now are tucked in bed,  
I'm sitting here alone to-night  
Thinking of all you said,

That last sad day at Waterloo.  
Before the train went off.—  
You told me 'not to mind, but look  
After our Jimmie's cough,

And see that Susan goes to school,  
And,—you'd be 'home once more  
By Christmas come.' Now Christmas' gone,  
And New Year's at the door.

The winds are moaning down the street,  
And snow is falling fast,  
And, Jim,—how cold and numbed you'll be,  
While these dark hours go past.

The children ask for you, each day,—  
"Mum, when will Daddy come?"  
I answer "Father's coming, pets,  
Daddy will soon be home."



But all the while my heart beats sore,  
And tears stand in my eyes.—  
Though I say what you told me, Jim,  
Yet hidden fears will rise.

I dreamt of you the other night.—  
You stood there, just outside,  
The children all went wild with joy,  
I ran to you and cried,—

I ran, and laughed, and cried, at once,  
So real did it seem!  
But soon I woke, and found it nought  
But a poor, empty dream.

Yet I'll be brave, Jim, and each hour  
Remember what you say,  
Bearing it wrapped up in my heart,  
And this is what I'll pray:—

O God, keep safe my dearest Jim,  
And bring him home again:  
Keep safe our little children, too,  
For Jesus sake. Amen.

## II

## AN EPIGRAM.

Ye who desire to walk aright,  
Bend all your steps towards the light:  
For, walking ever in this track,  
Shadows will fall behind your back.

[These poems were recently sent to Mr. C. F. Andrews by his father, who is now in his eighty-third year. They have been slightly revised by his son. Ed. M. R.]

## BIRTHDAY MEDITATION OF A POSITIVIST

**I** FIND myself now, not indeed unawares,  
at the mid way of the sixth decade of  
my life time: I look back on the years  
going and forward to those coming, mind-  
ful that in normal course the past will be  
lengthening and the likely future will surely  
shorten, bringing nearer the last duty, of  
dying: and at this stage I do earnestly  
affirm my belief that—

*To have lived is well: still to live is  
well: to die too shall be well.*

Of these three, taking the last first.  
The coming of death for myself I face with  
calm and with the equal mind. Ushered  
into being by Humanity, I accept freely  
this law in the general Fate that governs  
Her and Her children. To have emerged—  
to be—and so, to return. By the mortal  
path whereby all have gone and go, by  
that and with them I too would wish  
to go.

Next, of life thus far, I do with con-  
fidence and with gratefulness declare:—  
I have been, and I am, truly glad and  
well content to be alive, to be having the

privilege and great adventure of living,  
to be filling my place in the Great Scheme  
and having my part of opportunity and  
achievement. I have loved the Earth  
and the Sea and the Sky, the Day and  
the Night, and the changing seasons of  
the Years I have loved, and been loved  
by, my fellow men and women and  
children. Throughout childhood and  
youth and maturity I have had the perso-  
nal joy of living and loving. I rejoice in  
having had family, wife, children, friends,  
and in sharing the various experiences of  
human kind. I trust that somewhat of  
my being and doing may be entering  
usefully into the common and abiding  
human store.

And thirdly, for the coming years of  
older life:—Love, Courage, Hope.

*To have lived is well:  
Still to live is well:  
To die too shall be well.*

W.F.W.

## THE DRAMA OF THE CLOUDS

BY MISS BIDYUT DATTA

[At sunset the evening clouds are seen to assume different shapes and colours]

[These changing and moving forms appear some times as human figures acting in a drama]

[The drama of their play is seen one evening at Shanti V ketan is given here]

A GOLD flush is seen suffusing all the western sky, in the midst of which two solitary clouds in the form of two women, appear reclining side by side with their heads covered by their *Saris*

[The first, moving and looking round, exclaims, in great surprise—'We two seem to be left alone. Where have all the others gone?']

[The second 'You have been dreaming! Some friends passing us by took them along. But look! And she turns and points to the vast sea of gold']

[The first 'This is our country of gold! Who dare bring a stain here? Nowhere can you detect even a speck of darkness']

[The second 'Do not be so certain about that. I am placed a little higher, and can see farther away than you. To me it seems as though there were already some sign of warfare in that far away golden region of ours']

[The first 'Warfare! what do you mean?']

[The second 'Well, perhaps not warfare! It might be a kind of war, or it might be the darkness of night']

[Look! Towards the north East! Do you see those huge black masses with silvery outline? That was once a kingdom of perfect happiness,

but there has been fighting and bloodshed, and now you see those dark masses. Yet, when you get a glimpse of the silvery border, you are at once led to think of what it was once also what it might be some day again']

[The first 'Yes it looks hopeful—does it not?']

[The second 'Change is the law of nature? They say It is our law also. There is an ebb and flow in every thing—an uprising and a downfall—the fall succeeding the rise']

19—2

One of the clouds suddenly finds her companion's head uncovered. She looks startled and says—'Do you know, you have no *Sari* on your head!'

The other turns bashfully and says 'This is the doing of breeze. He is ever playing hide and seek with us, ever teasing us in this manner. Where are you going? Do, please stay with us a moment longer!'

The other cloud, without any explanation leaves her companion and swiftly glides away.

Suddenly the solitary cloud, left behind, feels the edge of her *sari* pulled by some body from behind.

She promptly turns round and to her utter amazement finds a maiden with a purple garment beckoning her to come aside. She obeys. The two move toward each other.

. . . . .

The cloud: 'What is it you want? I have never seen you before. You are delaying me!'

The maiden: 'Why do you look so annoyed? You say you do not know me.'

'Well, what is acquaintance? In our country we never have any formal introductions. We are friends as soon as we meet each other. We scarcely have a companion staying with us over five minutes at a time. Our life is ever changing—our friendship is ever changing—boundless.'

'In that infinite ocean of our friendship thousands are admitted every hour.'

The cloud: 'But surely—when you have new friends, the old ones pass away—do they not?'

The maiden: 'Yes so it seems. But that matters not. We care not for our ever-changing forms and shapes—we pass above and beyond that stage—and then only are we capable of admitting thousands every hour into our world without discarding any.'

'A balance is kept in but not so in

calculation ceases here. We go on growing and expanding.'

*The cloud* : 'Is that a scientific conclusion ?'

*The maiden* : 'What do we care for Science? Science is no business of ours. We only feel and come to conclusions through what we feel. We do not reason. We have no time for that.'

Saying this, the maiden swiftly moves away.

The cloud is alarmed and cries—'Why are you running so fast? You have dropped your bracelets and ear-rings on to the ground.'

'Do wait a second please.'

*The maiden* : 'Don't you see we are very late! Our sea of gold has changed into a mere river now.'

'The boatman standing there is calling out to the pilgrims.'

*The cloud* : 'But do you at all know the country you are going to? Have you relatives and friends there? Have you any special business that you hurry like this? Are you well-acquainted with the roads of the country—its rivers—its people—its language?'

'They may be utter strangers to you after all.'

*The maiden* : 'No—not in the least! There is no such word as 'strangers' in our dictionary. I have never been to the country before. I have no relatives anywhere. Of course, I do not know its roads—its people. But what does that matter? The language of the clouds is the same everywhere—the song of the clouds is one sweet melody sung everywhere. The difference is only in the outer form.'

'But we have the sense to look to the spirit—and there, in the spirit, no difference exists.'

'We are all one,—members of the vast dome of heaven. Our religion is Oneness. It is our pleasure to meet new events, new circumstances, to meet new lands,—new peoples. We are students—unceasingly students in the universe of God. We love change. It is our nature to change old habits and put on new ones.'

'There is always something to learn from every new event we come across. We are never complete in ourselves. The influences around us really help to complete us.'

'I know not where I lack, till I see

somebody possessing in abundance what I have not.'

'Our spirit is the learner's spirit—ever new, ever fresh.'

'Therefore we no sooner meet someone (though it be for the first time, in a new unknown land) than at once there is an unconscious recognition of that something common in each one of us.'

By this time the boat on the river has lengthened out. The boatman is beckoning to the people round saying:—'Travellers and pilgrims, make haste: and come into my boat. I will take you across to the other shore. The curtain of night is soon going to fall upon this scene of our sunset. My boat is for all,—the poor and the rich alike. Each one pays me with a smile,—and that is all I ask.'

A great commotion rises from the crowd. Men, women, and children, with their bundles of clothes and food, are being lifted into the boat.

Attached to this big boat, there is a small one,—and, in the bigger boat, herds of cattle, especially sheep, are being lifted. The boat now leaves the river bank, and after a few minutes no one is anywhere to be seen.

The river changes its form into that of a canal. The colour turns into a dull reddish brown.

A young girl weary with the day's toil and long journey, is seen wending her way through the dull greyish clouds.

She comes and stops at the edge of the canal, waiting for the return of the boat.

She stands waiting.—Still there is no sign of the boat.

Her hopes of going to the land beyond the canal are sinking fast. Her arms hang listlessly by her side, her back is bent through weariness—her eyes are gazing into nothingness.

Suddenly she gathers up courage,—stands erect, and folds her hands together in the attitude of prayer.

Her eyelids close; her head is bent forward. Lower and lower it bends—slowly her whole body drops to the ground—her whole frame makes obeisance.

She remains motionless—it seems as though she possesses no other life but that of prayer.

A dark cloud, passing by, stops on the

way,—waits a minute,—then lightly touch  
 es her on the shoulder

Her frame quivers at the magic touch  
 She stands up, her face blushing, her form  
 trembling

'I have sought you for ages, and at last  
 I have you'—she heard a voice, as though  
 in a dream

*The girl* 'But you do not know me  
 I do not remember ever seeing you'

*The cloud* 'Your heart knew me Else,  
 why did you tremble at my touch We  
 are sensitive clouds Our essence is love  
 We do not need to see, or talk to each  
 other, before we love We form the ideal of  
 love in our hearts, then we roam every  
 where unconsciously in search of the object  
 of our love As soon as we meet our twin  
 soul, we recognise it and greet it'

*The girl* But you are so dark, I can  
 not see you clearly'

*The cloud* 'No you cannot—because  
 the time for physical vision is passing  
 away A few moments ago, I saw your  
 face ivory white, now it is dull red—a few  
 minutes later, perhaps it will turn perfect  
 ly dark as mine'

*The girl* 'Yes, but why is that? I was  
 sitting by this canal a few minutes ago  
 At each little wave, numbers of pearl shells  
 were hurled at my feet And now there re-  
 mains, of all that vast golden sea, only a  
 narrow strip of gold'

'In the period called 'Sunset' everyone  
 seemed so busy running to and fro I my-  
 self have met so many, talked to so many,  
 have seen so many countries, each so un-  
 like the other There was such a wonder-  
 ful play of colours in the garments of our  
 friends—the fellow-clouds—and now every-  
 thing seems to be taking up one shape, one  
 form, and one colour

'Why is there so much excitement in that  
 short period? The change is not so rapid  
 now There is not so much noise, or bustle  
 ing Why is that?'

*The cloud* 'Change is the manifesta-  
 tion of life We change continually, because  
 now we are so full of life Our senses are  
 so keen,—our passions are so intense It  
 is the period of 'Desire'

'We are, as it were, restless, searching  
 after the object of our desires

'This is followed by Dusk—the transi-  
 tion period between day and night—the  
 time of union—the hour when all activities  
 are hushed and nature stands still in sus-  
 pense

'For every action, there is a reaction  
 We are excited before we meet the object of  
 our desires We are calmed as soon as we  
 are in possession of it

'That was the time of our unfulfilled  
 dreams—this is the stage of full satisfac-  
 tion, of calm,—and therefore of renuncia-  
 tion

'We realize the Ideal first, and then  
 again we idealize the Real Thus is our  
 love perfected'

*The girl* 'But I am afraid I am losing'  
 sight of you It is getting dark Those  
 moving masses have almost lost their  
 shapes and are forming one solid mass

'Thus gathering gloom blinds my vision'

*The cloud* That matters not Seeing  
 is only a preliminary step Can you not  
 feel the closeness of my presence? This is  
 the time for feeling, idealizing, and dream-  
 ing

'Fear not—tremble not—I shall hold  
 your palpitating form till we lose all shape  
 and all form'

*The girl* I do not know why I tremble  
 so I am not fully satisfied I want to get  
 hold of something that I can touch and  
 feel Draw me closer—closer—still closer

'Let this gross covering be dropped here,  
 for I want to be still closer

'Enfold, enfold me in your encircling  
 darkness, which shall be to me as radiant  
 as daylight itself Envelop me wholly  
 and absolutely in yourself Our true wor-  
 ship is to lose ourself—to sacrifice our lesser  
 selves on the altar of the all embracing love'

*The cloud* 'Enter—enter into my in-  
 most being

'The dark masses have now at last reach-  
 ed us—in another moment the veil of night  
 will be completely thrown over us

'The evening worship bells are chiming  
 in the temple It is the hour of worship,—  
 the hour of union

'Nature is one with man,—man is one  
 with nature,—God is one with man and  
 nature alike—and the worship is complete

'It is the hour of Oneness  
 'It is the time for losing 'self' in the all  
 pervading spirit of love

'Darkness, darkness,—intense darkness  
 is covering us We are one with the dark-  
 ness—there reigns an unbroken calm in this  
 terrible darkness—a solemn beauty in this  
 mysterious darkness Who is a lover of  
 darkness Life is not complete without its  
 share of darkness

'Darkness uplifts and ennobles the spirit.

The period of the dark transfigures the  
life of man

'Let us hide our selves and our cares in  
the universal bosom of Night'

## SCHOOLS OF JAPANESE LANGUAGE IN INDIA

THE modern age is an age of interdependence. No nation can stand alone in the world. The interests of every nation are bound up with those of all others. It would thus have been a great economy in time and human energy if man kind were blessed with a world language. But so long as that one language for all the races of men is not to come, prudence dictates that the nations should try to master each other's language. And probably it may be safely predicted that other circumstances remaining the same that nation is bound to lead the world and pioneer its progress whose members have command over the greatest number of world's languages.

Apart from theory also purely practical considerations would justify the institution of facilities in a country to master the more important languages of the world. In Japan we have schools of foreign languages Russian French German English etc. During the last decade we have felt the need of learning the Indian languages also though progress in this direction is yet unsatisfactory. In any case if India is to derive any profit by her intercourse with Japan it is absolutely necessary that her sons should begin to study the Japanese language. The sooner such arrangements are made in India the better for her own interests.

Indian students who come to Japan had almost invariably acquitted themselves very creditably in their scientific and technical schooling. But all of them have had to suffer from one great drawback. It is well known that the professors in our schools colleges and institutes lecture only in Japanese language and the text books used or recommended are mostly in Japanese language whether original or translations from some foreign standard works. Is it likely that Indian students can get the most they are capable of under circumstances? Certainly not it

takes a long time to be able to follow the lectures. Hence, on arrival the Indian students invariably spend about six months (a period which they can devote to the advancement of their special knowledge for which they come here) provided while attending to their studies in India they learn an elementary conversational course of the Japanese language during their spare time in a night school or any other institution of this kind) just to pick up the conversational Japanese language only before they can enter into the Universities or Factories. Besides mastery in Japanese language is the pre-condition for every university degree. So many Indian students have had to go back to India without an authoritative diploma. Yet from the reports of instructors and teaching staff one learns that the aptitudes and achievements of the Indian scholars are certainly praiseworthy. If therefore Indian students before reaching Japanese shores, make it a point to master conversational Japanese at any rate while at home much useless effort and waste of time and energy can be avoided while they are in Japan.

Indians as a rule have been found to be good linguists. Even after a few months residence in Japan Indian students and traders pick up a fair vocabulary and their intonation and pronunciation seem marvellously Japanese. This cannot I am sure be said of Europeans and Americans who live in Japan or try to master the Japanese language. This shows how easy it would be for Indians to be at home in Japanese educational institutions if they are provided with a half year's course in Japanese languages (at least conversational) before leaving India.

In recent times Japan has been attracting traders merchants industrialists chemical experts engineers bankers etc. as visitors and tourists from India. Besides direct commercial transactions have also been opened between the two

countries It is needless to say that mutual interests should dictate that Japanese should learn the Indian languages as well as that Indians should learn the Japanese language When Indians come to Japan they generally depend on Japanese guides to act as their interpreters or medium of communication between themselves and the Japanese captains of industry or experts and factory men But guides and interpreters cannot serve the interests of first class business men Really responsible men must understand the men and things factories and workshops advertisements and business methods etc of Japan with their own eyes and ears—with their own mind It is well known that the entire business literature in our country is in Japanese In every workshop or factory or firm we have men knowing the foreign languages But as a rule our people learn as much of foreign languages as enables them to understand books written in those languages they seldom care to speak them and are invariably unable to speak or express their ideas clearly and satisfactorily in them Indian visitors are therefore likely to be greatly disappointed when they visit our workshop factory etc No doubt many things can be understood only by sight But if the Indian capitalists are to make the most of their resources with regard to the Japanese trade they should make it a point of self interest to have on their staff men knowing the Japanese language which alone can be the key to the ins and outs of the Japanese trade world

There is a further reason why Indians should have schools of Japanese language in their Provinces With the growth of communication and facilities of interchange brought about by modern science there has been created in every people a desire to know as much as possible of what other peoples are doing If the Indians are willing to know about Japan and the Japanese they can do this only by learning our language At present the only medium of communication between India and Japan is English But how much of Japan is to be found in books written in English? With the exception of Marquis Okuma's *Fifty Years of New Japan* I know of almost no book in English language This is certainly an overstatement but the truth is not far from it Our statesmen

scholars experts scientists teachers etc have not cared much to try their ability in foreign languages And as for foreign book stores with the exception of Maruzen Company probably we have none other The *Japan Magazine* is probably the only monthly review conducted in English I wonder how much of Japanese thought can be tapped by Indians who depend on English language for their sole medium! But if the Indians themselves learn the Japanese language and it is very easy for them to do so they will not only be in a position to enter the Japanese intellectual world as a Japanese but they would also be able to swamp our market with publications embodying Indian thought in Japanese language If Indians care to say anything to Japanese scholars traders scientists teachers and our masses they must address us in our own language The world meets nobody half way everybody is busy with his own interests and thoughts If therefore Indian literature, science art and philosophy want to invade the thought world of Japan there must be men in India proficient in Japanese language Indians know quite well that if they had not cared to write in English the world would not have cared to know of India's thoughts and aspirations

Those who are responsible for education of Indian scholars in Japan and Indian traders and capitalists may combine to start schools for the study of Japanese language There are now dozens of Japan trained Indian scholars in India Most of them know at least conversational Japanese, though probably very few of them can read or write Japanese character which is certainly very difficult Small beginnings may be made with the help of such scholars some of whom at least should possess self-denying spirit to advance the cause of future India During their spare time they can teach Japanese language for a few hours in a week In course of time competent instructors may be trained up or efficient Japanese scholars engaged for the purpose

I need not here speak of Japanese language as a subject of instruction for students of comparative philology That can be taken up only by students of higher culture or post graduate scholars of universities I address these few lines to the readers of the *Modern Review* in order to attract the attention of students business-

men, and societies for the scientific and industrial education of the Indians. I also draw the attention of the authorities of

the newly-established Benares (Hindu) University to the above few lines  
SHUMET OMKAR

## KINGS, CROWNS AND THRONES IN ANCIENT AND MEDIEVAL INDIA, WITH PEN AND INK SKETCHES

BY T. A. GOPINATHA RAO M.A.

INDIAN literature is as minute in describing the grades of kings as it is in so many other things, as for instance in giving the artistic proportions of human bodies. Their crowns, seats and other objects indicative of status and dignity vary from grade to grade. The eligibility of collecting as taxes certain proportions of the produce of the land depends also on the class to which a king belongs. It is the object of this article to present the public with an idea of the classifications of kings as we find them in ancient Sanskrit and Tamil works.

According to the *Mānasara* kings are divided into nine classes. They are distinguished from each other first in the strength of their armies thus —

Designation	Elephants	Horses	Infantry	Queens	Consorts
Srotragrahi (Astragrahi ?)	5	500	50,000	1	700
Prāharaka ?	6	600	1,00,000	2	700
Pattabhāṅk	7	800	1½ lakhs	3	1,300
Mandalesa	10	1,000	2	4	1,500
Pattadhrik	15	1,500	2 3/4	5	2,000
Pārsnika	15	2,000	4	6	3,000
Narendra	100	10,000	1 crore	10	½ lakh
Adhiraja	10,000 ?	1 crore	10 crores	1,000	10 lakhs (100 ?)

Sarva  
bhāuma 10 crores 100 crores  
(Chakravartin)

He, who by the prowess of his arms has extended his dominions over the whole of the country bounded by the four oceans, is known as the *Sarvabhāuma Chakravartin*. The prince who with the three powers (saktis) namely the 'prabhu sakti' (the power one possesses in virtue of the good graces of his overlord) the 'utsāha sakti' (the power due to one's own energy) and the 'mantra sakti' (the power due to good councils), has obtained domination over six provinces, who possesses

the six capacities (gunas) namely those for making sandhi (peace) vigraha (war) yāna (expedition) āsana (to be able to sit quietly, taking no hostile measures till the proper time comes) 'samsraya' (seeking shelter) 'dvaidhibhāva' (policy or duplicity) and the six items of defence (bala), namely, loyal subjects a flourishing treasury, an intelligent set of ministers a strong army, friendly neighbours and impregnable fortifications who is learned in the *niti sāstra* (laws of polity) and is just and who traces his descent from either the solar or the lunar race is called an 'Adhirāja'. The prince who has conquered three provinces from their weaker rulers and has brought them under his control and who is governing them with justice is known as a 'Narendra' under him are placed the rulers named the *Pārshnikas*, the 'Pattadhrik' and others. A 'Pārshnika' is one who has jurisdiction over one province which has only one strongly fortified place with the six kinds of defences (balas). He who has four 'gunas' (?) and is governing one half of a province with a single fort in it is called a 'Pattadhrik'. Under a 'Pattadhrik' are placed the petty princes such as *Mandalesvara*. The prince who is governing a subdivision of a province (a 'mandala') is known as the *Mandalesvara*, under him are placed *Pattabhāṅks* and others. He is also to supervise the social laws and improve the economic resources of the country (dharmārthasyādhipath). The officer who is in charge of half a subdivision, that is an assistant or deputy *mandalesvara* with one fort in it is said to be a *Pattabhāṅk*. The person who presides over a number of districts (janapada) with the charge of one fort and who might belong to any one of the four castes is called a 'Prāvaraka', and lastly that person who has the charge of a few districts

and one fort and is the master of a Nagari is said to be a Srotragrāhi (or Astra-grāhi ?). This is the classification of kings according to their territorial jurisdiction.

Each of these princes has his characteristic head-gear and other insignia of office. The 'mauli' or 'kirita' is the head-gear for the Chakravartin, the Adhirāja and the Narendra; the head-gear of the Pārshnika is the 'sirastra' and that of the Pattadhrik and the Mandalesvara is the 'pattabandha', while that of the Pattabhāk is the 'patta'. The officers Prāhāraka and the Srotragrāhi (or Astra-grāhi) should wear only garlands. Evidently they seem to be ineligible for any royal head-gears.

Again, the Chakravartin, the Adhirāja (or Mahārāja as he is sometimes called) and the Narendra are the only classes of rulers who are entitled to a 'śimhāsana' which is ornamented with an arch (torana), a halo (śurya) and a 'kalpaka'-tree. The 'kalpaka'-tree behind the 'torana' is a great honour to which the Pārshnikas, the Pattadharas and the Pattabhāks have no right, though they may use the 'śimhāsana', the 'śurya' and the 'torana'. The Prāhāraka is entitled to a 'śimhāsana' without the 'torana' and the 'śurya', whereas the Srotra-grāhi only to an ordinary seat (kevala āsana).

The political functions of each of these kings is then described. The Chakravarti is to afford protection to his subjects from wicked persons and enemies and to rule them justly and mercifully; for which he is to take one-seventh (?) part of the produce as his dues. If the same protection is afforded by an Adhirāja (or Mahārāja) he may take one-sixth as his dues, while a Narendra one-fifth; but the latter should give liberally for the maintenance of the poor and the destitute and should patronise those that go to him as guests. The Pārshnika takes nearly one-half of the produce as his dues and also when he fines for any offence he collects thrice the sum which the other higher authorities levy but he is charged with the duty of patronising liberally arts and literature along with the usual protection of the poor and the helpless. So much about the kings as found in the 'Mānasāra.'

The 'Sukraniti' has a somewhat different system of classification of kings. He, whose income from just and equitable taxation amounts to from one to three lakhs of

'karshas' (a kind of coin) is called a 'Sāmantata'. One whose income is up to ten lakhs is a 'Mandalika'; of twenty lakhs, a 'Rāja'; of fifty lakhs, a 'Mahārāja'; of a crore, a 'Svarāt', of ten crores, a 'Samrāt'; and of fifty crores, a 'Virāt'. The Emperor who has the government of the seven continents (dvīpas) is known as the 'Sārvabhauma'. The 'Sukraniti' adds a very significant statement which, if kings and their officers would only realise, would bring the world the much longed for millennium at once. It says that since the kings are in receipt of their pay in the shape of taxes, they should really consider themselves servants of their subjects, though Brahmā, in consideration of the necessity of affording protection to their subjects, has placed them over their subjects. Those Sāmantas who are removed from their places (either for their remissness in their duties or by superannuation for which of these reasons, it is not stated) are called 'Hinasāmantas'.

The Sāmantas are divided into a few subdivisions: a person who is governing a hundred villages, or does the duties of Sāmanta is also called a Sāmanta; perhaps it is an appellation conferred on him ex-officio. He is called, for purposes of distinguishing, the Nri-Sāmanta. He, who has the management of ten villages, is known as a 'Nāyaka'. The 'Svarāt' is said to be the ruler of ten-thousand villages.

The 'Sukraniti' also recognises the classification based upon the strength of the forces possessed by the kings. It observes that in a composite army, the foot soldiers should be four times the horse; the number of oxen, evidently for purposes of transporting supplies &c., should be one-fifth, the camels one-eighth of the number of horses. The number of elephants should be a fourth of that of the camels, the number of chariots one half of that of the elephants. Taking a concrete instance; the army of a Narendra, which according to the 'Mānasāra' is required to possess 10,000 horses, the other items will be, according to the 'Sukra-Niti-Sāra' as follows:—

Horses	...	10,000
Oxen	...	2,000
Camels	...	1,250
Elephants	...	312
Chariots	...	156
Cannons	...	312



In short the number of foot soldiers must be the largest, that of the horses middling and that of the elephants the smallest. In addition to these, a king whose income is a lakh of karshas should have always by his side the following retinue, namely, a body-guard of hundred picked strong men, three hundred foot soldiers armed with rifles, eighty horses ten camels two elephants, one chariot and two carriages, sixteen oxen, two large pieces of cannon three ministers and six secretaries.

The kings are enjoined upon spending their income in the following proportion for the various state purposes namely,

1	For the maintenance of the army	30
2	For charitable endowments	05
3	Towards the salaries of the ministers	05
4	Towards the pay of the administrative &c. staff	05
5	For his own personal expenses	05
6	For reserve fund	10
	Total	60

HAVING seen the classification and the functions of kings according to the ancient authorities the question naturally arises if these classifications were not merely theoretical or whether they were actually observed in practice. It is usual with some scholars to assert off hand that the matter contained in our *niti* or *dharma sāstras* are generally always the descriptions of what ought to be than what actually is. Such a pronouncement appears to be baseless when we turn to Epigraphy, the surest source and at once the most reliable of information in all matters. We know the really great Chola monarchs Parāntaka I, Rājārāja I, and Rajendrachola I who did much to extend the kingdom, did not call themselves Chakravartins or Tribhuvana Chakravartins. The first to bear this proud distinction was Kulottunga I. In his time, his kingdom extended practically over the whole of the Madras Presidency the Kalinga the Orissa and at least the northern portion of Ceylon, his empire was bounded on three sides by the ocean. Similarly, the earlier members of the Hoysala dynasty, not even the powerful Vishnuvardhana nor even his son Narasimha bear any higher titles than Mahamandalesvaras but Ballala II the latter's son, calls himself Bhujabala Chakravartin or Ratāpa Chakravartin. The Pal-

lavas who held sway over very extensive tracts of the country were dubbed Mahārāja-dhīrājās. The Rāshtrakutas of Malikhet possessed seven and a half lakhs of villages and were therefore naturally entitled to be called Mahārājādhirāja. Then again Samudragupta is said to have 'bound together the whole world by means of the vigour of his arm made the waters of the four oceans taste his fame'—expressions which denote the prowess of the emperor which extended his dominions to the four bounding seas which by implication clearly proves his title to the Mahārāja and Mahārājādhirāja which we see given to him in his inscriptions. We do not find provincial governors and other lesser potentates calling themselves Mahārājas and Mahārājādhirājas.

The next point which requires a word of explanation is the extraordinary size of the army reputed to be possessed by Mahārājādhirājas and Sārvabhaumas. The estimate does not appear to be altogether fictitious, when we learn that the Chola king Kulottunga I had slain in battles one thousand elephants which entitled him to receive the panegyric poem called in Tamil the 'parami', which no one but a king who had killed so many elephants could be praised with. In later times the chariot seems to have been discarded in battles for we do not meet with references to them in inscriptions nor are we to suppose camels were ever employed by the South Indian kings.

Another point worthy of notice is that an Adhirāja or Mahārāja should have descended from the solar or the lunar race. Many a petty prince, who, by his good fortune and by the prowess of his arms, vastly improves his territories and becomes eligible to the name and dignity of a Mahārāja by virtue of the extent of his country, the largeness of his army and the richness of treasury and who has several grades of vassals under him cannot, according to the above rule laid down in the Mānasāra, call himself a Mahārāja or Chakravartin. Therefore, he seeks to find out some relationship of his family or ancestors which will connect him in a manner with the solar or lunar race of kings, it does not matter if the relationship claimed is genuine or fancied. At once some panegyrist frames for him a genealogy tracing by a long pedigree his descent directly from the sun or the moon. In the history of many a newly risen

dynasty, we find that in the documents of the earlier members of it no attempt is being made to give an elaborate genealogy; but in the records of the later and more powerful members a long historical introduction detailing the genealogy and the doings of their ancestors is generally given tracing their descent either from the sun or the moon. For instance, a king who belongs to the cowherd caste and has come to occupy a high status lays claim, by virtue of merely belonging to the caste of Krishna, to be a Yadava and therefore arrogates for himself a position in the lunar race; the Vijayanagara kings supply the most prominent example in this matter.

It is stated that the early kings took only a seventh or a sixth of the produce of land as due to them in the shape of taxes. In many instances the taxation did not in all probability exceed this proportion. At any rate, the ideal of each king, as it appears from his inscriptions, seems to be to collect not more than one-sixth as his dues. It is not evident from Epigraphy if ever even the petty princes and governors, the 'Pārshnikas' and 'Pattabhāks' were collecting, as it is stated, one-half of the produce as their dues.

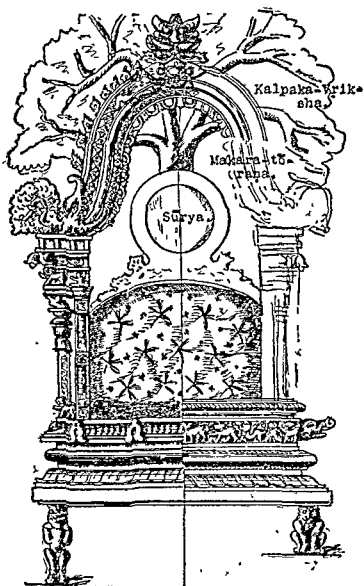
## PART II.

### MAKUTA-LAKSHANA OR

#### THE DESCRIPTION OF HEAD-GEARS.

The head-gear, like the caste mark, is a characteristic feature not only of the by-gone times but also of the present day. The long row of 'pagadies' exhibited in the Bombay Museum, the different kinds of turbans in use in the Hyderabad State, the peculiar head-wear of the Kachchis and the Parsis indicate the caste, the calling and the social status of the wearer. The 'ushnisha' or the turban is enjoined by the 'śāstras' to be worn on all ceremonial occasions and was, therefore, considered an essential object by the Hindu

society. Different forms of golden tiaras are prescribed to the various gods, as also kings of different grades; the weight of gold, that has to be employed in making them, varied with the dignity of the wearer. Detailed descriptions of 'mauls', 'makutas' or head-gears are found in many an 'āgama' and it is be-



Sinhasana.

lieved that these would be found interesting if not to all Hindus, at least, to the Archaeologically inclined persons. An made below to a is

'makūtas' as completely as possible, and to illustrate them with drawings taken from actual sculptures of all ages

"The 'Mānasāra' contains a complete description of all forms of 'maulis' or 'makutas'; we also find a short account of these in the 'Silparatna'. The common name for all head gear is 'mauli' or 'makuta' and it is divided into 'Kīrita makuta,' 'Karanda-makuta,' 'Jatā makuta,' 'Sirastraka,' 'Kēśa bandha,' 'Dharmilla,' 'Alaka-chūdaka,' 'Pushpa patta,' 'Ratna patta,' 'Padma patta,' and so forth. Of these the most commonly used were the 'Kīrita makuta,' the 'Karanda makuta,' the 'Jatā-makuta' and the 'Alaka chūdaka.' The 'Kīrita-makuta' is prescribed, among the gods, to Vishnu, the 'Jatā makuta,' to Brahmā and Rudra, and the 'Karanda makuta' to all other deities, while among the goddesses, the 'Jatā makuta' is prescribed for Manonmani (the Consort of Siva) the 'Kuntala' for Indirā (the consort of Vishnu) and the 'Keshabandha' to Sarasvatī, or, all goddesses may be made to wear only the 'Karanda-makuta.'

Among the human beings, the 'Kīrita-makuta' should be the head gear of the 'Sārvabhauma chakravartin' and of the Adhirājas, the 'Karanda makuta' that of Narendras, and 'Sirastraka' that of Parshnikas. Sometimes, the 'Karanda makuta' is found worn by all grades of kings. The queens of the Sārvabhaumas and the Adhirājas should wear the 'Kesabandha', or the 'Kuntala' may be worn by the queens of Emperors, Adhirājas and Narendras alike. The wives of Mandalikas should wear the 'Dharmilla' and lastly the women who carry torches before the king and the wives of the king's shield and sword bearers were to wear the 'Alaka chūdaka.' The 'Dharmilla,' the 'Kesabandha' and the 'Alaka chūdaka' are mostly modes of dressing the hair and these were bound by wreaths of flowers called the 'pushpa patta' or by strings of leaves like those of the coconut palm called the 'patra patta' or by a jewelled golden band called the 'ratna patta.'

"From this somewhat minute description of the head dresses and from the known assignment of particular forms of gear to particular classes of divinities and human beings, it is easy to make out without mistakes the status of the divinity or the human being having a particular head-gear, and to a knowing observer these head gears form an in-

stance of the definiteness which prevails in the conventional language of symbolism"

The following are the measurements of the different classes of makutas —

Generally, the height of a 'makuta' should be two to three times the length of the face of the wearer. But that of the 'makuta' of a Brahmā and Rudra should be 1½ths of the length of the face and that of the Saktis twice the length of the face. The 'width' of the 'makutas' at the base must be equal to the length of the face, the 'makutas' must be tapering upwards, the width at the top of the 'kīrita makuta' being less by a eighth or a sixteenth of that at the base, that of the 'Karanda makuta' being one half or a third less than that at the base

The height of the 'makuta' of the Chakravartin should be equal to the girth of his head, that of the Adhirāja one sixteenth, that of the Narendra, one twentieth and that of the Parshnika one half less than that of the Chakravartin. The height of the 'makuta' of the queen of the Chakravartin should be equal to the girth of her head, while that of the queen of 'Adhirāja' two thirds the girth, the height of the crowns of other queens (such as Narendra), equal to the length of the face.

The height of the 'Kesabandha' etc., should be either three-fourths or one-half of the length of the face and that of 'patta' should be one third of the girth of the head. It is stated that 'patta' is the peculiar head-gear of 'Pattadhara.' The 'patta' to be used by the Mandalesvara (or Mandalika) should be equal in height to one-fourth and that to be worn by 'pattabhāḥ' one sixth of the girth of the head. So much about the measurements of the various head gears

The quantities of gold to be employed in making the 'makutas' of various kings and queens, is also given in some detail. The 'makutas' are divided into three grades or classes—the 'uttama' or the superior, the 'madhyama' or the middling and the 'adhama' or the inferior class. The 'makutas' are generally made on the occasions of the regular or initial coronation of the king, that is, when he ascends the throne, this coronation is known as the 'Prathamābhisheka.' The 'Mangalābhisheka' is the second occasion when the king may wear a newly made crown, when this particular 'abhisheka' ceremony was performed is not known. per-

Plate I



Gupta, Chalukya and  
Pallava



Ceylon  
KIRITA MAKUTAS

Plate II



Early Chola



Later Chola



Mathura.



Hoysala.



Rajputana.



Javanese

KIRITA MAKUTAS

Plate III



Kirita makuta, Marwar



Keshabandha,  
Chola.



Keshabandha,  
W. Chalukya



Dhammda  
S. India.

KESABANDHAS

haps when the king was married, he was accorded a new 'makuta' along with his queen. When the king had achieved victories and was going to celebrate them, the occasion being known as the 'Vijayābhisheka,' he wore a specially prepared crown. The fourth occasion when he should go in for a new 'makuta' is when he has done some deeds of valour, the 'abhisheka' or anointment at which occasion being known as the 'Virābhī

sheka' The 'makutas' to be worn by the kings who are entitled to receive these four kinds of 'abhishekas' should be made out of gold weighing from 1500 to 2500 'nishkas' of gold when it weighs only 1500 'nishkas' it is said to belong to the 'adhama', 2000, to the 'madhyama', and 2500, to the 'uttama' classes respectively. The queens of the kings referred to just now (who seem to be Chakravartins and Adhirājas) should have their 'maku-

tas' made out of one half the weight of gold employed for the 'makutas' of their lords.

The 'makuta' of the 'Adhiraṇi' should be made out of 1000, 1500 or 2000 'nishkas' of gold and if so made are said to belong to the 'adhama,' the 'madhyama' or the 'uttama' classes respectively. The weight of gold necessary for the 'Sirastraka' of the Pārshnika' is 400, 800 or 1200 'nishka' in weight and the head gear made out of them belong to the 'adhama' the 'madhyama' and the 'uttama' classes respectively whereas the weight of gold required for the 'makuta' of the 'Pattadhrik' is 300, 600 and 900 'nishkas' which belong respectively to the 'adhama' the 'madhyama' and the 'uttama' classes. The weight for the 'uttama' 'madhyama' and 'adhama' classes of the 'makutas' of the Mandalikas are 200, 400 and 600 'nishkas' in weight respectively, similarly of Pattabhāḥ, 100, 200 and 300 respectively.

The heights given above for the various 'makutas' do not include that of the ornamental finial known as the 'Sikhāmani'.

The 'Kīrita makuta' should resemble the shoot (or leaf) of the bamboo ('enukarna'), the 'Keshabandha' should have the shape of the 'tripushpa' fruit (cucumber). The shape of the 'Sirastraka' is said to be that of a bubble of water, while that of the 'Dhammilla' should resemble a creeper and the 'Alaka chūḍaka' should be rising up from the scalp.

A number of ornaments which decorate the 'Kīrita makuta' are mentioned, they are named the 'pūṇṭa' 'tunga tāri,' 'agra patta,' 'trivedika,' 'trivetraka,' 'padma,' 'kṛitmalā' and the 'sikhāmani,' it is not easy to identify them exactly with the parts of an actual 'Kīrita.' The ornament 'pūṇṭa' is required to have the figures of 'makaras' gracing it and its centre and top should be set with gems ('ratna' bandha), creeper ornaments (or strings of pearls) should proceed from the mouths of the 'makaras', the remaining portions of the 'pūṇṭa' should be embellished with creepers leaves etc. An ornament similar to the 'pūṇṭa' is the 'patta bandha' which should be attached to the front of the 'patta' or the broad band which runs round immediately above the forehead. The 'patta bandha' is also required to be set with precious stones. The other portions of the 'Kīrita makuta' should be decorated with the members called the 'mauli bandha' 'valli' (creepers) and the 'muktāhāri.' The base of the 'Kīrita

makuta' should be curved like a crescent moon just above the forehead and should possess two leaf like ornamental discs called the 'karna patras,' each standing above the ears. The rim of the base should have a series of 'muktāhāras' hanging all round. Above the ears, and below the 'karna patras,' but apparently issuing from the place where the ear joins the head, should be the 'karna pushpas,' from which strings of precious stones and pearls should be hanging. It is stated that the 'Kīrita makuta' should be of circular section throughout.

The description and mode of construction of the 'Jatā makuta' is given as follows in the 'Uttara Kāṃikāgama.' The word 'Jatā' means either matted or plaited hair and the 'Jatā makuta' is made up of twists of 'Jatās' done into the form of a tall cap. It is found by taking five 'jatās' or braids of hair and tying it into a knot three 'angulas' in height by coiling them into one or three loops, the remaining braids being bound and taken through to be left hanging on both sides. This 'makuta' should be adorned with a number of ornamented discs called the 'makara kuta,' the 'patta kuta,' the 'ratna-kuta' and the 'pūris.' There should be the 'makara-kuta' having seven holes in it in the front middle of the 'makuta' and on the four sides there should be the 'pūris', or, there should be the 'patta kutas' on the two sides, while at the back, the 'ratna kutas.' The breadth of this head gear at its base should naturally be that of the face and at the top, ten 'angulas.' In the case of Siva, the crescent of the moon is to be stuck to it either on the left or on the right side and there is to be a cobra on the left side.

The 'Kesabandha' is the name given to the hair when it is tied up in the shape of the 'Kīrita makuta' or 'Jatā makuta' adorned with series of spirally curled small tufts of hair at different heights and the whole bound together by a 'patta' in the middle. When the whole of the hair is done up into a number of spiral curls, it is called the 'Kuntala.'

Though the 'Āgamas' give a detailed description of it, the exact shape of the head-gear called the 'Dhammilla' cannot be made out. It is stated that the width at the top of the 'Dhammilla' should be one third of that at its base. The width at the base should be three-fifths of the girth of the head. The 'Dhammilla' should be bound by three

Plate IV



Dharmila.



Pallava.



Chalukya Hoysala.



Pallava

## JATA MAKUTAS.

Plate V



Chola.



Hoysala.



Pallava.



Pandharapur (modern)

## KARANDA MAKUTAS.

Plate VI



Assyrian



Persian.



Persian.



Assyrian

## HEAD-GEARS.

rings, evidently at three different places along its length. This head-gear possesses neither the 'sikhāmani' nor the 'puntas'.

In the case of the Alaka chudaka which seems to be practically similar to the Dharmila, there should be a 'ratna bandha' or a

band of gold set with jewels. The Alaka chudaka has the same width throughout that is it does not, like the other head-gears taper upwards.

All the various kinds of 'makutas' described above may be adorned with small

tas' made out of one half the weight of gold employed for the 'makutas' of their lords.

The 'makuta' of the 'Adhiraja' should be made out of 1000 1500 or 2000 'nishkas' of gold and if so made are said to belong to the 'adhama,' the 'madhyama' or the 'uttama' classes respectively. The weight of gold necessary for the 'Sirastraka' of the 'Pārshnika' is 400, 800 or 1200 'nishka' in weight and the head-gear made out of them belong to the 'adhama' the 'madhyama' and the 'uttama' classes respectively, whereas the weight of gold required for the 'makuta' of the 'Pattadhrik' is 300 600 and 900 'nishkas' which belong respectively to the 'adhama' the 'madhyama' and the 'uttama' classes. The weight for the 'uttama,' 'madhyama' and 'adhama' classes of the 'makutas' of the 'Mandalikas' are 200, 400 and 600 'nishkas' in weight respectively, similarly of 'Pattabhāṅk,' 100 200 and 300 respectively.

The heights given above for the various 'makutas' do not include that of the ornamental finial known as the 'Sikhāmani'.

The 'Kirita makuta' should resemble the shoot (or leaf) of the bamboo ('venukarna') the 'Keshabandha' should have the shape of the 'tripusha' fruit (cucumber). The shape of the 'Sirastraka' is said to be that of a bubble of water while that of the 'Dhammilla' should resemble a creeper and the 'Alaka chūḍaka' should be rising up from the scalp.

A number of ornaments which decorate the 'Kirita makuta' are mentioned they are named the 'purita' 'tunga tīra,' 'raṭṭa patta,' 'triveḷika,' 'trivetraka,' 'padma,' 'kūṭmīla' and the 'sikhāmani,' it is not easy to identify them exactly with the parts of an actual 'Kirita'. The ornament 'purita' is required to have the figures of 'makaras' gracing it and its centre and top should be set with gems ('ratna bandha'), creeper-ornaments (or strings of pearls) should proceed from the mouths of the 'makaras' the remaining portions of the 'purita' should be embellished with creepers, leaves, etc. An ornament similar to the 'purita' is the 'patta bandha' which should be attached to the front of the 'patta' or the broad band which runs round immediately above the forehead. The 'patta bandha' is also required to be set with precious stones. The other portions of the 'kūṭma-makuta' should be decorated with the members called the 'mauli bandha' 'vālī' (creepers) and the 'muktāḥara'. The base of the 'Kirita

'makuta' should be curved like a crescent moon just above the forehead and should possess two leaf like ornamental discs called the 'karna patras,' each standing above the ears. The rim of the base should have a series of 'muktāhāras' hanging all round. Above the ears, and below the 'karna patras,' but apparently issuing from the place where the ear joins the head, should be the 'karna-pushpas,' from which strings of precious stones and pearls should be hanging. It is stated that the 'Kirita makuta' should be of circular section throughout.

The description and mode of construction of the 'Jaṭā makuta' is given as follows in the 'Uttara Kāṁikāgama'. The word 'Jaṭā' means either matted or plaited hair and the 'Jaṭā makuta' is made up of twists of 'Jaṭās' done into the form of a tall cap. It is found by taking five 'jaṭās' or braids of hair and tying it into a knot three 'angulas' in height by coiling them into one or three loops, the remaining braids being bound and taken through to be left hanging on both sides. This 'makuta' should be adorned with a number of ornamented discs called the 'makara kuta' the 'patra-kūṭa,' the 'ratna kūṭa' and the 'pūris'. There should be the 'makara kuta' having seven holes in it, in the front middle of the 'makuta' and on the four sides there should be the 'pūris', or, there should be the 'patra kutas' on the two sides, while at the back the 'ratna kutas'. The breadth of this head gear at its base should naturally be that of the face and at the top, ten 'angulas'. In the case of Śiva, the crescent of the moon is to be stuck to it either on the left or on the right side and there is to be a cobra on the left side.

The 'Keshabandha' is the name given to the hair when it is tied up in the shape of the 'Kirita makuta' or 'Jaṭā makuta' adorned with series of spirally curled small tufts of hair at different heights and the whole bound together by a 'patta' in the middle. When the whole of the hair is done up into a number of spiral curls it is called the 'Kuntala'.

Though the 'Āgamas' give a detailed description of it, the exact shape of the head gear called the 'Dhammilla' cannot be made out. It is stated that the width at the top of the 'Dhammilla' should be one third of that at its base. The width at the base should be five times the girth of the head. The 'Dhammilla' should be bound by three

Plate IV.



Dhammilla.



Pallava.



Chalukya Hoysala



Pallava

JATA MAKUTAS.  
Plate V

Chola.



Hoysala.



Pallava.



Pandharipur (modern)

KARANDA MAKUTAS  
Plate VI

Assyrian



Persian



Persian



Assyrian

## HEAD-GEARS

ings, evidently at three different places along its length. This head gear possesses neither the 'sikhāmani' nor the 'puritas'.

In the case of the Alaka chūdaka which seems to be practically similar to the Dhammilla, there should be a 'ratna bandha' or a

band of gold set with jewels. The 'Alaka-chūdaka' has the same width throughout, that is, it does not, like the other head gears, taper upwards.

All the various kinds of head-gears described above may be adorned



golden and jewelled representations of the 'ashta māngalyas,' which are the 'śrīvatsa,' the 'purna-kumbha,' the 'chāmara,' the 'dīpa,' the 'chhatra,' the 'darpana,' the 'svastika' and the 'sankha' arranged as in the diagram,—on the 'gala-patta' or the broad body of the crown. The presence of these on the 'maulis' of kings and queens is said to be necessary to give them prosperity and happiness. Again it is also proper to bind these various 'makutas' with wreaths of flowers.

In illustration of the above descriptions, are reproduced a number of drawings. From these one could see that all the head-gears are long tapering cones surmounted with an ornamented finial and adorned with jewels; they are of varying designs and workmanship which differ from province to province. The Javanese and the Hoysala patterns are the most elaborately worked up pieces of goldsmith's art, while the others are more or less plain but beautiful in their simplicity. Again, it would be observed that most of these 'Kiritas' resemble more or less the 'vimānas' or spires of the central shrines of the temples of various provinces to which they belong. In their general appearance the 'Kirta-makutas' are not very different from the head-gears worn by the early Assyrians and Persians. Attention may be drawn also to the peculiarity of the 'Kirta' represented as fig. 1, Plate III. Unlike the other 'Kiritas,' this one is square and broadens at its top; its four sides are adorned with golden discs of superior workmanship.

It might be asked if the description given above are merely theoretical ones or were these apparently inconvenient tall 'crowns' actually worn by human beings. It is more than certain that they were in actual use till so late a period as the 17th Century A. D. The Emperors of Vijayanagara were wearing it, as seen from the portraits of Krishna-devarāya, Venkatapatirāya and others; the 'Karanda-makuta' is seen worn by a Travancore King. The tall 'Kiritas' or caps worn by the Vijayanagara sovereigns is referred to by Paes thus:—"And on his head he (the king) had a cap of brocade in fashion like a Galician helmet, covered with a piece of fine stuff all of fine silk" and "on the head they wear high caps which they call 'collaes' (Tam-Kan-Kullāy) cap) and on these caps they wear flowers made of large pearls." At later times, the Nāyakas or the provincial governors of

the Vijayanagara Empire who survived their masters long after their downfall continued to wear the 'collaes' of Paes, and there are innumerable stone statues of these in the Southern part of the Madras Presidency in which the "collae" is found to be the only head-gear of these princes.

The bust of a Devi wearing a kesabandha on her head is interesting in clearly showing that it is entirely made up of the hair of goddesses, and adorned with different kinds of ornaments. Some tufts of hair are twisted into fine spirals which are arranged in four rows, the lowest being along the top border of the forehead. The making of these fine spiral curls is found to-day only among the Toda women of the Nilgiris. It might also be noted that the 'Kesabandha' in this instance is like the fruit of a cucumber. The kind of hair-knots called the 'Dhammilla' and 'Alaka-chūdaka' are at present employed by the women of Malabar.

### PART III.

#### SIMHASANAS.

'Simhasanas' or thrones are of four kinds, corresponding to the four different kinds of anointments; the 'prathamāsana' being intended for the 'prathamābhisheka,' the 'mangalāsana' for the 'mangalābhisheka,' the 'virāsana' for the 'virābhisheka' and the 'vijayāsana' for the 'vijayābhisheka.' The same four kinds of thrones are also used for placing the images of deities on ordinary and special occasions.

Again, the 'āsanas,' or thrones, are divided into ten classes according to the details of moulding and ornamentation which enter into their construction, and they are named the 'padmāsana,' the 'padmakāsana,' the 'padma-bhadra,' the 'śrībhadra,' the 'śrīvīśāla,' the 'śrībhadhya,' the 'śrimukha,' the 'bhadrāsana,' the 'padma-bandha' and the 'padabandha.' The descriptions of a few of these are given in great detail. The import of some of the terms employed cannot be correctly discovered and hence great difficulty is experienced in making drawings corresponding to the descriptions of the various kinds of thrones.

The width of the 'prathamāsana,' may vary from 15 to 31 'angulas'; by increasing the width each time by two angulas we obtain nine dimensions of the width (15, 17, 19 and so forth up to 31). The length of the 'āsana' might be double, 1½, or 1¼ times the

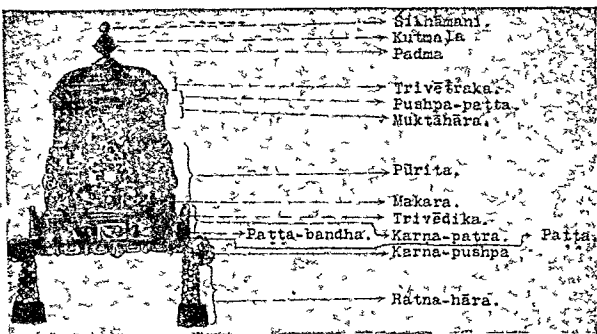


Diagram showing the various parts of the Kirta.

breadth Similarly the width of 'virāsana' ranges from 17, increased every time by two angulas to 35 angulas that of the 'vijayāsana' from 21 to 37 angulas and their length should be of the same proportions as in the case of the 'prathamāsana'.

The height of the 'prathamāsana' is of nine grades from 9 to 17 angulas, varying from each other by one 'angula' (i.e. 9, 10, 11 &c. up to 19), that of the 'mangalāsana', also of nine grades, from 11 to 19 angulas, that of the 'virāsana' also of nine grades, from 13 to 21 angulas and that of the 'vijayāsana' also of nine grades, from 15 to 23 angulas.

The 'Mānasāra', which contains all these descriptions, then proceeds with the descriptions and the measurements of the details of the moulding of each of the ten varieties of 'simhāsana' mentioned above. A 'simhāsana' may be situated upon a 'upapitha' (a pedestal) or on the ground. The following are the measurements of the component members of the 'padmāsana' —

Janma or upana	1	part
over it ardhā kampa	$\frac{1}{2}$	"
" mahāpadma	12	"
" karnavṛtta & padmaka	$1\frac{1}{2}$	"
" kandhara (or gala)	$\frac{1}{2}$	"
" upari	$\frac{1}{4}$	"

" kampa viddha-dala	(omitted)
" kampa padma	( " )
" kumbha vṛtta	1 "
" padma	$\frac{1}{2}$ "
" nimna vṛtta	$\frac{1}{2}$ "
" kampa	$\frac{1}{2}$ "
" gala	... 2 "
" kampa vṛttika	1 "
" nimna kampa	1 "
" kapota	" "
" Alinga, Antarita, and Prativadana	1 "

Total number of parts 14+ (=22)

The vṛtta kampas' should be so arranged as not to mar in any way the harmony of the combination. The various members should be enriched with various patterns such as 'patras' (leaves), 'pushpas' (flowers) and ornamented with the figures of 'vyāla' and other animals. On the corners there ought to be two 'makaras' facing two different directions, the 'kapota' is to bear on its face a number of 'nāsikās' containing within them 'kabari vaktra' (faces of human and other beings). The four angles of the 'simhāsana' should be ornamented by a foliage design technically known as the 'pallava patra'. The 'kapota', 'mahāpadma' &c., should be composed of 'dalas' (petals of lotus flowers) and 'kcsaras'.

(stamens), and the 'vritta kumbha' (other wise also called the 'kumuda') is to be enriched with the 'kataka' or the 'patta' ornament. The height of the 'gala' may be varied at the will of the designer, but always so as to produce an artistic effect and it should be adorned with scenes from actual life, figures of 'yakshas', 'gandharvas' and 'vidyādhara's' as also with different patterns of 'pattas'. A throne made according to the specifications given above is called the 'padmāsana'.

If a 'padmāsana' possesses also a 'upapitha' or a pedestal, it becomes the throne known as the 'padmakasara'. The upapitha should be composed of the 'kshudra kampa', 'vritta kampa', 'asra kampa' &c. The gala of the 'upapitha' also should be adorned with dancing human figures, of birds of miniature architectural elements ('kshudra salas') and to 'ranas' in appropriate places (such as below the member called the 'panjara'). This āsana is suited for all gods and for 'chakravartins' among kings.

The throne known as the 'padmabhadra' is to be made as follows —

Janma (or upana)	1	part
above it, kshepana	$\frac{1}{2}$	"
" ambujam	$1\frac{1}{2}$	"
" nimna vritta nimna	1	"
" jnana kampa	5	"
" vapra tunga	5	"
" harnya vritta padma	1	"
" vrittaka	1	"
" padma		
" kumuda		
" vritta		
" harnya vrittam padma		
" vrittam, kampa vrittam	1	"
" karna	3	"
" kampa padma vritta	1	"
" kapota	2	"
" alinga antarita	1	"
" prati (vajana) and kampa		

Total number of parts  $18 + (3) = (21)$

The 'padmabhadra' throne described above is suited for the rank of an 'adhirāja'.

The throne called the 'Sribhadra' is composed of the various members as follows —

Janma (or upana)	1	part
above it vajana	$\frac{1}{2}$	"

" kshudra vetraka	$\frac{1}{2}$	"
" mahāmbhujā	$3\frac{1}{2}$	"
" nimna	$\frac{1}{2}$	"
" padma	$\frac{1}{2}$	"
" kumuda	2	"
" ambuja	$\frac{1}{2}$	"
" urdhva kampa	$\frac{1}{2}$	"
" gala	3	"
" kampa padma	1	"
" kapotika	2	"
" alingāntarita and		
" prativajana	1	"
Total number of parts	16	"



A PURITA with the Ashta mangalyas



JATA MAKUTA, Ceylon

The various parts of the āsana should be enriched with the various ornaments mentioned in the description of the previous āsana. This 'Sribhadra' is prescribed for 'adhirājas' and 'narendras'.

The 'simhāsana' known as the 'Srivisāla' is required to be made as follows —

Janma	2	parts
above it padma	1	"
" vritta vetraka	$\frac{1}{2}$	"
" agra kampa	$\frac{1}{2}$	"
" vrittaka	$\frac{1}{2}$	"
" gala	5	"
" vridhhi (?)	$\frac{1}{2}$	"
" Uparipankajam	$\frac{1}{2}$	"
" Vridhhi	$\frac{1}{2}$	"
" dalam	$\frac{1}{2}$	"
" madhya vrittam	1	"
" padma	$\frac{1}{2}$	"
" vritta-vetraka	$\frac{1}{2}$	"
" agra patta		
" gala	3	"
" agra patta		

## A HEROIC HINDU QUEEN

**M**AHOMEDAN historians rarely do justice to the Hindus though the latter have often to depend on the former for whatever little information can be gleaned about themselves, as they were thrown into the background during the Moslem regime and had few or no historians of their own. The hatred of the Mahomedan writers is not however difficult to understand in view of the religious wars which led to the foundation of their Empire in India, and the prevailing bigotry of the age. But in going through the accounts left by Moslem historians of their long rule of a thousand years, we come across at least one remarkable exception and that exception is a Hindu lady of whose character and exploits several distinguished Mahomedan historians have written and what makes their narratives specially pleasing is that not one of them has an unkind word to say of her, though naturally they disapprove of her political ambitions. The praise bestowed by Moslem writers on Hindus like Man Singh or Todar Mal can be easily understood, for they were vassals of the Mogul empire. But though the subject of the present sketch was according to them, a rebel they speak highly of her beauty, courage, popularity, administrative and organising ability, military genius and of her heroic death. This lady is Rani Durgavati, of Gondawana or Garha Katanka near modern Jabulpore, who died in 1560 A.D. in a pitched battle with the army of Asaf Khan, in the reign of Emperor Akbar. Brief as is the glimpse that we get into her life from these Mahomedan writers, they so judiciously reveal the heroic quality of her soul that we cannot fail to admire her. All the four historians from whom we shall quote were her contemporaries and so their accounts possess an authenticity which is beyond dispute. The *Tarikh-i-Alfi* was written under the command of Akbar by a body of historians of whom Moulana Ahmad was the chief, the *Tabakat-i-Akbari* was the composition of Nizamuddin Ahmad, and there are two histories going by the

name of *Akbar nama*, one by the celebrated Abul Fazl, Prime Minister of Akbar, and the other by Sheik Illahdad, Faizi Sirhindi.

## I

*Tarikh-i-Alfi*

## CONQUEST OF GARHA (968 H—1560 A.D.)

Khawaja Abdul Majid who had received the title of Asaf Khan was appointed governor of Karra, and in that province he rendered good service. One of his services was the conquest of Garha a territory abounding in hills and jungles which had never been conquered by any ruler of Hindustan since the rise of the faith of Islam. At this time it was governed by a woman called Rani and all the dogs\* of that country were very faithful and devoted to her. Asaf Khan had frequently sent emissaries into her country on various pretexts and when he had learnt all the circumstances and peculiarities of the country, and the position and treasures of the Rani he levied an army to conquer the country. The Rani came forth to battle with nearly 500 elephants and 20,000 horse. The army met and both did their best. An arrow struck the Rani who was in front of her horsemen, and when that noble woman saw that she must be taken prisoner she seized a dagger from her elephant driver, and plunged it into the stomach and so died. Asaf Khan gained the victory.

## II

*Tabakat-i-Akbari*

The country of Garha Katanka was near to Asaf Khan and he formed the design of subduing it. The chief place of that country is Chauragah. It is an extensive country containing seventy thousand flourishing villages. Its ruler was at this time a woman named Durgavati who was very beautiful. When Asaf Khan heard the condition of this country he thought the conquest of it would be an easy matter so he marched against it with fifty thousand horse and foot. The Rani collected all her forces and prepared to oppose the invader with 700 elephants, 1,000 horsemen and infantry, innumerable. A battle followed in which both sides fought obstinately but by the will of fate the Rani was struck by an arrow, and fearing lest she should fall alive into the hands of the enemy she made her elephant-driver kill her with a dagger. After the victory Asaf Khan marched against Chauragah. The son of the Rani who was in the fort came forth to meet him but he was killed, and the fort was captured and all its treasures fell into the hands of the conquerors.

\* i.e. Hindus. Moslem historians delight in using such opprobrious epithets in relation to the followers of their rival creed.

## III.

Akbar nama  
(Abul Fazl)

## CONQUEST OF GARHA KATANKA

Khwaja Abdul Majid Asaf Khan although he was a Tajik and a civilian yet by the help of the good fortune of the Emperor, he had performed such deeds as would have humbled even Turks in his presence. He now resolved upon attempting the conquest of Garha Katanka. In the vast territories of Hindustan there is a country called Gondwana that is the land inhabited by the tribe of Gonds—a numerous race of people who dwell in the wilds, and pass most of their time in eating and drinking and the procreation of children. They are a very low race and are held in contempt by the people of Hindustan who look upon them as outcasts from their religion and laws. On the north lies Panna and on the south the Dakhin and the breadth is eighty kos. This country is called Garha Katanka and it contains many strongholds and lofty forts. It has numerous towns and villages and voracious writers have recorded that it contains seventy thousand villages. Garha is the name of the chief city, and Katanka is the name of a place near it and these two places have given their names to the whole country. The seat of government was the fort of Chauragarh. From the earliest establishment of the Muhammadan power in India no monarch had been able to reduce the fortresses of this country or to annex the territory.

At the time when Asaf Khan received the jagir of Barra and accomplished the conquest of Panna, the government of this country was in the hands of Rani Durgavati, commonly known as the Rani.\* She was highly renowned for her courage ability liberal ity, and by the exercise of these qualities she had brought the whole country under her rule. The author has heard from intelligent men who have been there that she had twenty three thousand inhabited villages under her sway. Twelve thousand of these were managed by her own shikhdars and the remainder were in the possession of tributary chiefs. The heads of the various clans paid their homage to her. She was the daughter of a Raja of the tribe of Chandel who was named Salubahan who was Raja of Ratah and Mahoba. He married her to Dalpat a son of [Raja] Aman Das. He did not belong to a high tribe but he was wealthy and as evil times had befallen upon Raja Salubahan he had consented to this alliance. This Aman Das rendered valuable assistance to Sultan Bahadur Gujarati in the reduction of Raisin he had consequently been promoted and had received the title of Sangram Shah. When he died he left a son named Bir Narayan only five years of age. With the assistance of Adhar Kayath† the Rani assumed the government showing no want of courage and ability, and managing her foreign relations with judgment and prudence. She carried on some great wars against Baz Bahadur and his officers and was everywhere victorious. She had as many as twenty thousand excellent horse soldiers and a thousand fine elephants. The treasures of the Rajas of

that country came into her possession. She was a good shot, both with the bow and musket and frequently went out hunting when she used to bring down the animals with her own gun. When she heard of a tiger she never rested till she had shot it. Many stories of her courage and daring are current in Hindustan. But she had one great fault. She listened to the voice of flatterers and being puffed up with ideas of her power, she did not pay her allegiance to the Emperor.

When Asaf Khan conquered the country of Panna the Rani Durgavati, inflated with the ideas of her army her courage and her ability, took no heed of her new neighbour Asaf Khan at first kept up friendly and conciliatory relations with her, but he sent sharp spies and shrewd merchants into her country to get information of the communications and ways of ingress and egress. When he had obtained information of the wealth and treasures of this woman he conceived the idea of making himself master of the country. He began first with ravaging the frontier villages and went on until in the present year he received the Imperial command to effect the conquest of Garha.

## IV

Akbar nama  
(Sheik Ibrahdad)

The chief place of that country is Chauragarh. The land contains 70 000 inhabited villages. It is bounded on one side by Malwa and the Dakhin on another by Garha. It is a separate principality governed by a Rani named Durgavati who was remarkable for her beauty and loveliness. Asaf Khan whose possessions her country bordered on and whose people were constantly going to and from managed to make himself well acquainted with its general condition and the state of its revenues. He began to ravage and plunder the villages in its districts waiting for an opportunity of taking more extreme measures. At last in the year 971 H. in the ninth year of the reign he valiantly set out with ten thousand horse and foot, purposing to take possession of the country. His valour made him look on this as a matter of easy accomplishment. The Rani owing to her pride and confidence in her own skill and courage attended to her own affairs and utterly disregarded the fact that she had a neighbour whose valour had been proved on several occasions. She had always kept up a force of 20 000 horsemen but she was suddenly told that the valiant troops of His Majesty had arrived at Damuda one of her chief towns at a time when her troops were dispersed. She had only 500 men with her Adhar who was entrusted with the management of the whole business of that country informed her how affairs stood. The Rani said

This is through your stupidity. I have long ruled this country and never acted in such a manner as to bring disgrace on myself. Now from what you tell me if the King were here in person I would present myself before him but now there is no remedy but war! The Rani made four marches from that place and found herself face to face with the Imperial army.

Asaf Khan had gone as far as Damuda with great speed but he delayed there. The Rani thus had time to collect some 4000 men and her courtiers recommended her to give battle advising her however to post herself in some strong position until the arrival of more troops. The Rani agreed to this counsel and retreated into the jungles and strong places so that Asaf Khan became ignorant of her whereabouts.

\* It is in the reign of Akbar that we first come across the mention of Kayasthas as a distinct community by Muhammadan historians. The word Kayastha occurs frequently in Kalhan's Rajatarangini but according to Sir Aurel Stein there it means officials chiefly Brahmmins.

were overworked. To avoid confusion and dispute, every detail, such as the increase of taxes, contracts, sales, despatch, the issue of orders, the papers which received the signature of His Majesty, capital punishment, the reprieve and the proceedings of the general assembly etc., was recorded for future reference. The diary thus prepared was corrected by one of the trusted officers, laid before the Emperor and approved by him. A copy of each report was then made by the clerks and was handed over to those who required it as voucher (1). The report then received the signatures of *Parwanchi* and *Mir Arz* respectively and in this form it was called *Yaddasht* or memorandum. An abridgment was then made of the memorandum and signed by *Risalahdar* and *Darogha*.

The abridgment thus finished was called *Tahqah* and the writer was known as *Tahqahnaavis*. The *Tahqah* was then signed and sealed by the Minister of the Department.

Sir Thomas Roe who arrived at the Court of Jehangir in 1615 as Ambassador from King James I, mentions that he found that throughout the Empire there were secret news writers entrusted with the task of constantly noting the misdeeds of the officials. The Emperor was thus kept informed of all matters of any importance. The most secret proceedings of private individuals at the capital were made known to him within a few hours of their taking place (2).

Mr Elphinstone describing the difficulties in the path of Aurangzeb says

"But in all discouragements Aurangzeb retained his vigour. He alone conducted every branch of his government, in the most minute detail. He planned campaigns and issued instructions during their progress; drawings of forts were sent for him to fix on the points of attack, his letters embraced measures for keeping open the roads in the Afghan country for quelling disturbances at Multan and Agra, and even for recovering of Candhar, and at the same time there is scarcely a detachment, marches or convey in the moves in the Deccan without some order from Aurangzeb's own hand" (3).

The 'Great Moghul' was able to conduct all this business only with the assistance of his "perfect" and "well kept" department of political police which con-

stantly kept him informed of practically everything happening even in the most distant parts of the Empire. The appointment and dismissal of the lowest officer in the Empire was not beneath his attention and the conduct of all functionaries was vigilantly watched, and they were kept the alert by admonitions founded on information (1).

The system, admirable as it was, also had great drawbacks. This centralization was obviously a disadvantage in the disposal of business even in the case of Aurangzeb it was "an unremitting vigilance" of affairs of State, which of course was of mind that would "age" (2).

"Aurangzeb brought the system to perfection, Moghul rule news-writers in every township to report occurred. Under previous news writers were often in contact with the local officers. But Aurangzeb kept a constant watch. His knowledge was perfect of all that was going on, that man believed he acquired it by supernatural agencies" (3).

It appears from one of Aurangzeb's letters to his minister that he was fully conscious of the dangers of relying too much on the news-writers "If these men are dishonest and left to themselves they could ruin a mighty Empire" (4) says the Emperor. They were appointed after a prying inquiry into their character. No man was appointed to the post unless his honesty and uprightness were beyond question. His dealings with his neighbours and his general reputation was always taken into consideration. As a result of this vigilance and care it was but seldom that an unfit person got the post (5).

According to Abul Fazl and Khafi Khan Albar and Aurangzeb were great physiognomists (6) and, amusing as it may seem, before appointing any one to this

2 Elphinstone, p. 666

1 Ibid, pp. 666-667

3 Wheeler's "History of India" Vol. IV, part II, p. 327

4 Vide State Documents MSS (Collections of Aurangzeb's letters MS No. 1344)

5 MS No. B. M. No. 18881

6 Ain Akbari p. 234 and Khafi Khan p. 134

1 Blockman's Ain Akbari, p. 259.

2 Vide Sir T. Roe's Embassy to the Court of Jehangir

3 Elphinstone's History of India, 5th Edition, p. 666

post they would examine carefully his physiognomy.(1) The Mir Arz was the officer whose duty it was to submit secret reports to the Emperor. Manucci mentions that in Aurangzeb's time such reports were read over to him by Begums during the night, and the ladies consequently often acquired a sound knowledge of the politics of the Empire.(2)

Francis Bernier criticises the department in a sweeping remark. "It is true," he says, "that the Great Moghul sends a Waqiahnawis to the various provinces, that is, persons whose business it is to communicate every event that takes place, but there is generally a disgraceful collusion between these officers and the governors, so that their presence seldom checks the tyranny exercised over the unhappy people."(3)

That there were cases in which officers belonging to the department of political police were bribed by the governor or other officials cannot be denied. The contemporary native historians admit the fact. But there is no reason to suppose that the cases of corruption were so numerous or so universal as to damn the efficient vigilance of the department as a whole. And it is abundantly clear that the Emperors themselves, specially Aurangzeb, were fully alive to the dangers of corrupt collusion. Mr. Lane Poole in his book on Aurangzeb says that the Emperor was served by a large staff of honest official reporters. Their "news-letters" often brought information of the most important nature to the capital. "These correspondents, of course, were liable to be bribed by dishonest governors," continues Lane Poole, "but no doubt they acted as a salutary check upon the local officials. By their aid Aurangzeb was able to exercise his passion for business, to examine the minute details of administration and to exercise his patronage down to the appointment of the meanest clerk."(4)

Although the precautionary principle he followed was the same, Aurangzeb

carried his checks upon "delegated authority" further than his predecessors. "He adopted much the same plan," points out Lane Poole, "as that which prevails in the police system of our country; he kept moving his officials about and placed them as far as possible from their estates."(1)

Sir John Hawkins, the well-known Elizabethan adventurer who visited India during the peaceful time of Jahangir, was roughly treated by the Custom officers at Surat. He determined to put his grievance against Mocarab Khan, the Custom Officer of the port, before the Emperor. When he reached Agra he was conducted before the Emperor. "The first thing," says Hawkins, "that the Emperor spoke was that he understood that Mocarab Khan (Mocarab Khan) had not dealt with me properly, bidding me be of good cheer, for he would remedie all."(2)

Hawkins was indeed bewildered at such a good system of intelligence. The news, evidently, travelled faster than he did. The Emperor was informed and the offender punished before the complainant was even able to lodge his petition. This is a good example of the efficiency of the system of official espionage under the Mughals. As for the exact number of employees in this Department, and other similar information, the contemporary historians are silent.

Danishmund Khan, (afterwards known as Naimat-Khan-i-Ali) however tells us, "that there were, in all, four thousands Harkarah(3) in the Imperial service scattered all over the vast Empire. The head was called Darogha-i-Harkarah, who was a man of some influence and was much feared; his establishment formed a part of the postal department managed by a high court official called Daroghi-Dak or the

1. Lane Poole's "Aurangzeb"

2 Hawkins' Letters, pp 400-401.

1 Ain Akbari, p 254 note 1.

2 See Bernier; Maasari i-Alamgiri; also Nicholas Manucci who differentiates between "spy" and "Khusanawis". It may be explained in this way that "Khusanawis" were directly connected with the Intelligence Department, while additional "spies" were in direct correspondence with the King

3 Vide Bernier's travels to India.

4 Lane Poole's "Aurangzeb" p. 84

3 The term "Harkarah" for the "spies" is confusing. The word has no connection with the word "spy". His duty was to convey mail bags from one place to another and he was an employee of the Postal Department. These Harkarahs had to pass through villages and towns with their mail bags, and it is likely that they might have been used for collecting informations and reporting them to the head office. That seems to be the only explanation of their dual duty. (For this information, I am indebted to a friend of mine, the writer of an article in 'East and West' entitled the "Intelligence Department of Indian Mohammedan Kings," Bombay, December 1902).

Superintendent of the Post, when in the field these spies were sent out in all directions (1)

'The department of the political police was in active operation' says Mr Irvine, 'both in peace and war' (2)

1 Dan shmand Khan enire of the 11th Ramzan 11 0 A H

2 tele the Army Organization of the Indian Mc,hur 17 W lam Irvine

The officers of the Department were, in fact, the 'Crown Inspectors' and were held in dread by corrupt administrators. Indeed, in spite of the inherent drawbacks of the system and of the fact that Aurangzeb carried his mistrust of everything and everybody to ruinous extremes, the Department may be said to have worked with very tolerable success.

## WHEELS WITHIN WHEELS

By FRANK HOWEL EVANS, AUTHOR OF "FIVE YEARS" "THE CINEMA GIRL" &c

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[Our readers are informed that all characters in this story are purely imaginary and if a name for any person happens to be mentioned no person will be identified as intended.]

### CHAPTER I.

#### TWO LETTERS

"THAT'S the last pos, I suppose, Blyre."

Yes, miss. Is there anything else you require?

No thank you. Good night Blyre."

'Good night miss.'

Blyre, an elderly rather stooping man with grey hair and the clean-shaven passive face of the typical English man-servant who has passed his life in easy comfortable service moved towards the door. He half-turned the handle and then looked back at the girl seated in a low, lounging easy chair by the fire.

She wasn't more than one or two and twenty, this girl with hair the colour of ripe corn with a clear-cut cameo-like face, with a low, broad forehead and eyes of sapling blue shaded by up-curling lashes so long that they almost touched the delicately pencilled eyebrows. The complexion even in the mingled light of the fire and shaded electric lamps, could be seen to be real delicate and pink like in its bloom and as she looked up to say good night to the old servant, Miss Tremayne's smile was winning, sweet and kindly, showing a set of teeth which quite deserved the term perfect.

She was in evening dress—soft black, her

neck and shoulders rising from the delicate decollete, showing up in charming contrast her arms were bare to the elbows and showed dimpling and round, with tapering hands. Her voice, sweet and low, rippled musically, with just a little faint lingering touch in tone and enunciation which hinted at foreign associations.

She looked casually at the two letters which the old man had handed to her on a silver salver, and then looked up at him again as he stood by the door hesitating.

'Yes, Blyre?' she said. 'Did you want to say anything?'

'Yes, miss. I did.' The old man straightened his stooping shoulders a little and took a step forward. 'I'm an old man, and I served Mr Tremayne ever since I was a boy, so I hope you won't take it amiss if I speak what is in my mind.'

'No Blyre, of course not! Why should I? I always heard my uncle speak of you in the very highest terms and when I came to London it was like coming to a house where there was an old friend waiting to welcome me.'

Blyre's pale cheeks flushed a little, he looked pleased and there was just a hint of moisture in his eyes and his voice shook a little.

Ah, he was a good man, was Mr Tremayne, my master. He went on. 'It broke him up when the mistress died—seven years old you were at the time, miss. Ah, I remember you so well! A little thing in white you were, miss with gold curls all over your pretty little head.'



"Yes, I often remember the big, strong giant who used to carry me up and down stairs, Blayre. How very big, how very strong you seemed to me when I was a little child!"

"Yes, that eleven years ago, miss—a big slice out of a man's life when he's getting on. But there, I'm getting talkative myself and forgetting what I wanted to say. Don't you find it lonely, miss, here all by yourself? Haven't you any—forgive me, miss, for taking the liberty—any young friends you could ask to come and stay with you? You seem so all by yourself."

"That's just how I feel sometimes, Blayre," Gladys looked into the fire. "I don't seem to have had a chance to make any friends. I had just a few schoolgirl friends while I was at the Convent in Bruges, and then—well, I've been travelling with uncle for the last year, and living in hotels, so I've just a few acquaintances, that's all. Uncle said that we would come back here to London and then we should soon gather friends round us. And now—well, I've come back alone, without him. Thank you, Blayre, for taking such an interest. I daresay after a time the friends will come."

"Yes, I hope so, miss, I hope so. Young people want young friends. That's all I had to say, miss—just that I should like, for your sake, to see the house full of people, to hear music and laughter, and see happiness everywhere. It would be splendid to have too much work to do. That's all, miss. And now I'll say good-night once more, unless there's anything else you want?"

Gladys had risen by now and was standing with her foot gently resting on the tender. Slim and tall, her figure was in just the right proportions, and as she moved across the room to the old butler with outstretched hand, she showed that she had that all too rare accomplishment of walking well and gracefully.

"Thank you, Blayre, thank you," she said as she shook his hand. "You're quite right. The house does want brightening up. I've been moping too much. Oh, I daresay I shall soon get to know people, and then—why, we shall run you off your legs. Good night, Blayre, old friend—I may call you that, mayn't I, for I knew you when I was a little tot, and uncle always talked about 'my old friend Blayre'."

"Good-night—and God bless you, miss."

When the old man had gone, Gladys looked round the spacious, high-ceilinged, oak-panelled room, the library of the big house in Kirton Square, left to her, together with seven thousand a year, by her uncle, Reginald Tremayne, who had died on the Continent but a brief three months ago.

Up to the age of seventeen she had been educated at one of those delightful convent schools in Belgium, seeing her uncle only during the holidays. Her aunt had died when she was quite a child, and of her own blood parents she knew nothing. Her uncle had told her as a child that her father and mother were both dead, and that he and his wife had adopted her, but beyond that she could get no information out of him, and though at times she yearned to know more of those parents, yet she had been so attached, so devoted to the kindly, stout, loving old uncle that a sense of blankness, of missing something, hardly entered into her life till he left it.

And now she was alone. Reginald Tremayne had died suddenly leaving her all his property, and when the last sad duties were performed and she stood for the last time by the stone which marked where the old man slept his last sleep, she came to England to take up her heritage.

It was lonely in that big, handsomely-furnished house, with its reception-rooms, its wide, square hall, its luxury, its appointments of wealth, of taste, of rarity. But Gladys knew no one in London, her whole life had been spent abroad.

"Wait till we settle down in the old house in Kirton Square," her uncle used to say to her. "I'll take up the old threads again—if any of them are left—and we'll soon have plenty of young people for you to enjoy yourself with. Eleven years it is since we lived there, and I said I'd never go back to it, but now—well, I must get you married. So next year we'll go back to London."

"But I don't want to get married, uncle," said Gladys. "I don't want to leave you. That would be selfish."

"Tut, tut, tut, tut!" said old Tremayne. "That's what you say now, dearie, but wait till Mr. Right comes along, and then you'll prettily pipe a different tune, I know. Yes, next year we'll go back to the old house and start entertaining."

And now he lay sleeping in the Prote-

tant part of that little foreign cemetery, and she, his sole heiress, was alone in this great house

Just a month she had been in London, a lonely, solitary month, and again Gladys sighed—it is bad for one so young to sigh!—as she looked round the comfortable room with its evidences of wealth and good taste everywhere

'Oh dear,' she said to herself softly, suddenly pulling herself together, 'this will never do! If I keep on grumbling and grizzling like this I shall get wrinkles

And she bent forward on tiptoe and looked at the pretty little face reflected in the glass over the mantelpiece

"Well, so far there aren't any!" she assured herself "Oh, good gracious me, I've forgotten my letters! Circulars or something like that, I suppose. There is no one else who would be likely to write to me"

Her situation really was rather pathetic. A pretty, rich, young girl without a relation in the world that she knew of, without really an intimate friend, alone in this great house with only a staff of servants— and Blayre. Oh, yes, Blayre had known her since she was a child, he was almost a friend. There was hardly anyone who would want to write to her. That was a sad thing for a girl of eighteen to have to say or think

She looked at the two letters idly, then reached over and took a quaint old fashioned silver paper knife from the side table and opened the first envelope. She looked at the address with a puzzled air—Hotel Riche, Pichon

Pichon? Pichon? ran through her mind. Pichon? Oh, yes, of course that was the little place on the southern coast of France, a dear, sweet little place with a sandy bay. Oh, yes, she remembered it quite well now! And the Hotel Riche? Yes, that was where they had stayed. Strange! Who could be writing to her from there?

"Dear Miss Tremayne" (the letter began, and the colour mounted to her face as she read the next few lines) "I should like to say Gladys if I might? I wonder if I might?"

Quickly she turned to the signature, which consisted of just one word—Guar-

Guardene? Yes, of course she remembered now! Lord Guardene! She had met him at that Hotel R

Pichon on their visit there, a rollicking, reckless, dare-devil young fellow, worshipped by children and immensely popular with men and women alike, just a tall, brown, curly haired, straight limbed English gentleman, clean bodied, clean minded, his creed being that a fellow ought to go straight, owe no man anything, look the whole world in the face and fight like a demon if it was necessary to stand up for yourself or anybody weaker. A lord? Yes, he was a lord, a peer of the realm, but poor as a church mouse as peers go, for when the charges on his estates were settled he had a bare three thousand a year on which to live, and for a peer this is almost pauperdom. But still he laughed, rollicked, jollied his way through life and he and Gladys during their month's stay at Pichon became fast friends, motor-ing and golfing together and enjoying frank comradeship on either side

And now—now he was writing her a letter, a letter of love. Gladys read it through once, read it through twice, and the second time there was a little mist before her eyes

Dear Miss Tremayne—I should like to say Gladys if I might? I wonder if I might? Please try and read this letter right through without tearing it up. I am an awfully bad hand at writing a letter, but it is like this. I am here at the old hotel, the hotel where I first met you and everything reminds me of you so badly—or should I say so beautifully? I have been wondering why I let you go without asking you something, for I have been missing you ever since. How long ago was it? Only five months, but oh! it has seemed five years to me. It was chance or fate or something which brought me back here. I was so miserable, and I seemed to think that I should be happier if I came to the place where you had been, where we had met. I knew then, Gladys, more surely than I do now that I loved you. I never ought to let you go before asking you if you could come for a rotten sort of a fellow like me. I wonder whether you could? That's what I said might I call you Gladys? Will you write to me by return and let me know my fate one way or the other, for I love you, I love you? That's all I can say, but it's singing in my heart all the time—that and your name Gladys!

And the letter was signed just simply "Guardene."

But there was a postscript which made Gladys smile, such a sweet little smile, as she read the letter through the second time.

"P. S.—I have a Christian name, and it is Jack—or, rather, John, but people who like me call me Jack, I wonder whether you will call me Jack?"

"P. S. again—I don't think your uncle quite objects to me, because he gave me his address in town, to which I am writing, saying that it would always find him, and now I am writing to you there. I have taken a long time to pluck up courage to do it, and dear—dear, you won't be unkind to me, will you?"

When she had finished reading the letter Gladys sat quietly for a moment looking into the fire thoughtfully, wistfully. Then with half a sigh she read the letter through again and then again. Then, as if communing with herself she shook her head slightly, put the sheet of paper back in its envelope and sighed again as she laid it on a little table by her side.

"What a pity, what a pity he thinks about me like that!" she said half aloud. "I wish I could—oh, but there it's no use, it's no use! And he was so nice too!"

She passed her hand across her eyes with a little shiver and then took up the other letter. Who can this be from? she thought as she scanned the address. "Wemmering Ranch, Manitoba, Canada."

The letter itself began abruptly, almost brutally it seemed to her as she read the lines.

"Almost as soon as you get this (it ran) I shall be over in England with my wife and son to contest the will. Old Reginald Tremayne had no relation in the world except me, and now I see by his will in the papers that he has left all his money to you. You can either give it up quietly and peacefully or you can fight the matter in the law courts, I don't care which. I am just a plain, blunt man, and this is to let you know that I intend to have my rights. That's all I've got to say at present."

JOHN RAYMES.

Gladys flushed as she read the hard, insolent words, and she crushed the letter in her hand for a moment as if to throw it into the fire, but quickly calmed herself and unlocked a little cabinet, at the same time

picking up the other letter, the one from Jack Lord Guardene.

"No," she said, suddenly, "you shall go there because you're a nice letter." She put Lord Guardene's letter in another drawer. "Poor boy, I wish I could answer as you wish! And you—you shall go in there and stop there until you go with me to the solicitor's." And she put Mr. Raymes' letter in another drawer.

Then she locked the cabinet and went up to her bedroom, but that night sleep was almost out of the question. Those two letters seemed to have brought new things into her life. Lord Guardene loved her, wanted her to marry him, and she thought regretfully of the handsome, laughing lad—he was little more than that—who had charmed everyone. She liked him. Yes, but she didn't love him; she knew that. No, her heart had not been touched. He didn't know of her riches, of her position; he only knew that she was just the girl he loved—she saw that in his letter—and it hurt her to think that she couldn't answer as he wanted her to answer.

And then, blotting out his face, there came the memory of that second letter, the one from Mr. John Raymes. Who could he be? What was it? Was it blackmail or what? Well, to-morrow she would see Mr. Cowan, her uncle's solicitor, and ask him for advice.

At length, after many weary waking hours, exhausted nature forced sleep upon her, and it was with a start that she heard her maid say the next morning that it was nearly eleven o'clock.

"You were sleeping so soundly that I didn't like to disturb you, Miss," said the girl. "Shall I bring you up some tea now? And Mr. Blayne said I was to tell you that a lady and two gentlemen were waiting to see you in the library. They're just come."

"Eleven o'clock! Good gracious me, how disgraceful!" cried Gladys. "Quick, get my bath and everything ready, and some tea too, Ellen. Did those people give their names?"

"The name of Raymes," answered the girl.

## CHAPTER II.

### THE RAYMES FAMILY.

"Ah you're Miss Tremayne then—least that's what you call yourself."

name is Raymes, John Raymes. This is my wife and this is my son. I thought we'd better just come and see how the land lay, as it were."

Gladys had dressed quickly and gone down to the library, where the visitors were waiting for her. Her heart fluttered a little, and she felt nervous as she opened the door. "Of the name of Raymes" had said her maid. This call then followed the receipt of the letter last night.

A broad shouldered, burly man, with a fringe of reddish beard, now turning to the lighter colour of more than middle age, framing a face fat and ruddy, but with thin lips and a thin, pointed nose. Small eyes glittered behind bushy eyebrows and the man stood before the fireplace with thumbs hooked in his waistcoat, with a proprietorial sort of air. His voice was harsh and rasping, and he looked Gladys up and down with almost a sneer.

Close by stood the woman he had said was his wife. She was of medium height with hair just beginning to turn grey, and plain uninteresting unattractive features and a way—it might have been a trick or a habit—of claspings and unclasping her hands on the handle of her umbrella. She continually looked at her husband and then at Gladys glancing from one to the other with quickly moving eyes.

"I am Miss Tremayne," said Gladys quietly, with rather a heightened colour. "Won't you sit down?"

As she spoke the younger man, who had been looking out of the window, turned round. He was tall and dark haired, with features rather irregular in outline with square jaw and chin that was almost pug-nacious in the way that it thrust itself forward. His thick eyebrows almost met in a straight bar, and, contrary to the fashion of most young Englishmen, a black mouse-trich shaded his upper lip. His face was mahogany tinted. His clothes were rough and badly cut, and the square, strong hand that rested on the back of a chair for a second had never known the fripperies of a manicurist, the white nails were not polished to a ladylike pink. There was a scar, too, across the back of that hand, and somehow or another Gladys found herself looking at it and thinking what a hand it seemed. And when with an easy motion the young man lifted a heavy chair with that one member and pressed it to her with a smile that showed brilliant

white teeth, something told her that she was right, it was indeed a strong hand, and the owner of it was a strong man.

And then she forced herself to face the situation which confronted her.

"I'm a plain, blunt man, as I told you in my letter," went on Mr Raymes in his harsh voice. "I suppose you got that?"

"Yes, I received it last night," said Gladys with quiet dignity. "I understand that you lay claim to my late uncle's property which he left to me. Don't you think it would be better if we left the matter to our respective solicitors?"

"Oh, well, if you want law you can have it," went on Raymes. "You ought to have had my letter days ago, but I suppose it went wrong somewhere. Anyway, we arrived in England yesterday, and the sooner things are settled the better has always been my motto. Now what are you going to do? Clear out nice and quietly? Or are we going to have trouble? Give me your answer one way or the other, and I shall know what to do."

Gladys was now white to the lips, she had never been spoken to like this before, and she rose and tried to speak with calmness though her lips were quivering and every nerve was tingling.

"I think it would be best to see your solicitors father," said young Raymes, rising quickly.

"Oh, I'll see my solicitor fast enough!" was the rough reply as old Raymes rose too. "If you like to put on high and mighty airs I've done with you. If you have been willing to be a bit humble, I might have seen to it that you didn't want for anything, but as you're trying to treat me like a bit of dirt, you'll have to suffer for it. Come on, mother!"

Gladys moved across to the bell, and young Raymes spoke to her quietly, almost in a whisper.

"My father doesn't really mean all that he says—"

"The door, Blayre. And I'm not at home again to Mr Raymes or any of his family."

Old Raymes laughed harshly.

"You won't be at home at all very soon, and you'll be sorry you ever spoke like this before I've done with you."

He stalked out of the room. Mrs Raymes looked after him and then looked back at Gladys as if she would like to speak.

"I—I'm very sorry," she said, rather huskily. "I didn't know he was going to speak like that."

Gladys stood still, motionless, her face immobile, white. She might have been a statue.

"I say, I'm—I'm awfully sorry," said young Raymes. "Father had no right to say such things. I wouldn't have come if I'd known."

And still Gladys looked straight before her. She answered not a word, and the young man, with head a little bowed, walked out of the room.

"I'll fight, I'll fight, I'll fight," said Gladys between her clenched teeth when she was by herself. "What do they mean by coming here and insulting me like that? And yet," she stopped for a moment in the rapid paces she was taking across the room with hands clasped close to her sides and head erect, "and yet it was only the old man; the others, the mother and the son, they seemed ashamed. Yes, let me be just, let me be honest, they seemed sorry. Now then for Mr. Cowan!"

She took the telephone book from the little slab in the corner where the instrument was, and was rapidly turning the pages with trembling fingers when the door opened and Blayre entered.

"The young man, miss," he said, "the young man who went away just now, he's come back and insists on seeing you, and says he won't go away till he has."

"Very well then, I'll see him," said Gladys, with a sudden impulse which afterwards she could not understand.

Young Raymes came in with his head held high. His rough, ill-fitting coat was buttoned close to him as if to show that he was ready for a fray of some kind, and his pugnacious chin seemed to jut out more sternly than ever.

"I told your servant I wouldn't go till I'd seen you," he said. "You wouldn't listen to me a few minutes ago, but I'm going to try and make you now. I am ashamed, yes, absolutely ashamed, of my father, and I told him so to his face in the street before we had gone many yards, and said that I was coming back to apologise to you. And yet there is something to be said for my father, too, Miss Tremayne. He's had a hard life; he's had to work hard, too, all his life, and may be it has helped to kill the softer feelings within

him. But I want you to believe that he isn't as black as he looks."

"I think I said that the matter had better be conducted by our solicitors," said Gladys, with icy hauteur. And almost in the same second she hated herself for her attitude.

"But you must let me explain things; try and smooth them a little, Miss Tremayne! Yes, you must, for I'm not going out of here till you've heard me. I'm a bit of a rough fellow myself, and I'm not much used to a lady's company, but when I start at a thing I generally fight it through to a finish. Now will you listen?"

"Yes, I'll listen," said Gladys almost meekly, and much to her own surprise. This masterful young man evidently meant to have his own way.

"Well, father had just decided to retire. He had made enough to live on for the rest of his life and keep mother and me in comfort without my having to work, but I wasn't going to live on him—I was going to stick to the old ranch where he made his pile. And then one day he read in the paper of the death of old Reginald Tremayne, and how he had left all his money and property to his niece, Gladys Tremayne—that was you, Miss Tremayne, of course. When he read it, father said he knew perfectly well that he was old Tremayne's only living relative, that he, Tremayne, had never had a niece in his life, and that—forgive me, Miss Tremayne, I'm only a plain, blunt man—that you must be an impostor, and that he should come here and fight the matter to a finish if necessary. He said he should come and see you the moment he arrived in England, and mother and I came with him, because—well, we thought we might perhaps see things differently from what he did. Of course, now we've seen you, Miss Tremayne—at least, I'm speaking for my mother and myself." Young Raymes spoke awkwardly, tugging at his coat collar. "We know perfectly well that you couldn't be an impostor. Couldn't we settle this matter pleasantly without any bother about lawyers? Father's plenty of money; it isn't that with him, I know. I believe really it's only that he thought—oh, well, dash it all, I don't know how to put it—"

"He thought that I was an impostor," said Gladys quietly. "Will you go on, Mr. Raymes, please? I should like it better if

"Oh not good enough for you I suppose!" he said. "Is that it? I suppose you don't know what you're risking do you? Having all your money and everything taken away from you."

"Stop stop!" Gladys was roused now, she felt strong and resolute. "Mr Raymes, again you are insulting me. You're threatening me you're—oh, can't you understand the shame of it all to a woman? You're trying to force me into a marriage with your son, a man I've only seen once. I wonder if you've spoken to him about me? I could kill myself if I thought you had. And you've threatened me, you've threatened to take my money from me if I won't agree to your shameful to your wicked proposal to me. You dare, you dare to speak to me like that! Take the money, take the house take everything there is Mr Raymes, but I'll still keep my pride thank you. You can take all—all—everything! I'll leave this house in an hour, but until then please try to imagine that it is mine and leave it at once."

And as she spoke she rang the bell.

"The door, Blayre!" she cried, with an unconscious, magnificently dramatic gesture of the arm as the butler appeared, pointing the way out to old Raymes, who left with an uncomfortable and unusual perspiration on his brow.

"Oh it's all right" he said to himself as he walked down the steps, "she'll come round. She won't want to lose all that money for nothing, I know."

As she stood there when old Raymes had left, awaying slightly to and fro, it seemed to Gladys that the white purity of her maidenhood had been stained—it seemed as if her very soul had been dragged in the mire. She had been offered a bargain as if she were, indeed, an impostor, a woman who would *chag* to her money whatever might betide. Every fibre in her splendidly virginal being revolted against old Raymes's insulting proposal, and when he had left, it was with the strength of desperation of insulted womanhood, that she went upstairs and gave her orders to her maid.

"Pack all that belongs to me in the way of personal things, Ellen," she said. "I shall send for them before very long. I'm going out, I'm going away. My hat, my cloak, quick!"

The maid looked frightened, awed, but her mistress's mood was imperious, commanding and she helped Gladys with her hat and cloak, wondering the while what had happened.

Her gold chain bag Gladys took from the dressing table, heedless of what money it contained, and walked downstairs into the street. She gave one look back at the tall, stately mansion and then made her way straight to the office of Mr Cowan, the solicitor.

"I'll give it all up! I'll never go back, never, never, never!" she said to herself.

(To be continued)

## POSSIBILITIES OF CHEMICAL INDUSTRIES IN INDIA

By DR P C RAY.

THE development of chemical industries is dependent on the economic utilisation of the bye products and can only proceed *pari passu* with the general industrial development and educational advancement of the country. The simultaneous growth of a system of interdependent industries is essential so that the bye products in one industry may be profitably utilised in another. The growth will necessarily be slow, but when the foundation will have been successfully established on

a continuous chain of connection, the progress will be steady and sure. The total production of coal tar colours in Germany now comes to over £50 000 000 annually and the industry as it stands to-day is the result of over forty years of continuous research work and of untiring manufacturing and merchandising effort and development. The coal tar colour industry has now become essentially a German industry and the success is attributable to a large extent to the growth

of a chain of allied industries in which the bye-products of the great colour industry are most economically utilised.

It will be seen from the trade returns of British India that United Kingdom contributes a considerable portion of the total imports of heavy chemicals in India.

The principal heavy chemicals which constitute the bulk of the total imports from the United Kingdom are—

1913-14	Quantity (Cwts)	Value (£)
Carbonate of Soda (Soda ash and Soda crystals) ...	4,22,720	106,054
Bicarbonate of Soda ...	86,353	28,244
Caustic Soda ...	91,018	53,571
Other Soda Compounds ...	27,958	13,520
Bleaching Materials ...	55,062	25,427

The soda compounds came almost exclusively from the United Kingdom.

The most important chemicals which are required in the many industries in India, and for the matter of fact in every country, are alkalis and sulphuric acid. They are required by themselves in the manufacturing processes connected with many industries as well as for the manufacture of other chemicals. In fact, it has very aptly been said that sulphuric acid is the mother of all industries. The importance of the local manufacture of alkalis is still more emphasised by the fact that the bye-products, viz., hydrochloric acid and chlorine, are essentially required for the preparation of a series of chemicals, the various chlorides and bleaching materials which are so important for daily consumption in the textile and paper mills and for various other industries in India.

The manufacture according to modern processes of the alkali and compounds named above has not been taken up in India. Practically the whole of these compounds, the bleaching materials and various chlorides required for Indian consumption are imported. Consequently, any shortage of production in the United Kingdom leading to restricted imports into India may seriously handicap many industries.

**Caustic Soda.**—Caustic soda apart from feeding the chlorine industries by its bye-products is itself essentially necessary in many industries in India, the most prominent among them being (1) manufacture of soap, (2) refining of oils, (3) dyeing, (4) manufacture of paper-pulp.

**Soap.**—The manufacture of soap in its

various branches (toilet soap, household washing soap, laundry soap, etc.) is comparatively a new industry in India. But already there are indications of its growing expansion. With the spread of education and with the growth of ideas of sanitation this industry with its advantages in raw materials will probably expand. Up to now the work done in this direction is insignificant and up-hill.

For trade purposes the import of soap falls under three heads. The imports under these heads in 1913-14 shown below will indicate India's requirements.

	Cwts.	£
(a) Household and laundry soap (in bars or tablets) . . .	3,01,369	3,14,511
(b) Toilet soap . . .	45,339	1,66,194
(c) Other sorts . . .	16,152	19,695

It is remarkable that of the total imports of soap (362,860 cwts.), imports from the United Kingdom alone stood at 350,703 cwts., or, in other words, nearly 97 p.c. of the total imports came from the United Kingdom. This predominant position of the United Kingdom is due to her cheap alkali, the command over the soap producing oils and to her capability of utilising the bye-product, namely glycerine. India is rich in oilseeds, and her export trade in oilseeds is very large. Even if the oils for soap making are produced here largely, absence of cheap alkali and our inability to utilise the waste liquors for recovery of glycerine are great obstacles to the development of soap industry.

**Paper-pulp.**—Pulp of wood or other materials imported for the purpose of paper making in India amounted to 247, 636 cwts., valued at £ 115,800 in 1913-14. This quantity is consumed in the few paper mills in India which cannot even meet a small percentage of India's paper requirements. Materials for manufacture of paper-pulp are largely available in India, and high price of caustic soda, bleaching powder and other alkali products stand in the way of the manufacture of paper-pulp.

There is yet another industry with considerable possibilities which has not been undertaken in India and in which large quantities of caustic soda are required. The use of aluminium utensils for various purposes is gradually becoming popular in this country. But the aluminium metal for this purpose is wholly imported. This is anomalous for a country where the raw

material for the purpose occurs in abundance. The first stage of the manufacture is extraction of alumina from bauxite with alkali and the second stage is the manufacture of the metal from alumina. Bauxite of good quality occurs in India near Jubbulpore.

From the foregoing observations it will be seen that local manufacture of alkali is urgently necessary to meet gradually increasing requirements for the development of other Chemical Industries. The raw materials are available or can be made available in India. The difficulty of obtaining cheap electric power is not insuperable. The Hydro Electric Scheme for the supply of cheap electric power in the Bombay mills is an indication of advancement in this direction. The most important is that unless the manufacture is conducted on a very large scale economical production of the alkalis and of the various bye-products so as to compete with imported articles is believed to be impossible.

The capital already sunk in the alkali works in England is enormous and from the Indian point of view simply colossal. The profits made by one firm alone last year exceeded a million pounds sterling. Unless a captain of industry with the genius and resources of a Tata were to enter the field I am afraid there is very poor chance of success.

By harnessing the Cauvery the Government of Mysore has secured a supply of cheap electric power which is now utilised mainly in the Kolar Gold Fields but which may also be diverted to the manufacture of chemicals.

The subject of alkali manufacture and its bearing on the general industrial development has been briefly dealt with. It has been already said that the extent of industrial development of a country is indicated by its requirements of sulphuric acid. This is a subject on which I can speak with some personal experience.

There are two principal factors which stand out prominently as bar against the development of the sulphuric acid and consequently to the alkali and chlorine industries. One of these is due to natural causes—the absence of suitable Iron or Copper Pyrite mine which supplies the sulphur content the chief content of sulphuric acid. There is a move now in the right direction and the country is being

searched for Pyrite mines and some day one may find workable Pyrite in the Central Provinces or in the Southal Pergannas those hitherto sealed treasures of India's mineral wealth. Pyrite has to be imported and one may look forward to a near future to the introduction of Pyrite sulphuric acid. We are making all through out in India and Burma small quantities of sulphuric acid from sulphur technically called crude sulphur but which is practically a pure product containing 98 per cent sulphur. The price of sulphuric acid made therefrom is necessarily very high. But even if we find Pyrite locally or import conveniently yet there is that other bar that of transport difficulty and heavy railway freights that appears to be insurmountable. If sulphuric acid were made at Calcutta or Bombay as cheap as at London yet for you at Baroda it will make little difference in cost whether you import from Bombay or from London taking into consideration the heavy railway freights common to both and the high charge of acid proof vessels.

**Fertilisers and Superphosphates**—One of the uses of cheap sulphuric acid is for the manufacture of fertilisers notably the manufacture of superphosphates from bones the use of which however has not yet become popular in India on account of absence of education of the agricultural population in the matter of intensive cultivation. Yet India has recently purchased 2000 tons of superphosphates half of which is coming from Orissa. India exports large quantities of bones annually. Her total exports during 1913-14 amounted to 105,413 tons valued at £22,233. This enormous quantity of bones is going out of the country for conversion into fertiliser elsewhere. This is an indirect loss to the soil of India and the condition is alarming. This loss is however unavoidable till the agricultural population realises the utility of the fertiliser. Meanwhile the country should be able to manufacture superphosphates and export them instead of the raw bones and importing bone superphosphates. Here again absence of cheap supply of sulphuric acid is a handicap. I may say here in passing that the Bengal Chemical and Pharmaceutical Works is making an effort in this direction.

**Ammonium sulphate**—This is being manufactured at present to a limited extent in certain places in connection with gas



works and bye-product recovery in coke-ovens. Ammonium sulphate manufactured in India is being used locally in sugar-cane plantations and some amount is also being exported to Ceylon and Strait Settlements. With a large number of coke ovens, and cheap supply of sulphuric acid there is prospect of the industry going ahead.

**Oil Products.**—There is a large export trade in oil cakes from India. They are castor, cocoanut, groundnut, linseed, cotton cake and other sorts of cakes. The total export in 1913-14 amounted to the large quantity of 3,506,272 cwt., valued at £ 920,249. This is no doubt a valuable trade for India, but this large figure shows that the use of oil cakes as fertiliser has not become popular in India. This is due to ignorance of the agricultural population. Total export of oils of castor, cocoanut, groundnut, linseed and cotton amounted to the figure of 2,491,533 gallons. Great part of this amount could be converted into various oil products and exported as such instead of in the condition of raw oil. It is remarkable that India is a large producer of cotton seed, but she exports most of the seeds instead of building up a large industry of cotton oil and cotton oil products. The export of cotton seed from India in 1913-14 amounted to 3,686,533 cwt., valued at £ 1,416,743, whereas she exported only 2,507 gallons of oil valued at £ 347. The cotton oil industry is in its infant stage in India. The oil is valuable for soap making. The oil itself by proper refining process can be made a valuable edible oil. The main difficulty is that as long as the cotton cake does not find a ready market in India the manufacture of the oil locally is not likely to prove profitable.

We may learn a good deal from the history of the cotton oil industry in the United States of America which produces a large amount of cotton seeds. As far back as 1834 the settlers in the United States utilised most of the seeds as manures and only a meagre portion was expressed for oil, which was used for burning and painting. During the period of the American Civil War attention was turned to the expression of the seeds and since then its trade is continually increasing.

The oil contains certain volatile principles which caused a disagreeable odour when the oil was used for cooking and created natural prejudices. The oil was made

edible by removing the volatile principles and by improving its flavour and consequently the industry made a rapid stride. This was the chemists' service and we find that in 1913 nearly 76 per cent of the entire crop was expressed for oil which fetched about 49 crores of rupees. The chemist was not satisfied with his triumph and has now converted the liquid oil, an unsaturated body, by hydrogenization into a saturated substance which is a solid fat and has proved to be a better substitute for animal fat used in cooking.

The oil cake obtained in that country has been found to be a good cattle food, having the food value of low-grade hay. The price of the cake varies according to its quality but generally it is a rupee per maund.

It will thus be seen that a vast amount of profit is derived from the cotton seeds and it has been calculated that the chemist has added from Rs. 30 to Rs. 35 to the value of the crop for every bale of cotton grown. Considering the fact that India grows about 5 million bales of cotton we are only left to shudder at the immensity of loss that we are suffering on account of our ignorance and incapacity.

What has been said here applies under certain limitations also to Mohua Oil of which there is an abundant supply in and about Baroda.

**Elementary Education of the agricultural population** is essential for the improvement of agricultural conditions in general in India and it is a matter for sincere congratulation that the enlightened State of Baroda is forging ahead in this direction. One acre of land in Java produces cane which gives 3.44 tons of sugar whereas in India one acre yields cane capable of producing only about 1.3 tons of sugar.

**Tanning Industry.**—India is one of the largest suppliers of raw hides to the world. The export of total hides and skins (raw) from India in 1913-14 amounted to 1,602,310 cwt., valued at £ 7,990,882. There is some export trade in leather, tanned or dressed, mainly from Madras and Bombay. This leather is only half tanned by bark and is subjected to further tanning on arrival in foreign countries. The industry of chrome tanning is of recent growth in India. There is great scope for its development.

**Tannin Extract**—India abounds in tannin materials. The most

are myrobolams babul bark wattle bark avarim bark mangrove bark and in the Baroda State besides these we have a plentiful supply of Khair asintree amla and roinee Tannin extracts can be made in India and exported to other countries

**Starch**—Import of starch into India under head starch and farina in 1913 14 amounted to 101 067 cwts valued at £65 606 Starch is required mostly in cotton and paper mills for sizing Starch generally used is obtained from wheat potato rice or maize Some starch derivatives such as dextrine are also used considerably especially for soft dressing

India is *per excellence* the country for cereals and starch ought to be manufactured in extensive quantity for export

Some of the other chemicals required for various industrial purposes are—

**Potassium Compounds**—Cyanide of potassium imported from United Kingdom during 1913 14 amounted to 5 239 cwts valued at £22 657 Other potassium compounds imported amounted to 8 733 cwts valued at £15 812 Of this United Kingdom contributed 3 318 cwts Germany 3 225 cwts and Italy 1 320 cwts The rest came from other countries Potassium compounds are used in the manufacture of soft soap potash glass in textile and dyeing processes and as manures Stassfurt in Germany is the chief source of world's potash supply Potash deposits occur in the salt range of the Punjab but they are of very poor quality

**Ammonia and Ammonium salts**—Of the total imports to the amount of 13 340 cwts in 1913 14 United Kingdom alone contributed 12 993 cwts valued at £28 428 The manufacture of ammonium sulphate in India has already been referred to

**Carbide of Calcium**—Total import in 1913 14 amounted to 19 998 cwts valued at £14 474 of which 2 783 cwts came from United Kingdom and 10 901 cwts from Germany Its manufacture does not appear to present special difficulties provided a cheap supply of electric power is available

**Disinfectants**—Total import in 1913 14 amounted to 25 395 cwts valued at £26 394 of which 23 915 cwts valued at £24 599 came from United Kingdom alone and contributed only 623 cwts valued at £1 045 The source of practically all disinfectants is coal tar distillation process Coal tar is made in very small

quantities in India and no attempt has hitherto been made to distil what little tar is produced in this country

**Industrial Alcohol**—There is a very large import trade from Java in this article Java makes huge quantities of alcohol from molasses which it gets as a by-product in its sugar factories There are hardly any sugar factories here working on a large scale and almost all the alcohol that is made here is used as liquor The price of molasses is high and would not warrant manufacture of cheap alcohol. But we need not look to molasses for alcohol having an abundant supply of mohua The sugar content of mohua is identical to that of molasses whereas its price is only half There is no reason why mohua should be permitted to be exported as food for cattle and pigs and not utilised in the manufacture of spirits Representing one of the Pharmaceutical Works I have had to feel keenly the want of rectified spirit cheap enough to be utilised for manufacture of tinctures and other medicinal preparations It only needs an enterprising organiser to establish this industry and I am glad to find the Baroda Alambic Works has made a successful beginning in this direction

There has been a dearth of organic dyestuff employed in our textile and leather industries and also of other chemicals used in medicine while there has been a constant demand of chemicals made in India from outside owing to the present war It is chiefly this cause, aided by our Swadeshi awakening that has made us feel the necessity of developing our chemical industry In this respect however, we must be guided by prudence and also by the experiences of other countries Let me be more clear

An undertaking for starting a factory for the production of dyestuff and fine chemicals would be futile and is foredoomed to failure and disappointment Even in England and America where there are already such industries in existence and where the people are feeling still more keenly the scarcity of these there is still some hesitation among a section of the people for further attempt towards the advancement of the industry because of the competition of Germany Let me quote from the presidential address delivered by Professor Perkin perhaps the highest authority in England on Organic Chemis-

try and the worthy son of the first discoverer of the aniline dyes, at the Annual Meeting of the Chemical Society of London, held in 1915, to illustrate this. He says,

"I am inclined to think that we must be prepared to face the certainty that some years must elapse before we can compete successfully against organisations which have taken years to develop and bring to perfection. Many of us hold the view that in order to prevent underselling and other methods of competition, the Government ought to protect the new venture for ten years at least by placing an import duty of not less than 25 per cent. on all German dyes and other organic products."

Let me also give you an idea of the enormous German organisation by giving a few figures, regarding the Badische Anilin and Soda Fabrik, one of the big German companies. For transportation within the plant the company utilises 42 miles of rail road. Its water works supply 10 billions gallons yearly and its ice factory 12,000 tons of ice. It has four hundred steam engines and five hundred electric motors, nearly as many telephone stations, and 25 steam fire engines. It has a frontage on the Rhine of one and a half miles and handles sulphuric acids in tank steamers. In about the year 1908, it employed 217 chemists, 142 civil engineers, 8,000 workmen and a commercial staff of 918.

Another dye industry, the Farbwerke, Vormals Meister, Lucius and Bruning, in Höchst, employs 350 chemists, 150 engineers and technical experts, 600 clerks and about 10,000 workmen.

There are such four great and eighteen smaller companies in Germany involved in dyestuff industry, and in addition to these are Kahlbaum, Merck, Schering, de Haen and a host of others engaged in producing fine chemicals. So that the number of research chemists alone in all the factories, we believe, would come up to several thousands.

Under these circumstances, we can only profitably direct our energies in other channels where we have already found some indications of success. India exports annually from 12 to 14 crores of rupees worth of practically raw hides and skins. Bark tanning of a crude sort is done in Madras by *chamars* but experts are of opinion that the unscientific process adopted by them only deteriorates the quality of the skin. India again exports considerable amount of dyeing and tanning materials.

Here we have to open the first dismal chapter in the economic condition of our country. We have an abundant supply of raw materials both in hides and tannin-yielding barks and fruits and yet we remain contented with talking things aloud. It is an act of national folly and crime to allow a single raw hide or skin to leave our shores, which has not been properly turned into the finished leather. If we take the average price of a raw skin at Rs. 7, a very moderate price, a simple calculation will show that we in our helplessness and ignorance allow about 50 crores of rupees per annum to slip out of our hands.

Patience and perseverance should be our watch words. Rome was not built in a day. More than two centuries and a half ago, England produced a Newton and a Boyle and in the nineteenth century a Faraday and a Kelvin. In Germany, again, Agricola, who has been called the Father of Mineralogy, was born in 1494 being the contemporary of Paracelsus the Great. The celebrated Glauber who was born in 1604, i.e. more than three centuries ago, wrote his encyclopaedic work—"The Prosperity of Germany"—in six volumes, in which he pointed out that the application of science to industry would be the means of bringing forth untold wealth to his Fatherland. The self-sacrifice and assiduity of Bernard Palissy, the founder of modern art pottery, are known to all of you. The services rendered to ceramics by Pott who died in 1692, are no less invaluable. "The mode of preparation of the Meissen porcelains being naturally kept secret, the King of Prussia instructed the celebrated chemist Pott to determine the nature of materials used, and he, being unable to obtain any satisfactory explanation, was obliged to investigate the properties of those substances which might possibly be used in the manufacture, mixed in varied proportions; for this purpose Pott is said to have made no less than thirty thousand experiments. To these we are mainly indebted for the establishment of the reactions which occur when various minerals are heated, and much valuable information applicable to the manufacture of porcelain was thus obtained."

Very few of us realize the training that is necessary and the research that has to be done before success can be achieved.

The Badische Company spent seventeen years completing the indigo work after the first synthesis and expended about a crore and half rupees before a pound was put on the market.

Like the other advanced nations we must pass through a probationary and evolutionary period and should not be in a hurry to reap the fruit before we sowed the seed.

Local conditions and the genius of the people should determine which particular industry should be chosen. Jute mills flourish on the banks of the Hooghly for cotton mills Bombay and Central Provinces offer greater facilities. For tobacco manufacture Rungpore Cooch Behar Tirhut and the adjoining districts are favourable. For the metallurgy of aluminium not only proximity to the ore bauxite but also to water powers should be looked for as already pointed out. In this respect the location of the Tata Iron Works has been almost an ideal one. Not only is there limitless supply of superior quality of hematite but coal and limestone are within very easy reach. Local circumstances will often secure a monopoly for peculiar industries provided of course the people are advanced in scientific attainments. In Germany, the Stassfurt mines contain an almost inexhaustible deposit of potash and magnesium salts. The blockade of Germany has resulted in the cutting off of this supply of these two chemicals. The entire world including America is now suffering from what has been called a potash famine. Potash is not only a basis for many important chemicals e.g. dichromate of potash permanganate of potash but in a crude form is an essential constituent for manures. Magnesium sulphate is largely consumed in the textile industries. Before the war broke out this chemical used to sell at Rs 38 per cwt. The post war price has fluctuated between Rs 9 to Rs 15 and only a day or two before I left Calcutta my firm (the Bengal Chemical and Pharmaceutical Works Ltd.), entered into a contract with the manager of one of the leading mills on your side for a few consignments at about Rs 9 per cwt. The abnormally high price which now rules in the market for many fine chemicals notably the aniline dyes has no doubt given a stimulus to the starting of chemical industries in England. But in this respect it is necessary to exercise the utmost self

restraint and caution otherwise the promoters of any hastily got up sure to be landed into dangerous quagmires. As soon as peace is concluded Germany will make a frantic effort to recapture her lost market and India along with other countries will be the unhappy dumping soil for the output of her factories. Such industries alone should be taken in hand which have a fair and reasonable chance of outliving foreign competition.

I need not tire your patience further. I shall conclude with the pregnant words of His Highness the Gaekwar uttered at the Calcutta Industrial Conference ten years ago—words which are still ringing in my ears.

The industrial prosperity of a country may be said roughly to vary directly with its exports of manufactures and imports of raw materials and inversely with the exports of raw produce and imports of manufactured goods. This is a safe and reliable canon of industrial economics. One most sad and prominent feature of the foreign trade of India is the constant excess of exports over imports which is not conducive to the prosperity of the people.

I am not increasing poverty widespread disease—all these bring home to us the fact that there is some radical weakness in our system and that something must be done to remedy it. But there is another aspect of the matter and that is that this economic problem is our last ordeal as people. It is our last chance.

Fall there and what can the future bring us? We only grow poorer and weaker—more dependent on foreign help. We must watch our industrial freedom fall into extinction and drag out a miserable existence as hewers of wood and drawers of water to our foreign power which happens to be our master.

Solve that problem and you have a great future before you the future of a great people worthy of your ancestors and your old position among nations.

Ancient India was famous for her metallurgical skill the wrought iron pillar close to the Kutub near Delhi the iron beams in the temples of Puri and Kanarak and the iron pillar at Dhar excite the wonder and admiration of even modern experts. In my History of Hindu Chemistry in the chapter devoted to the Knowledge of Technical Arts and Decline of the Scientific Spirit I have discussed some of the causes which brought about our present abject condition. I shall quote one para.

The people being relegated to the low castes and the professions made hereditary a certain degree of intellectual decay and stiffness in mental action was no doubt secured but this was done at a terrible cost. The intellectual portion of the community being then withdrawn from the active participation in the arts the how and why of phenomena—the co-ordination of cause and effect—were lost a gift of the spirit of enquiry gradually died out amongst a nation

naturally prone to speculation and metaphysical subtleties and India for once bade adieu to experimental and inductive sciences. Her soil was rendered morally unfit for the birth of a Boyle, a Descartes or a Newton and her very name was all but expunged from the map of the scientific world."

In bringing my brief survey of the Chemical Industries to a close, I cannot but think of the many passages in which I have made mention of the difficulties in our way and the keen competition of industrial countries backed by superior scientific and technical skill. But this instead of damping our spirit should make us all the more resolute and cautious in our industrial undertakings. Already a beginning has been made. The youth of India will no longer tolerate to be told that he lacks this and lacks that. I see—I

feel the fire of life burning in him. It requires a guiding impulse and a helping hand to lead him on the right path of industrial progress. That impulse and that help are being supplied by the enlightened States of Baroda and Mysore. And in the great honour you have done me by inviting me to be before you, I read the throbbing impulse of that industrial progress that is animating you. You have already the nucleus of a chemical works here and I hope the name of your State will stand high in connection with the future industrial development of our land.

Lecture delivered at Baroda in connection with the Industrial and Agricultural Exhibition under the Presidency of H. H. the Gaekwar, on January 8, 1917. Specially revised for and contributed to the *Modern Review*

## HOW ROMANCE CAME TO DRUSILLA

BY FLORENCE GWYNNB NIXON.

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IT is said the coming events cast their shadows before, but when Drusilla ensconced herself comfortably in a third-class compartment with her two big basket cases she had not the faintest intimation of the adventure which was to befall her before she reached her journey's end. She had had the basket cases put into the compartment with her because she did not want the bother of having to hunt them out of the guard's van. Everyone knows how liable solitary female passengers are to get their luggage lost or mislaid. At any rate, Drusilla did.

Her destination was Brockenhurst Hall: her business there was the arranging of costumes and certain stage accessories for a party of guests who were getting up private theatricals. A chain of circumstances too common to be worth describing had caused Drusilla to have to earn her own living, and she had elected to become an assistant to Madame Minette, the celebrated costumier. Drusilla had any amount of good taste, was quite an artist with her needle, and having very just notions of life in general, she conceived that though she was an officer's daughter,

she was not accepting a more derogatory position in becoming assistant to madame than she would have done if she had become a governess to a pack of unruly children, or a companion to some fine lady full of insolence and whims.

It was a January afternoon; the skies were grey, betokening snow. The compartment, however, was pleasantly warmed, and Drusilla was not at all sorry to have it to herself. Just as she was thinking no one could disturb her for the next hour, she was disturbed in startling fashion. Fate gave the word, and the curtain rolled up on the first scene of the drama in which she was to be called to play.

Seated in one of the corner seats, she felt a sudden rush of cold air behind her and, turning from the contemplation of the wintry fields, she became aware that in spite of the fact that the train was already well on its journey a man was entering the compartment from outside. The first glimpse she had of him was as he balanced himself on the foot-board, swaying unsteadily with the door wide open in one hand and the other arm flung

out wide. He seemed unable to make the effort necessary to get inside the compartment. Drusilla, seeing this, ran to his assistance and, seizing his arm, helped him in. Most girls of nineteen would have screamed with fright or have fainted away at such an apparition, but she had real grit in her and her first thought was to save the man's life, let him be who he might.

He sank down in the corner seat and then she began to understand why he had failed to get in without help. His left arm had caught against a piece of jagged timber which had projected from a passing goods train, and it was pretty severely torn. The blood was streaming from his wrist.

'You are hurt!' she said when she had closed the door. 'Oh, why did you try to get into the train in this way?'

She thought he had simply missed his train at the station and had made this desperate attempt to board it rather than be left behind.

His reply undeceived her and sent a thrill of horror to her heart.

'There was no other way. I am an escaped convict. The police are on my track. See! As he spoke he flung back the overcoat he wore and showed underneath the horrible livery of drab yellow marked with the black arrow. "I tell you the truth," he went on slowly, while his eyes fixed themselves steadily on her face. "I will not deceive you. Do what you like with me. Pull the communication chain and give me up to the guard and I promise you I will not stir a finger."

To be told that she may do a thing is cynics assure us, the surest way of getting a woman not to do it. Drusilla had very little perversity about her. She was one of the sweetest and most sensible of girls. Nevertheless she seemed to justify the cynics for the moment she was bidden to pull the chain she lost any latent desire she might have had to pull it. Instead she looked at her companion, and, trusting to instinct, decided he could not have done anything very wrong. His face was pale, but it was a nice face—attractive alike in feature and expression. A good mouth, a good forehead, and singularly nice eyes. No matter what the man had done he was of gentle birth and culture. Moreover, he could not be more than five or six and

twenty. Just the right age to appeal to the sympathies of a girl of nineteen. 'I—I don't want to give you up if I can help it,' she said tremulously. 'But you must tell me what you have done.'

'I have killed a man!'

Her cheek paled, and she recoiled involuntarily. The man went on eagerly, and yet with an amazing calmness. 'Don't think it was a crime committed for mercenary motives. I can't bear that you should think that. But if I am to speak nothing but the truth to you I must own that I did the deed deliberately and in cold blood. The man was a villain, he deserved death, he had done things which must have made any civilised community with a proper sense of right and wrong cry out against him. And yet the law could not touch him. He ruined a life that was the dearest thing on earth to me. I made up my mind then that it was the duty of someone to send him out of this world to answer for his sins in another. I went to him, gave him five minutes in which to repent and then I killed him. The world called it murder. I called it, and still call it, an act of justice.'

If there had been the slightest wildness in his look Drusilla would have thought she hid to deal with a man obsessed by a mania, but it was simply impossible to accept this explanation. Calm sanity looked out of his clear, unwavering eyes, his voice was unburied, his manner that of one whose will is well under the mind's control. Looking at him more closely still she noted the contours of jaw and chin, and saw that they denoted no ordinary determination and strength of character. But the was not harsh or severe on this account. The milk of human kindness ran freely in his veins, there was humour, too, last and divinest of gifts expressed by a curve of the well-cut lips and in the flash of the fine grey eye. Of course it was to kill a fellow creature, but even a teen-year-old girl could imagine tances in which such an act might epitome of justice. She waited with heart on her lips and in her eyes while he went on. 'The jury reduced the crime manslaughter—owned I had had to do it. If not justification I was sentenced ten years penal servitude. I have one year, and yesterday I escaped. You I have been perfectly frank with you don't want to whine, or to extort any

from your pity that would not be approved by your sense of right. If you think I ought to go back to prison, pull the chain!"

Suddenly Drusilla came to a decision. "I shall not do anything till I have bound up your arm," she said quietly. "Just look how it is bleeding. If it isn't stopped soon you will bleed to death."

She had been the pet of an old army surgeon before her father died, and from him had got some useful lessons. She was therefore very well-qualified for the task she set herself, which was to stop the flow of blood and to bind up the wounded arm.

Very winsome she looked with her grey-blue eyes lustrous with secret emotion, with her dark, upcurling lashes, her red, ripe mouth and her snowy brow. A man's heart must have been cold indeed if it had not been warmed by her young beauty. The touch of her soft fingers, the fragrance of her breath were intoxicating things.

She worked in total silence, but her mind was busy. When the work was done she sat down opposite her fellow-traveller and said with a composure which surprised herself: "Now, if I am to help you, I must know a little more about you than you have told me yet. First of all, what is your name?"

"Austen Clare."

She reflected a little with a puzzled look. The name was uncommon, one might almost say romantic. She wondered she had not heard and remembered it in connection with what must have been a startling case. He saw the look on her face, and said: "May I ask what it is you are thinking about so deeply? Perhaps you regret befriending me?"

"No, it isn't that. I was only wondering how it was I never read about your case, or heard of it, at the time."

Was it fancy, or did he slightly change colour as if before some unlooked-for difficulty? If he was non-plussed, it was only for the fraction of a second, however, for Drusilla suddenly recollected something, and said: "Oh, I understand it now. You say it is a little over a year since? I was out of England with my poor father at that time. I buried him in Italy."

The mention of her father conjured up old memories. Her sweet face grew pensive, and she sighed. Austen Clare sighed too, whether out of sympathy for her trouble, or at the recollection of his own,

she could not tell; but it seemed to draw them closer, and her charming eyes were bright with determination as she said: "Well, I shall do all I can for you, because I do believe your word that you did the right thing, though it seems a very dreadful one. This train will stop in about ten minutes, so we must make up our minds what you are to do. Is there any fear that the police will be looking for you?"

"There is every fear."

"Then you must be disguised. I have thought it all out. Look here." And she opened her basket-cases and showed every conceivable thing necessary for a complete "make-up" inside. "I am on my way to a house where they are having private theatricals, and I was taking these things down. I can use some of them for you. Be quick, now, and put this wig of grey hair on. That turns you into an old woman in a moment. And here is a gown, and a cloak, and a muff, and a bonnet and veil. Nobody could possibly know you in these."

He put on the articles under her directions, and in less than five minutes was metamorphosed into a rather stout elderly lady. Drusilla knew how to put the necessary "touches" to his complexion. The transformation was complete. "Give me your coat," she said, and bundled it into a basket-case and had got all made neat again when the train ran into the station where she was to alight. Indeed, the station was a terminus. She lowered the window and looked out. Not three paces away stood a policeman in earnest conversation with the station-master. The sight gave her a shock, but she bore it well. Turning round to Austen Clare, she said in a low voice: "There is a policeman here, evidently watching for you. You must come with me. Carry one of the cases. I think I know what to do."

She stepped from the train and Clare followed. His disguise was splendid. No one would have dreamed he was other than he appeared—a sedate, middle-aged, middleclass woman.

A servant in livery stepped up to Drusilla. "If you are from Madame Minette, Mrs. Hartopp has sent the car for you," he said.

The constable was not two yards away. He could hear every word; Drusilla; he looked at her scrutinisingly;

especially such of them as were of the feminine sex and unmarried, it was clear that Sir Norman Carew was a social "lion" of no mean order.

Drusilla, listening in her corner, soon gathered that he was one of the richest baronets in England, and in addition was a celebrated shot, a traveller whose tales were worth listening to, and last, but not least, a writer of distinction. He had already written one successful play, and was credited with having another "on the stocks." "What a paragon!" she thought to herself amusedly, and promised herself no small food for humour when the paragon should appear.

In less than a quarter of an hour there was a bustle in the hall; the hostess hurried out and came back shortly with her newly-arrived guest. Imagine Drusilla's consternation when she recognised in him her run away convict!

Dressed now in perfect taste, quietly, and yet in the mode prescribed by the best fashion, he looked all that Drusilla's girlish fancy had ever pictured him. He was introduced to everyone in the room except herself. She in her quiet corner was so easy to overlook; and indeed Mrs. Monsall would not have dreamed of presenting to her newly-caught "lion" the little assistant from Madame Minette's.

Drusilla sat in a whirl, at one moment saying he must have come here as a colossal impostor, at the next asking herself whether it was her duty to stand up and expose him. That he had seen and recognised her she was certain. His eye had swept the room as he entered it, and though he neither changed colour nor showed any other sign of uneasiness, she could tell that he had marked her presence.

"He must be personating Sir Norman Carew, and these people here do not happen to know Sir Norman personally," was her thought, but it was soon swept away by the greetings which were showered on the newcomer. One young man present had evidently been at college with him; an old lady had known him all his life. What was the solution of the mystery? Her brain, as she tried to find a feasible one, might well be in a whirl.

Suddenly a sentence uttered in Sir Norman's clear, well-bred tones reached her ears, causing her heart to beat so violently that she literally gasped for breath.

"Talking about plays," said Sir Norman, "I should like to tell you an amazing adventure which befell me a week or so ago."

Everyone expressed eager desire to hear the story, but by no one was that desire felt as by the pale, quivering little listener in the corner of the room.

"I had been writing a play," said Sir Norman, fixing himself where he could distinctly see that little tremulous figure, "and some of my friends read it. We had a difference of opinion. One man declared that the leading situation was not only unnatural, but impossible. Briefly, it dealt with the escape of a convict from Dartmoor. The convict enters a train and throws himself on the mercy of the heroine, a young girl who is travelling alone. She believes his story, sympathises with him, and helps him to escape. My friend said no girl would do this. We had a rather warm dispute, and I made a bet that I would prove the truth to life of my play. I undertook to get into a train, dressed as a convict, and to win help and sympathy of a fellow-passenger."

"And did you do it?" queried half-a-dozen eager voices.

"I did it!" said Sir Norman, slowly. As he spoke he fixed his eyes apparently upon a painting on the wall, but really they never rose higher than Drusilla's charming figure just beneath it. "I did it, and in doing it met with the adventure of my life. I went to a certain railway station wearing a convict's dress, which I had got from a theatrical agent, under my overcoat. I watched the passengers enter the train, and noticed among them a young girl with the sweetest, brightest face I had ever seen. She was alone in a compartment. In a moment I made up my mind that that girl was the person whose sympathies I must gain. To do that meant a good deal more to me than the mere winning of my bet. I let the train leave the station, and then jumped on to the foot-board and entered her compartment. In doing so I chanced to hurt my hand rather badly. That girl was an angel. I posed as the character in my play. I used the very words of the play, as I had pledged myself to do. She justified me in every particular, for she believed my story, sympathised with my wrongs, and helped me to escape. Of course, I won my bet."

"What a romance!" cried everyone.



helpless, and the establishment and maintenance of institutions of public utility.<sup>1</sup>

1 For royal duties, the following works may be consulted —

'Satapatha-Brahmana' (S B E) Part III, Kanda V, Adhyaya 4

'Brahmana' 4, para 5, Part IV, Kanda IX, Adhyaya 3,

'Brahmana' 3, paras 10 & 11, Part IV, Kanda IX, Adhyaya 4,

'Brahmana' 1, paras 1 & 13, Part V, Kanda XI, Adhyaya 2,

'Brahmana' 7, para 17, Part V, Kanda XIII, Adhyaya 1,

'Brahmana' 5, para 4, Part V, Kanda XIII, Adhyaya 2,

'Brahmana' 2, para 7, &c.

*Manu* VII, 2 3 35, 80, 88, 111 112, 142 144 203, VIII, 41 42, 46, 172, 303 309, IX, 253, X, 80, 119—

(protection of the people under his care)

*Ibid*, VII, 54 59, 60 68, 81—appointment of officials.

*Ibid*, VII, 146 183, 205 216, IX, 294 299—(consultation)

*Ibid*, VII, 79, 145—(giving audience)

*Ibid* VII, 37 38, 79, 82 86, 88, 134 136, 145 VIII, 395, IX, 313 323, XI, 4, 21 23—(encouragement & honour to Brahmanas)

*Ibid*, VIII, 27 29—(support of the helpless).

*Ibid*, VII, 127 133, 137 139, X, 118, 120, VIII, 401 403—(financial & economic duties)

*Ibid*, VII, 14 34, VIII, 302 303, 310 311, 335, 343 347, IX, 252 293, 312, VIII, 1 8, 43, IX, 233 234, VIII, 9 10, 18 19, 40-44, 126 129, 171 173, IX, 249—(judicial duties)

*Ibid*, VII, 78 79, 145—(appointment of priests & sacrifice)

*Manu* VII, 39-42, 43, 44 53, IX, 301 311—(personal duties).

*Ibid*, VII, 69-76 99 100, 201 203, 222, IX, 25, 223, X, 115, 119—(military duties)

'Apastamba' (S B E), 'Prasna' II, 'patala' 10, 'Khanda' 25, paras 1 15, 'Prasna' II, 'patala' 10, 'Khanda' 26, paras 1 17

'Gautama' (S B E), ch VIII, paras 1 ff, ch XI, paras 1 31

'Vasistha' (S B E), ch XIX, paras 1-20, 22 48.

'Baudhayana' (S B E), 'Prasna' I, 'Adhyaya' 10, 'Kandika' 18, paras 1 20.

'Vishnu' (S B E), ch III, 2 98.

'Yajñavalkya' (M N Dutta's ed.), ch I, 309-368

'Parasara' (*Ibid*), ch I, 56 59.

'Sankha' (*Ibid*) ch I, 4

'Hārta' (*Ibid*), ch II, 2 5

'Attri' (*Ibid*) ch I, 14 17, 22 24, 77, 28, 29.

The following 'Puranas' speak also of royal duties —

'Matsya Purāna', chs 115 227

'Skanda Purāna', 'Nagara khanda', ch. XII, slks. 66 (scanty)

'Bhāgavata', 4th 'Skanda' ch 14, slks 14 20, ch 20, slks 13 16

'Mārkaṇḍeya Purāna', ch 27, ch 34, slks 113 117; ch 18, slks 1 ff

'Agni Purāna', chs. 220, 227, 223 224, 225, 227, 233; 234, 235, 236 237, 238, 239 240, 241, 242.

The duties are heavy and numerous, and the conscientious monarch who undertakes to follow the injunctions has to work very hard to discharge properly his responsibilities. Many of the aforesaid duties have religious sanctions at their back making the task all the more heavy for one who wears the crown

#### KING'S IDEAL, DAILY ROUTINE ACCORDING TO KAUTILYA

The traditional ideal daily routine of a monarch for the performance of his heavy duties is laid down in a good many works going back to an ancient date. The one given by the *Arthashastra* divides the day and night into 16 equal parts and allots to each part a particular item of his duties

Day—(1) 6 AM to 7:30 AM is devoted to looking after the defence of the country and the supervision of the finances,

(2) 7:30 to 9 to the supervision of the affairs of the townspeople and provincials,

(3) 9 to 10:30 to ablution, dining and study,

(4) 10:30 to 12 to the collection of state dues from the heads of the departments (*Adhyakshas*),

(5) 12 AM to 1:30 PM to correspondence with absent ministers,

(6) 1:30 to 3 to amusements or self-deliberation,

(7) 3 to 4:30 to the inspection of elephants, horses, chariots and infantry,

(8) 4:30 to 6 PM to consultation with the commander-in-chief and evening-prayers at night fall,

Night—(1) 6 PM to 7:30 PM to interview with the secret agents,

(2) 7:30 to 9 to ablution, supper and study,

(3), (4) and (5) 9 to 10:30 to entering the bed-chamber amid sounds of trumpets, and sleep,

(6) 10:30 to 3 to waking amid trumpet-sounds and calling to mind the *Sāstric* injunctions and the duties of the ensuing day,

(7) 3 to 4:30 to convening the council

'Garuda Purāna', chs. 111, 112, 113

'Devī Purāna', ch 9, slks. 10 ff.

'Vishuddharma Purāna' (uttara khanda), ch. 3

'Kālikā Purāna', chs. 84 & 85

'Kāmandakiya Nisarsa', 'sarga' 1

'Sukranisarsa', (Prof. B. K. Sarkar's S.B.H., pp 4, 6, 7, 11, 23 35 and 63

and sending out secret agents on their errands,

(8) 4.30 to 6 A.M. to receiving benedictions in the company of his tutors and domestic and sacrificial priests, interview with the physician, head cook and astrologer, and entering the court after perambulating a cow with her calf and a bull.

The above divisions of the time table however admit of alterations to suit the capacity of a particular monarch. The routine does not leave much leisure to the king but keeps him occupied with some State business or other the greater part of the day. There are only three hours during which he is set free from the cares of the State (9 to 10.30 and 1.30 to 3). His labours come to a close at 7.30 in the evening after which he gets seven hours and a half at a stretch of which about 6 hours are devoted to sleep. The rest of the day and night (viz. 24—10½ or 13½ hours) is divided among the various state engagements. It should be noted that these hours do not all impose upon the monarch brain work or physical worry of the same intensity. The time for instance from 4.30 A.M. to 6 A.M. is of comparative rest as also a few other time divisions and their fractions during which his work is more passive than the rest of his working hours. The time expressly set apart for study recurs twice during day and night. Though it adds to the volume of his intellectual work the period allowed to it is short considering that it is to be snatched from the hours of ablution and dinner. However, the sort of life implied by the routine is one of much stress and strain and pressure of work explaining the necessity of disciplined life essential to kingship.

The second division of time in the morning (7.30 to 9) is an important one devoted as it is to giving audience to the public and considering a variety of matters affecting the people at large. The king is enjoined to make himself easily accessible to the petitioners and attend personally to the subjects of their applications in the following order instead of entrusting every thing to his officials<sup>1</sup>—

(1) Deities (*devatā*) (2) abodes of ascetics

<sup>1</sup> Durda so h raja karyā k rya viparyāsān asī  
nyā h karyāte. Tena prakṛit kopamrīṣaṣaṣam vā  
<sup>2</sup> het—Arthasāstra Bā 1 Rājapran dh pp 38

(*āśrama*), (3) heretics (*paśhanda*), (4) Brāhmanas versed in the *Vedas* (*śrotriya*), (5) lower animals (*paṣu*), (6) sacred places (*pūjya-  
sthāna*) (7) minors, as also (8) the old (9) the diseased (10) the distressed (*trāṣaṇi*), (11) the helpless and (12) women. The above order of business may however be changed owing to importance or urgency of a particular item<sup>1</sup>.

IT IS PRACTICALLY SIMILAR IN MANU'S  
DUTY AND SOME IN ARTHAS

The routine as set forth in the *Samhitās* is in substance almost the same as the one in the *Arthasāstra* Manu<sup>2</sup> and

1. Kātya gauravādāy kavasena vā, Bā 4, p 39  
The reason is given thus—

Sarvamatyay kam karyam ar nuyannat pāyate  
kr chchhrasādhyamaukrantamasādhyā n va v jīyate

[i.e. all urgent business should be forthwith attended to and never postponed, (for otherwise) it grows either (1) difficult (2) almost beyond remedy or (3) unperformable. Bā 4, p 39 1st couplet.] The formality observed when attending to business concerning the ascetics is that of returning to the room containing the sacred fire where the work is to be done in the company of the teacher (*achārya*) and the domestic priest (*purohita*) (and persons learned in the 3 Vedas). The king is to rise from his seat and salute the ascetic petitioners. He is however enjoined not to do the work regarding persons versed in sorcery lest he personally incurs the red displeasure (*Vādya tapasya nām* in the second couplet may mean "ascetics learned in the Vedas" or "physicians and ascetics"). Vā 2nd and 3rd couplets. *Arthasāstra* Bā 1, Rājapran dh<sup>1</sup> p 39.

2. Buhler's Manu (S B E) —

"[Havog r sen in the last watch of the night having performed (the rite of) personal purification having with a collected mind offered oblations in the fire and having worshipped Brāhmanas he (the king) shall enter the hall of audience which must possess the marks (consecrated auspicious (for a dwelling).]"—VII 245

Tarrying there he shall gratify all subjects (who come to see him by a kind reception) and afterwards dismiss them. Having dismissed his subjects he shall take counsel with his ministers.—VII 245

"[Having consulted with his ministers on all these (matters) having taken exercise and having bathed afterwards the king may enter the harem at midday in order to dine."—VII 246

Adorned (with his robes of state) let him again inspect his fighting men all his chariots and beasts of burden the weapons and accoutrements. Buhler's Manu (S B E)—VII, 22

Having performed his twilight devotions let him, well armed bear in an inner apartment the dogs of those who make secret reports and of his spies.—VII 23

But going to another secret apartment and dismounting those people he may enter the harem surrounded by females (servants) in order to dine again.—VII 224.

Yājñavalkya<sup>1</sup> give details, as also some of the *Purāṇas*

#### THE ĀGNI PURĀṆA

The time-table in the *Āgni Purāṇa*<sup>2</sup> cor-

Having eaten there something for the second time, and having been recreated by the sound of music, let him go to rest and rise at the proper time free from fatigue—VII, 225.

A king, who is in good health must observe these rules, but, if he is ind spoiled, he may entrust all this (business) to his servants—VII, 226

1 'Yājñavalkya' (M N Dutta's ed) —

"Having risen up early in the morning, he (king) should personally look after the work of collection and disbursement, next he should attend to law suits, after which he should bathe and take his meal at ease— I, 327.

"He should then deposit in the treasury the gold brought by persons engaged in the work and then see the secret agents, after which he should with his ministers send the envoys on their errands—I 328

"Thereafter he should enjoy his leisure alone or in the company of ministers. Next he should take counsel with his commander in chief after the inspection of the army"—I 329

"Then after evening adoration, he should listen to the confidential reports of the secret agents. He should then enjoy singing and dancing, take his meal and study"—I, 330.

"He should then go to sleep amid sounds of trumpets and get up from bed similarly, when he should cogitate the scriptural injunctions and all his duties"—I, 331

"Then with respectful welcome he should send secret emissaries to the dominions of other kings as well as his own after receiving blessings from his sacrificial priest, domestic priest and teacher. Next, he should see his astrologers and physicians and confer on the Brahmanas learned in the Vedas, kine, gold, land, houses and their furniture.—I, 332, 333

2 'Āgni Purāṇa,' ch 235, śloka 17

"Pushkara said, I shall relate to you the daily routine of the king. It is called 'ajasa karma' i.e. incessant work. When there are only two 'muhurtas' (48 minutes) before the break of dawn the king should get up from bed amid music and singing of paṇegyrist and see the secret emissaries so privately that nobody can recognize them when on duty as his men. Next, he should attend to his income and disbursement and then after attending the calls of nature, he should go to his bathing house. There, after cleaning the teeth and taking bath, he should perform the 'Sandhya' service, repeat prayers and worship Vasudeva. He should then make sacred offerings to the fire and worship the manes of his ancestors, take blessings from the Brahmanas and make gifts of gold and kine. Then after decorating his person and smearing it with unguents he should see the reflection of his face in a mirror as also in clarified butter kept in a gold receptacle. Then he should hear the auspicious or inauspicious nature of the day, take the medicines prescribed for him by the royal physicians, touch the auspicious articles, make obeisance to his superiors and

responds in its main features with the traditional type

#### THE DEVĪ PURĀṆA

The *Devī Purāṇa* gives a similar programme of royal duties<sup>3</sup>

then enter his hall of audience where, Oh Highly Fortunate, he should receive the Brahmanas, the ministers and the officers of the court as also such of his subjects as would be announced by the usher. Then having heard the reports of works, he should determine the steps to be taken, and then proceed to adjudicate law suits, after which he should consult his ministers on important matters. A king should take counsel neither with a single minister nor with too many, nor with the ignorant and untrustworthy. He should carry into action those schemes that have been well thought over and will not therefore injure the State. He should not betray his secrets by looks and gestures, for the wise can gather other's intentions from those outward signs. A king following the advice of his astrologers, physicians and ministers attains prosperity, for the latter are the custodians of the former welfare. Council dissolved the king should take physical exercise with a discus or sword, or on a carriage. Then he should bathe in a tank free from aquatic animals, and see that the God Viṣṇu has been duly worshipped, that the sacrificial fire has been duly lighted and offerings made to it, and that the Brahmanas have been properly honoured with presents. Then having decorated his body he should make gifts, and next take his meal which has been duly tested. Then, he should take dressed betel and rest awhile on his left side. Then, after the inspection of the army, armoury and store house he should peruse the dāstras. He should then finish his evening prayer and send the secret agents to the works previously thought over by him. Thereafter he should take his supper and enter the seaaglio. The king being well protected should do this every day amid songs and sounds of musical instruments."

3 'Devī Purāṇa,' ch 2, śloka 69/76 —

Having divided the day into 8 portions and the night into ghatikas, (hora) (a king) energetically applies himself to his duties

He rises from bed at the 'Brahma Muhurta' (the period included between the 4th Ghatika and the 2nd before sunrise) and after attending the calls of nature cleans his teeth by a tooth stick of the efficacious 'kantakā tree twig' after repeating the 'agama' i.e., the 'Anaspadya mantra'. The teeth being cleaned in the prescribed way, he sees the reflection of his face in a mirror or in clarified butter and makes gifts of cows. He then comes to the audience hall and looks into the affairs of the petitioners impartially, irrespective of friends or enemies. Next, he looks into his finances, after which in the company of priests who apprise him of the hour for religious duties, he goes to bathe, and propitiates the gods and the manes of his ancestors, performs sacrifice, takes his meal and engages in some diversion. Then he comes to the court and after inspection of military matters, he dismisses all from his presence except his ministers with whom he takes counsel, by which he comes to know of

THE ROUTINE FOLLOWED IN PART BY KRISHNA  
IN THE BHAGAVATA PURANA

A portion of this routine up to the holding of court in the assembly-hall (the differences in details being excepted) is represented in the *Bhagavata-Purāna* as being followed by Krishna in his capital at Dvārakā

IT IS ALSO GIVEN IN THE *Raghuvamśa*

The *Raghuvamśa* refers to the traditional routine upon which Mallinātha makes his commentation adding some details<sup>1</sup>

enemies and neutrals, and the "circle" of his near and distant neighbours with whom he has to maintain political and diplomatic relations, and in the light of these facts, he makes provision for eight kinds of forts, increase of wealth, defence of his kingdom and punishment of enemies. He also receives informations about the actions of his subjects and classifies them. He thus carries on his administration free from the eighteen vices

<sup>1</sup> See 'Bhagavata Purāna,' Skanda 10, ch. 70, slks. 4-17

Having risen at the 'Brāhma muhurta' and cleansed his teeth and eased himself, he soothed his senses then after religious meditation, he took bath in pure water, performing the necessary rites connected therewith and put on clothes. Next, he performed the 'Sāndhya service and studied the 'Vedas,' performed sacrifice and repeated within himself the mantras. Then he bowed to the rising sun and worshipped the gods, ascetics, the manes of his ancestors, his superiors as well as learned Brahmanas. Next he made gifts of cows to Brahmanas, made obeisance to the gods, Brahmanas, preceptors, superiors and cows, and touched auspicious articles. Then he put on clothes, ornaments, garlands and smeared his body with unguents, saw the reflection of his face in clarified butter and mirror, and took a view of cows, bulls, Brahmanas and images of gods. He next fulfilled the wishes of the people of his seraglio and the city after which he distributed garlands, betels and unguents among Brahmanas, and met his friends, relations and subjects. He then got on his chariot and went to his audience hall called 'Sudharma.

<sup>2</sup> The 'Raghuvamśa' has this sloka (Sarga 17, slk. 49) —

Katrindiva vibhageshu yadāśṣṭam mahikṣitam.  
Tat siṣhe nyogena sa vikalpa parān-mukhaḥ (He followed regularly and confidently what has been enjoined as the table of daily duties for the kings by dividing the day and night into the proper divisions)

Mallinātha's explanation is as follows —

'Katrindivamīti ahorātrayoh ityarthah tayoh vibhagah amśa praharadayaḥ teshu mahikṣitam rajam yat āśṣṭam ida naṣmīn kālē kṛtavyamīti manvāgibhiḥ upadīśitam tat sah rājā vikalpa parān-mukhaḥ sansāyarahitah san nyogena nischayena siṣhe anushīṭavān ityarthah.' [i.e. katrindivamīti means the day and night; their divisions refer to the prahara' &c. according to which kings are enjoined to regulate their actions 'āśṣṭam' refers to the rules that have been laid down by Manu and others

AND ALSO IN THE *Dasakumāra charita* WHERE  
DANDI PARODIES KAUTILYA

Dandi, in his *Dasakumāra charita*, parodies the Kautilya routine but hands down the tradition<sup>1</sup>

enjoining that a particular work should be done at a particular time, that king followed the rules regularly and without any doubt in his mind as to their propriety]

1 Day — "The king rises from his bed in the 'first' of the eight divisions of the day' hears reports concerning his income and disbursement, after having washed his face in a hurry and devoured a handful or half-handful of food. The cunning heads of government departments of a king, who does not hear them attentively, rob him of double his wealth and multiply thousandfold the four hundred means of collection of wealth enjoined by Chanakya.

In the 'second division' of the day, the king passes his life distressfully with his ears burnt so to speak by the hubbub of mutually quarrelling subjects. The king judges decree or dismiss the cases of the suitors at will, bringing sin and disrepute upon their master, and wealth to themselves.

The 'third division' is the time for bath and meal. So long as his food is not fully digested, his fear of being poisoned does not leave him. After meal, he stands up, in the fourth division, with his hands stretched out for gold.

In the fifth division, he suffers great pain from consultation with his ministers. Then also the ministers individually or collectively grow indifferent, and turn at will to their evil design the good or bad qualities of things, the reports of envoys and secret agents, the practicability or otherwise of actions, as well as the states of undertakings due to time and place, and are supported by the "circles" of friendly, inimical and neutral kings bringing their master under their control by secretly and in the guise of peace-makers inflaming the anger of people within and outside the kingdom.

In the 'sixth division' (3½ dandas, i.e., 1½ hrs) he engages either in amusements or conversation.

In the 'seventh,' comes the inspection of the military force composed of its four elements.

The 'eighth' is devoted to consultation with his commander-in-chief regarding military matters.

Night — Having performed the 'Sāndhya' service, he sees the secret agents in the 'first division of the night.' Through them the very cruel uses of weapons, fire and poison are to be provided for.

In the 'second,' after meal, he commences religious studies like a Brāhmana versed in the Vedas.

In the 'third,' he goes to bed amid sounds of trumpets while the fourth and the 'fifth' find him asleep, fast asleep, because of the incessant mental worry by which he enjoys the pleasure of sleep like an ascetic.

In the 'sixth,' he cogitates the Śāstras and his own duties.

The 'seventh' is devoted to the sending of secret informants on their duties after consultation. They by their sweet words gain wealth from the sender as well as the person to whom they are sent, and increase it by commerce through routes where they have

IT IS ALSO FOUND IN MEGASTHENES.

The regular round of daily duties of the sovereign is fragmentarily referred to by the Greek ambassador Megasthenes: "The king may not sleep during the daytime..... He leaves his palace.....for the purpose of judging causes." He then remains in court for the whole day, without allowing the business to be interrupted, even though the hour arrives when he must needs attend to his person,—that is, when he is to be rubbed with the cylinders of wood. He continues hearing cases while the friction, which is performed by four attendants, is still proceeding. Another purpose for which he leaves his palace is to offer sacrifice".

The 'audition' programme of dānāt duties as we find it, is the result of evolution through centuries dating back to the Vedic times. The discharge of heavy responsibilities of the king ought to follow a method; and the method that was recommended to the monarch was one matured by the wisdom of statesmen. The monarch could no doubt alter it to suit himself but the freedom was hedged in by limits which he could not overstep. The considerations by which the programme was framed are briefly stated in a sloka of the *Mahābhārata*

to pay any tolls, and roam about by skilfully creating works where there are none

In the 'eighth,' the priest and other come to him and say &c."

1 Cf. the Vedic injunction, "mā diva svapit (or susupthāh)" found in several 'Grihya Sūtras,' 'Brāhmanas' &c.

2 See 'Megasthenes, Fragm. XXVII.

*viz.* equable pursuit of *dharma*, *artha* and *kāma* (for explanation of these terms, see *supra*).

THE GENERAL PRINCIPLES BEHIND THE ROUTINE.

The general principles to guide the monarch in the regulation of his duties are found in both the *Rāmāyana* and the *Mahābhārata* and also in a Vedic injunction by Dakṣa with which the later developments seem to have a relation of direct descent.

The injunction is as follows:—

Purvāhne chāchareddharmam madhyāhne'rtham upārjayet, Sāyāhne chācharet kāmam-ityeshā vaidikī srutih.<sup>1</sup> (Forenoon is for religious duties, midday for acquisition of wealth, and evening for diversion: such is the Vedic saying).

1 Sabhaparva, ch. 5, ślk. 20—

Kachchidarthancha dharmancha kāmancha jayamvara Vibhajya kale kale kālaya sadā varada sevase

2 & 3 'Rāmāyana, sarga 100, ślk. 17—

Kachchinidrasvasim nūshi kachchit-kale 'vabudhyase, Kachchichchavratresbu chintayasyarthanapunam. The 'Mahābhārata' (Sabhaparva, ch. 5, ślk. 29) repeats the above sloka with the variation of the last expression into "chintayasyarthamarthavit" (Nilakantha comments on the sloka as follows:—Yatthā's'am svapnapravodhatā brāhme muhūrte 'matyādibhih sīhā kritasya mantrasya puryaglochanam kartavyam Brāhme muhūrte chotthaya chintayedātmāno hitamitī smritestadā nirmito'rtho na viplovata ityavastīyat)

Also 'Mahābhārata,' Sabhaparva, ch. 5, ślk. 85—

Kachchit dvau prathamau yāmau rātre supṛā viśampate, Sanchayā dharmatathau yāma utthāya paschimē.

1 Vide Nilakantha's commentation on sloka 20, ch. 5 of the 'Sabhaparva' (Mahābhārata).

## THE VICEROY'S CONVOCATION SPEECH

IN the speech which His Excellency the Viceroy delivered last month at the Convocation of the Calcutta University as its Chancellor, he said that he should like to speak "as one University man to other university men."

THE DREAMS AND VISIONS OF YOUTH.

He said:—

I have been 18 years of age, and am afraid it

25—9

is a long time ago I have dreamed dreams and I have seen visions and I have not forgotten them. I have every sympathy therefore with those who are stirred by causes which catch the imagination and arouse enthusiasm.

The circumstances under which young men dream dreams and see visions in England and in India are different. In England idealism does not give rise to suspicion; in India idealists form a large por-

portion of the political suspects whose names figure in the bad books of the police and some of these suspects seem to have been interned upon no evidence whatever and certainly not on any evidence that would be acceptable in law courts. A great part of the idealism of Indian young men must be political because India is a dependent country whose inhabitants do not enjoy even some of those civic rights which are enjoyed by the people of the least advanced European countries. But it is not political idealism alone which lands our lads in trouble. Religious, social, economic and educational idealism also rouse the suspicion of the police and what the police say is generally accepted as true by the highest executive authorities as Lord Carmichael's Darbar speech on the 11th December last shows. Therein he spoke of there being members of a widespread conspiracy among teachers and among those who render social service mentioning particularly the workers of a religious mission. It is not then as safe for our lads to dream dreams as it is for British youth; it is rather risky for them to talk of their dreams and positively dangerous to write about them though neither their dreams nor the plans if any for their realisation may be in the least unlawful or criminal.

It is true idealism may sometimes take a wrong turn. But it is the part of wisdom not to penalise or discourage a thing because evil may come out of it. Every one who possesses a match box is neither an incendiary nor a possible incendiary, nor is a match factory a breeding ground of criminals.

The daily work of the police brings them into contact with criminals and consequently they see very much more of the dark side of human nature than its bright side. Moreover they cannot be good detectives unless they have an extra dose of suspiciousness. These causes make the police bad judges of human altruism. They can not generally understand how or why men should teach poor people without it pay or why they should give help to people rendered helpless by flood, famine or epidemic, without any hope of gain or any ulterior selfish or bad motive. No doubt whenever circumstances require it the police should keep watch over particular movements or persons but they should

under no circumstances be practically made the arbiters of their destiny. Police underlings should be strictly ordered not to interfere with schools or social service work. If Government tells the police to keep watch over or report upon particular persons or movements they generally manage by threats and other means to make short work of them in order to minimise their own work and have as easy a time as possible. This is the underlying cause of the closing of many night schools and other schools for the working classes in Bengal.

There are many things to be done in connection with the dreaming of dreams and the seeing of visions by our young men. It has to be seen that their dreams regarding the development of their personality and the fields of their future activities are of the right kind and circumstances should be made favourable for the dreaming of such dreams. Those who wish India to have a bright future should also try to make the conditions favorable for the growth of the right kind of idealism in religion, politics, education and social service in general. The statesman's concern should be to prevent the confounding of the idealist with the political suspect. His concern should also be not so much to punish those whose idealism is about to lead them astray as to make it possible to warn them and guide their steps aright.

May it be hoped that Lord Chelmsford's sympathy with those who are stirred by causes which catch the imagination and arouse enthusiasm will take a practical shape? Should he try to show his sympathy in a practical manner, our observations might be of use in indicating how and in what directions help was needed.

#### CHARACTER AND THE RESPONSIBILITY OF CITIZENSHIP

The Viceroy asked what then do we look for from you as a result of your University life? and answered —

First — That you should come out with your character formed and strengthened and that that character should be no unworthy one and next

That you should come out new ready to take up the duties of citizenship and play your part in the common life.

In short men with character and purpose. As I look back to my University days I believe my undergraduates were largely held by these two ideas. Character and the responsibility of Citizenship. For us it was largely a matter of tradition. On

walls of our Colleges we could see the portraits of those who had played a great part in the life of the State. We too, in the lesson of the past as naturally as we had imbibed our mother's milk.

For you the task is a harder one. Your University is still young and though you have had distinguished alumni in the past and you have them in the present your tradition is not yet one of centuries. On your shoulders then lies the responsibility of moulding the tradition which is to be handed on.

Most Englishmen sojourning in India have two ideals of character. One they keep for their own sons, the other they prescribe for ours. We do not know which the Viceroy had in view when he spoke to the graduates on character. It is not our intention to write a complete essay on the subject. We wish simply to point out that the English ideal of character for "home" consumption is not merely that of harmlessness, which is sometimes born of weakness. This ideal certainly has the negative connotation of harmlessness. It also includes purity. But it lays special emphasis on grit, on courage, on self assertion, on love of country, and on all the other manly virtues. It values discipline not for its own sake, still less for producing soulless machines, but for some ulterior high object. Here in India, the emphasis is laid not on strength of character, but on its harmlessness. Subserviency to authority,—no matter what the character of that authority is, is particularly valued. Submissiveness is a perfect gem, no matter to what or whom you are required to submit. Artists speak of a line of beauty. The British birds of passage in India see this ideally beautiful line in the curved backbone of the obsequious Indian, though in their own country they prefer an erect posture. The British bureaucrat in India sees great danger to the character of Indian lads if they become Congress volunteers, or listen to speeches delivered in the Congress pandal, but he will not take any effective steps or even utter a word of warning to discourage them from attending theatres where the actresses are invariably women of ill fame and the moral atmosphere is foul, nor will he do anything to prevent juveniles from drinking or smoking.

We value discipline, obedience, respect for lawful authority as much as we ought to. But we also lay stress on all the virtues which go to make men. The ideal for our sons which the Anglo-Indian bureaucrat has in view is that of a political animal

born to be ruled and to act as pliant and obedient tools and taxpayers and producers of raw material. This is practically the whole of his ideal of character for Indians. Our own political ideal of character is that which makes a man fit to win and exercise self rule. But our whole ideal does not end here. We want our youth to be chaste in thought and word and deed, to keep our old world courtesy, to be deeply spiritual and to be loving and self-sacrificing in all forms of social service.

Character is formed and strengthened by study, thinking, contact with the world, and active work. As the official prescription is intended to confine our students merely in 'an atmosphere of pure study,' which is another absolute, the other conditions for the formation and strengthening of character, besides those of the classroom, have to be supplied. Who is going to supply them and how? It is to be remembered that, as Macaulay says, 'the virtue which the world wants is a virtue which can expose itself to the risks inseparable from all spirited exertion.'

We do not ascribe to the Viceroy the bureaucratic ideal of character meant for Indians. But as His Excellency has to pass his days almost exclusively in the atmosphere of Anglo-India, we have ventured to make some remarks on Anglo-India's ideal of character for Indian consumption, and our ideal.

As right and duty, rights and responsibilities go together, whenever there is a reference to duty and responsibility, the thought of our rights naturally occurs to us. What rights of citizenship have we, that we are called upon to discharge the duties of citizens? In what sense are we citizens? By asking the questions we do not mean to imply that persons who have no civic or political rights have no duties. Duties they have as human beings, and if they have no or few civic or political rights it is their duty to win them. What we mean to say is that those who do not possess the rights of citizenship cannot be called upon to shoulder the responsibility of citizenship. It should also be borne in mind that the power to do the duties of citizenship grows by conscious and unconscious education. The teaching of history and geography is a means of such education, but these subjects have been assigned an inferior place in India for some years past. Civics is a subject taught

in many free countries for giving such education, but it is not included in our school curricula. Student self-government, as a training ground for political and civic self-rule exists in many states, it does not exist in India. Our students are not allowed to have as much contact with contemporary history which is another name for politics as Western students have. Under these circumstances how can they be expected to come out men ready to take up the duties of citizenship? "An atmosphere of pure study" can make men ready only for the life of clerks or bookworms.

On the walls of British Colleges Lord Chelmsford and his fellow students could see the portraits of those who had played a great part in the life of the State. We took in the lesson of the past as naturally as we had imbibed our mother's milk. What are the great parts in the life of the State which His Excellency a youthful listener could expect to play? For the most part, those of clerical hands in offices of assistant masters in high schools, of privates in the army of the Empire, of extra assistant commissioners of sub-deputy and deputy collectors of subordinate civil judges of sub-inspectors and deputy superintendents of police, of sub-inspectors deputy inspectors, assistant inspectors and additional inspectors of schools, of junior professors of government colleges and, in only a few cases, of puisne judges of High Courts and of additional members of those glorified debating clubs which are known as legislative councils. His Excellency was perfectly right when he told his youthful audience, 'For you the task is a harder one. On your shoulders then lies the responsibility of moulding the tradition which is to be handed on.' We wish them joy of the glorious constitutional struggle that lies before them! May they win many a bloodless victory by intellect, ability and character! And if they have to suffer, may they be able to face their trials like men!

#### "THE CALL TO THE RISING GENERATION"

His Excellency has nobly voiced the call to the rising generation.

Each generation has its particular call and for you in these days I believe the call has come to do something for the education of your country and the improvement of its material welfare.

\* For the headmastership is slowly being usurped by the European members of the Indian Educational Service.

The call then to our generation is I believe to educate our people and to improve their material welfare. I may put it perhaps you that I shall do it that is in my power to enable you to answer that call.

His Excellency will be the greatest benefactor of India if he succeeds in keeping his promise. We think it our duty, however, to tell him that many of those who were in the past punished as revolutionists and are still shunned were only Swadeshtis who responded to the call to improve the material welfare of their country, and many of those who have been interned or deported as conspirators are those who heard the call to educate their people and responded to it. We do not know whether it would be possible for any one who has the power to liberate them to personally investigate their cases. But they will not have suffered in vain if Government really take the Swadeshti vow and help the people to do so and if Government really under take the duty of educating all illiterate persons, juvenile and adult, and encourage all who are doing that duty. As an earnest of the fulfilment of his lordship's promise, the re-opening, at Government expense, of the free schools for working men and their children which have recently ceased to exist, would be felt as a blessing.

#### "THE GREAT PROFESSION OF TEACHING"

Regarding the 'great profession of teaching' His Excellency observed:

At the present time it is only regarded as a form of employment which will keep the wolf from the door until briefs come in or some other permanent occupation be secured. This is not as it should be. The profession of teaching is a great and honourable profession and it should engage the whole attention of those who follow it. But this is not likely to be the case so long as teachers are paid an inadequate wage. If we are to divert students on to this road we must increase the pay and opportunities of our teachers and magnify the status of the teaching profession.

There is no doubt the pay and opportunities of our teachers ought to be increased, and the status of the teaching profession magnified. Did the Viceroy include our professors among the teachers? Their pay and opportunities also require to be increased, though not to the same extent as those of schoolmasters. But we are against the enhancement of tuition fees as a means to this end.

Besides the steps that the Viceroy spoke of, others would require to be taken to



gain the object in view. The usurpation of headmasterships of high schools by members of the Indian (!) Educational Service should be at once put a stop to. The relegation of almost all Indian professors to junior professorships should cease once for all. All chairs should be filled in consideration of merit, race should have nothing to do with it. Salaries should be paid according to the work done, not according to the race or complexion of the professors as at present. Teachers should not be required to do in secret the work of the C. I. D. Such work is degrading alike to the teacher and the taught. If, as His Excellency declared, one of the objects of the University be to turn out responsible citizens that object ought to be kept in view from the very first stages of education. Teachers and professors can train up citizens only if they themselves can act as citizens. It is therefore, necessary that teachers and professors of aided and unaided institutions at any rate, should not be prevented from having anything to do with civic and political matters in a lawful and constitutional way.

#### NEW AVENUES OF EMPLOYMENT

We shall be glad if the Viceroy is able to fulfill his promise to open up new avenues of employment. He declared the policy of his Government as follows—

It is my sincere hope and it is the policy of my Government to endeavour by all means in our power to open up other avenues of employment. So long as students think that the only avenues of employment are in the legal and clerical professions so long shall we get congestion and overcrowding in those professions with consequent discouragement, disappointment and discontent. Our policy then is first to secure that there shall be as many opportunities of a livelihood as possible open to the educated classes and next to endeavour to divert the students into channels other than those of law and Government clerical employ.

It is generally assumed that among Government appointments we are fit only for clerical employ, though even many of the more highly paid clerkships are monopolised by Eurasians whose qualifications are far inferior to those of our graduates. Those bureaucrats who think that some Government posts other than clerkships may be given to Indians seem to assume that our claims have been fully met, and that we have got the maximum number of appointments to which we may be entitled. This is not true. We are entitled

to all the posts, as we are the permanent inhabitants of the country. Our deprivation of any portion of them can be tolerated only as a passing phase.

New avenues of employment certainly require to be opened up, but many of those already in existence are practically closed to us. The first step then that ought to be taken is to open these to us. In December, 1915, we published an article on "Indians and Higher Government Posts," based on the Combined Civil List published by the Pioneer Press. As the proportion of these posts now held by Indians and Europeans practically remains unaltered we print below a few figures taken from that article, which, it should be noted, dealt only with civil appointments, the commissioned ranks of the army being closed to us.

#### THE INDIAN CIVIL SERVICE.

PROVINCE	TOTAL	ICS	EUROPEANS	INDIANS.
Bengal	178	165	13	
Bombay	185	173	12	
Madras	176	165	11	
Assam	43	43	0	
Bihar Orissa	116	111	5	
Burma	125	123	2	
Central Provinces	97	93	4	
Punjab	150	145	5	
N. W. F. Province	15	15	0	
United Provinces	239	227	12	
India	1324	1260	64	

DEPARTMENTS	EUROPEANS	INDIANS
Postal Circles	56	10
Archæo. Dept.	9	8
Imp. Forest Dept.	3	0
Botan. Survey Dept.	5	2
Geolog.	18	0
Royal Indian Marine	13	0
Imp. Agricult. Dept.	13	1
Survey of India	8	0
Imp. Civil Vet. Dept.	3	0
Meteor. Dept.	9	3
Forest Research Inst.	10	3
Telegraph circles (Engin.)	76	12
Finance Dept.	57	12
Provincial Forest Depts.	228	2
Agri. Depts. (Provinces)	70	9
Customs Salt &c	179	31
Survey (Provinces)	42	2
Jail Departments	71	5
Registration Depts.	8	3
Police	740	11
Marine Depts.	44	0
Educ. Appts (Foreign Dept.)	22	1
Depts. of Public Instruct.	249	14

\* As the Combined Civil List contains the names of Deputy Superintendents of Police only for Burma the European and native officers (14 each) of that class in that province have not been taken into consideration.

Ecclesiastical Depts	219	2
Medical	379	24
Political Depts	93	5
Public Works Dept (including Aest Engines)	831	198
Miscellaneous Appts	164	3

The Imperial and Provincial Secretariats, the personal staffs of the Viceroy and the provincial rulers, the Railway Department, the Government of India Foreign Department, Posts and Telegraphs, the High Courts and Chief Courts, &c., have not been taken into account in the two tables given above. It is also to be noted that most of the appointments held by Indians are of lower grades carrying comparatively small salaries.

#### A UNIVERSITY COMMISSION

The most important announcement made in the Viceroy's speech was that next cold weather a Commission would be appointed to report upon the Calcutta University. His Excellency observed with regard to the problem of our University —

The nearer one approaches it the more difficult, the more complicated does it appear. Its immensity, the fact that the University is situated in the centre of a vast city, the necessity of adapting its work to the needs of the time and the demand of what we hope will be a great commercial and industrial development, all call for serious consideration. Shortly before the war I had occasion in connection with my work on the London County Council to study the needs of London and the report of the London University Commission. It seems to me that *mutatis mutandis* the problems of Calcutta and its University run on very similar lines and as in London it was imperative, if the University was to fill its place in the life of the community, to institute an enquiry of a very comprehensive and searching character, so too in Calcutta I believe an enquiry of the same nature is likely to be fruitful of good results. We all desire that the education given here should be of the highest and best quality and should proceed on the soundest educational lines. In London the Government of the day realised that the problem was too vast and complicated for executive action, so they appointed a Commission of very great strength presided over by Lord Haldane and the result was a report which *omnium consensu* is of the highest educational value.

We, as the Government of India, have very carefully considered the situation with regard to Calcutta University and we have come to the conclusion that a small but strong Commission, appointed to sit next cold weather on similar lines and with terms of reference following those of the London University Commission is a necessary preliminary to a constructive policy in relation to your problems and we have every hope that a Commission so appointed may give us a report of equal educational value.

I am determined that so far as in me lies the composition of this Commission shall be of the strongest possible character on the educational side, and that qualifications shall be alone considered. I am hoping to get as many as three educational

experts from England to advise us and local representatives will of course also have a place on the Commission of whom the same qualifications will be required. Educational problems should be considered with a single eye to educational efficiency and that has been, and will be my sole thought in the establishment of this Commission and in its composition.

As I told you at the outset of my address, I visited last week some of your hostels and I was struck by the excellent educational material which was there. It must be our care that these young men receive the very best education on the soundest lines that we can give. In this policy I feel sure that I shall have the cordial assent and co-operation of the University and the people of Bengal. As one long connected with education and as your Chancellor, I am anxious that educational questions should be approached from the purely educational standpoint and that our sole objective should be educational efficiency. I believe that a Commission instituted, as I have indicated, will best secure this end.

We know there is much room for improvement in our University. We know its defects and shortcomings. But, on the whole, we believe Calcutta University is as good as the other Universities of India. Bombay University, too, "is situated in the centre of a vast city; the necessity of adapting its work to the needs of the time," exists there and in the other Universities, too, there has already been "a great commercial and industrial development" in Bombay. For these reasons the appointment of a commission to consider the condition of Calcutta alone seems rather ominous. The Patna University Bill has given the public some idea of what the Government of India at present consider an ideal university. That has filled the public mind with apprehension. Lord Ronaldshay, the Governor elect of Bengal, is highly prejudiced against our university; and the commission is to sit during his regime. That is another cause of apprehension. That the apprehensions of the Bengal public are not unfounded will appear from the following observations of *The Leader of Allahabad*, which is an ably conducted organ of the United Provinces edited by a Madras journalist who is not an alumnus of Calcutta University and is not known to be partial to Bengal and Bengalis —

We will make no concealment of our apprehension about the latter part of Lord Chelmsford's address. Why does he want a commission to investigate into the affairs of Calcutta University? We, as the Government of India have carefully considered the situation with regard to the Calcutta University. What is that situation and what is there alarming or disquieting about it? How does it differ from the situation with regard to the other Indian Universities? From the Indian point of view there is a great deal that is wrong with all of them and an indepen-

dent commission which will give due weight to and an national requirements and report without fear or favour will be welcomed. But such as they are the University whose policy calls for improvement is Allahabad vastly more than Calcutta. Such as the Indian Universities are at present the least satisfactory is easily the Calcutta University thanks to the wealth of talent it commands its strong and fairly independent Senate and the splendid work done by Sir Asutosh Mookerjee as Vice-Chancellor. At the same time it is true that the University which gives the least satisfaction to Anglo-Indian critics is also Calcutta. It has been evident for some considerable time that the Government of India are not quite happy over the affairs of that University. The Chancellor of another University nearer home has even gone the length of utilising his Convocation address to cast a stone at it. What the Government of India's present ideas are on the constitution proper to an Indian University we have been allowed to know in connection with the proposed Patna University. These all are circumstances which cannot be dismissed as irrelevant in an examination of the decision to appoint a commission of investigation. Has the University Senate itself been consulted regarding it? We are not aware that it has been. Nor is it a proposal that is put forward—it is a decision which has been announced. This amounts to a censure of the conduct of affairs by the Senate. Is there a justification for it? Not that we know. In the circumstances we must maintain that there is no case for a commission of investigation and we must regret the decision of His Excellency's Government. Of course it does not follow that we prejudice the work the commission will do. We shall rather be moved by the hope that its deliberations may bear good fruit—unlike those of many another commission.

The Viceroy is "anxious" "that our sole objective should be educational efficiency." We are very much afraid of Efficiency as understood by the bureaucracy in India. For while real efficiency is seldom attained, the progress of education is thwarted under the plea of increasing efficiency. However, if Lord Chelmsford's ideal be efficient education for all who seek it, as it ought to be, we have no complaints to make. But we cannot agree that our sole objective should be the educational efficiency of an artificially limited number of students drawn from the comparatively well-to-do classes. There is no civilized country in the world where the spread of education has had to be sacrificed on the altar of Efficiency. Everywhere the extension and increase of efficiency of education have gone hand in hand. And there is a reason why for the sake of efficiency itself the universal spread of education is required. For the most efficient education the teachers and equipments must be the very best, and the students must also be the ablest available in the country. But unless all young people of an age to attend educational institutions can be accom-

modated, one can never be sure that the most capable students have been secured. Education is not a mere matter of the class room. Its quality depends greatly on the moral and intellectual atmosphere of the society to which the students belong. Even the best teachers cannot give the most efficient education to bright students, if the community from which they are drawn occupy a low moral and intellectual level. For this reason the efficiency of education demands the enlightenment of the mass of the people. A superb educational structure requires a correspondingly broad base.

Therefore to make education really efficient, not only should better pay and prospects be provided for the teachers and professors not only should there be good school and college buildings, hostels, libraries laboratories, museums, &c., but there should be free and compulsory education for all children at first up to the elementary stage and then up to the secondary stage, and the tuition fees in Colleges should be further reduced and the number of freestudentships and scholarships tenable there should be increased. It will be noticed in the article on the London University Commission's Report that not only is enhancement of fees opposed, but their lowering is recommended therein.

We have a few remarks to make regarding the composition of the commission. It is very easy to compose a commission and lay down its terms of reference in such a way as to secure a report on predetermined lines. Therefore the fact that "as many as three educational experts from England" are expected "to advise us," does not fill us with any necessarily joyous anticipations. Education is not in every respect a pure science like pure mathematics. Much depends on the particular circumstances of a country, and these experts may be very extensively ignorant of Indian conditions. "The very best education on the soundest lines" according to their ideas, may not suit us at all. Our demand is national wide national education under national control. In times of scarcity and famine, the question is not so much how to provide the best food to a select few, as how to provide enough of not unwholesome food to all to enable them to live. There is education famine in India. Let us surely have the best education we can, but equally important is

provision of education for a rapidly increasing number of students year after year. There is really no incompatibility between quality and number of recipients in education, as the condition of education in England, Germany, U. S. A., France, &c., shows. As the State derives its revenue from every village and town in the country, bare justice requires that every village and town should be in a position to profit by its educational system.

#### REPORT OF THE LONDON UNIVERSITY COMMISSION.

The Final Report of the Royal Commission on University Teaching in London

presided over by Lord Haldane, is little known in India. In our article on "Teaching and Research in Indian Colleges and Universities" published in November, 1915, we made some important extracts from it. Reference was made to it in some Notes also. In the present issue we publish an article based on the Report, which, we hope, will be found useful and interesting.

In conclusion, we wish to say that we shall be glad if the apprehensions of the public prove unfounded and if the Commission be the means of providing a better education for a larger and larger number of the youth of Bengal as years pass.

## THE LATEST PLAN OF UNIVERSITY REFORM IN ENGLAND

### I. HISTORY.

**T**HE London University was founded in 1836, chiefly through the exertions of the Non-conformists and Philosophical Radicals, as a means of imparting high education to youths outside the fold of the State Church or closely connected with a large business and political centre like London. It was, thus, a sort of protest against the older Universities of Oxford and Cambridge with their monkish ideals and medieval methods. The new university was a non-residential and *purely examining* body, with only affiliated colleges which were outside its administrative control and not entitled to any financial aid from it. On this model the Universities of Calcutta, Bombay and Madras were founded in 1854.

In 1900, the University of London was reorganised so as to be a teaching as well as an examining body, with 24 colleges (some of them being sectional and being called "schools")

This is the present strength (in 1915) of the three great English Universities:—

	No. of teachers	No. of students
Oxford ...	130	1,000
Cambridge ...	140	1,100
London ...	1140*	4,070

\* London has 860 "recognised teachers" who are in this table.

Before the war, in 1913-14, Oxford had 4,020 and Cambridge 4,420 students.

In May 1910, a Royal Commission was appointed with Lord Haldane as President

"to inquire into the working of the present organisation of the University of London, and other facilities for advanced education existing in London ;

to consider what provision should exist in the Metropolis for University teaching and research ; to make recommendations as to relations which should subsist between the University, its incorporated colleges and schools and the various public bodies concerned ;

and to recommend as to any changes of constitution and organisation which appear desirable."

The commission submitted its final report on 27th March 1913, and it was printed (Code 6717).

### II. THE IDEALS AND ESSENTIAL CONDITIONS OF A TRUE UNIVERSITY.

The Report first lays down the **Essentials of University Education** as

(i) That students should work in *constant association with their fellow students*, of their own and other Faculties, and in close contact with their teachers

(ii) *University work should differ in its nature and aim from that of a secondary school or a technical, or a purely professional school. In the secondary school definite tasks are prescribed, and pupils are mentally and morally trained by the orderly exercise of all their activities,..... in the university knowledge is pursued not only*

for the sake of the information but always with reference to the attainment of truth.

(iii) There should be close association of undergraduate and post-graduate work. Proposals which tend to their separation are injurious to both. Free intercourse with advanced students is inspiring and encouraging to under-graduates. The influence of the university as a whole upon teachers and students is lost if the higher work is separated from the lower. [Special research institutes should not form part of the university organisation.]

(iv) The establishment of a University Press, under full university control, is an essential function of the university. [Technological institution should be included among the functions of a university, but it should not be of a narrow utilitarian kind, but be based upon a thorough grounding in pure science.] The granting of degrees is not the real end of a university's existence.

Having established the above general principles, the Report lays down the conditions necessary for the realisation of the foregoing ends:—

**First condition**—*A previous sound general education*, giving the power of accurate expression and orderly thought, together with the formation of moral habits, accompanied by a wide range of study at school.

Two school examinations should be established: the lower examination, taken about the age of 16, would test the possession of a broad general education; the higher examination, taken at about the age of 18, would test a general education carried further, together with specialisation in some direction. The University should exercise pressure upon students to delay leaving school till after passing the higher examination... This additional two years [at school] would enable intending university students to make some definite preparation for the Faculty they propose to enter. *Schools*, which at present cannot provide instruction beyond the standard of the lower school examination, must raise their teaching to the higher level.

**Second condition**.—*Homogeneity of Classes*.

A homogeneous body of students is required to form the basis of a real university; the students working in classes of the nature of the German seminar must all be university students, i.e., students qualified and intending to be candidates for its

degrees, and must not include students of imperfect general education (due to the imperfections of the secondary schools) or students receiving professional education under the university without intending to take a university course (leading to a degree).

**Third condition**.—*A University Quarter*.

Constituent colleges and departments of the University worked by the University out of its own funds and through its own officials (as distinct from external colleges, which merely send up candidates for its examinations) should be grouped as near together as possible. [The centralisation of teaching is insisted upon, not that of residence in Hostels within the university limits, as at Oxford.] The creation of a University quarter would lead to economy in administration, to increased co-operation between the different departments of study, to greater intercourse between the students and teachers, and probably to a better public understanding of the University ideals and problems.

**Fourth condition**.—*University Hostels and Societies*.

The influence of the University over its students should be extended by means of residential *hostels in the suburbs*, while the Central University buildings, offices, library and club house for the Union Societies as well as the constituent colleges and departments (directly run by the University) are to be placed in Bloomsbury, in the very heart of London City, (West-Centre).

**Fifth Condition**.—*A University professoriate*.

The University must appoint, pay, pension and dismiss its teachers. The University may be trusted to choose its staff for *individual excellence* from the widest possible field, to give them an adequate remuneration, to arrange that their teaching duties leave ample time for their own individual research work, and to give them a voice in the selection of their colleagues.

**Sixth Condition**.—*Professorial control of teaching and examination*.

The standard of a teaching university can be maintained only by the rigid exclusion of students unfit for university work, and the existence of a body of highly qualified teachers. The teachers should, under certain recommended safeguards, have

### control of the examination of their students

Examination is a test of knowledge only not of education or of the quality of the work. It is a fallacy to assume that self education is induced by the examination. A detailed syllabus and an external examination (i.e. conducted by persons other than the teachers) are inconsistent with the true interests of university education injurious to the students and damaging to the teachers. A system of external examinations is based on want of faith in the teachers. An internal examination (i.e. one conducted by the teachers themselves) when based upon a wide syllabus is injurious to the students being practically an external examination owing to the number of institutions involved and the demands of the common syllabus. Degrees therefore should not be awarded upon examination alone.

If the academic freedom of the professors and the students is to be maintained — i.e. scope for individuality at all — it is absolutely necessary that the degrees of the University should practically be the certificates given by the professors themselves (upon the whole record of the student's work) and that the students should have entire confidence that they may trust the academic staff to honest work under the Professors' guidance. There is no difficulty whatever in the University providing for such control regulation and publicity as will be an adequate guarantee of impartiality and uniformity. (Page 36)

**Seventh condition — Financial control by the University over all the institutions within it.** This control should be vested in a small council acting as the supreme executive body of the University. For the various improvements suggested the Commission demand an *additional annual income of 10 lakhs and 40 thousand Rupees* which may be capitalised into an endowment of three crores and twelve lakhs of Rupees. This amount the Commission expect to come out of the public funds and not from the enhancement of fees. We think that it is a matter of national importance that the University of London should be recognised and accepted as a great public institution more and more entitled to public recognition and support. A great University is not self supporting and can never be so; it can never exist financially on the fees of its students.

The Commission propose the *reduction of fees to Rs. 225 a year in Arts Rs. 700 in science, and Rs. 450 in Engineering*

[The Welsh colleges and Scottish universities charge even lower fees.] As the average income of Indians is Rs. 30 per annum per head and that of Englishmen Rs. 583 it is clear that the fees charged in Government Colleges in India are very high. We agree in the opinion that the promise of free places or scholarships cannot get over the difficulty presented by prohibitive fees. The University of London must always be in the main a middle class University (p. 152). At present the fees in the Imperial College of Science and Technology range from Rs. 540 to Rs. 675 per session according to subjects.

### III CONSTITUTION OF THE UNIVERSITY

Lord Haldane's Commission propose the following constitution for the reorganised London University is most likely to secure efficient and smooth working and promote improvement and the realisation of their ideals —

(1) The University Legislature to be called the *Court*, composed of 200 members and forming a widely representative and supreme governing body in which teachers are scantily represented and laymen or outsiders form the majority. It would have final control over the Statutes governing the University, the affiliation of Colleges, and the decision of all matters in which a minority of the Senate appeal against the judgment of the majority. One of the principal advantages of a large body of this kind is that it should bring an intelligent lay judgment to bear upon the solution of problems which divide expert [educational] opinion. In the main this form of government has proved eminently successful [in the provincial universities of England] and we believe that it is equally suitable to the circumstances of the metropolitan.

[The reader will see that the Haldane Commission actually recommended *Vakil* raj for the supreme governing body of the London University! *Purt celum!*]

Below the court should be two bodies of experts dividing between themselves the actual conduct of the University business, viz. the Senate and the Academic Council.

(2) The central Executive organ of the University to be called *Senate* will be a small body of 15 members. It will be concerned with administration and finance including the appointment of the Vice-Chancellor the appointment or removal

of all officers of the University, discipline, inspection of affiliated colleges, &c. "The representatives of the teachers should be limited to two" on this body of fifteen.

(C) The Academic Council, a body of 15 teachers together with the Vice Chancellor, its function being mainly to advise the Senate on academic questions and incidentally to exercise executive power only as regards educational matters delegated to it by the Senate. "To this body the Senate should be able to delegate the power of deciding any academic matter involving a question of policy which ought to be determined from the point of view of the University as a whole and which therefore cannot properly be decided by any single Faculty." It will, therefore, afford a machinery for co-ordinating the work of the various faculties.

(D) The Faculties should each consist of the University Professors (or Readers, where there is no Professor) in the subject, and other teachers co-opted by the Faculty. It should have the power of appointing committees to act as Boards of Studies, — determining the conditions for the award of degrees — conducting examinations, — and advising the Senate as to the organisation of the teaching within the Faculty. (Page 53 and 195)

\* The status of a Professor would always confer independence in the sense that his post would not be subordinate to that of any other teacher. The status of a Reader would also confer independence in the same sense provided that there was no Professor of the same subject. (Page 52)

[What becomes of the invidious colour line in the Education Department of the Government of India, by which raw Europeans are put at the very outset in the highest educational rank, while Indian Professors are kept in the Provincial Service all their lives and automatically become junior and subordinate to every I. E. S. teacher as soon as the latter is appointed?] Is Lord Chelmsford prepared to accept the Hildane Commission's views in this matter and ensure that the Government Colleges affiliated to the existing universities and the Constituent Colleges of the proposed universities are staffed by men chosen for "their individual excellence and from the widest possible field" (p. 196) instead of being kept as close preserves for the I. E. S. monopolists?]

#### IV SUMMARY OF RECOMMENDATIONS

Besides proposing the above constitution for the University of London, the

Commission make several recommendations, of which we summarise only those which have any bearing on Indian problems.

The area of the University for the admission of *Constituent* colleges and University Departments will be the County of London, which has an extreme length of 16 miles, an extreme breadth of 11½ miles, and an area of about 117 square miles. [In the proposed Patna University the constituent colleges must be within a radius of one mile from the Senate House.] "Those educational institutions which are not under the educational and financial control of the University, will, if they comply with the necessary conditions, be *Schools* of the University" (Conditions on pp. 203-205). "The principal teachers in the Schools of the University will be grouped into Boards of Studies, which will prepare the curricula and syllabuses of examination for students in *Schools*, [and not in the University proper]. "The public examinations for degrees of students in *Schools* of the University will be general examinations common to all the Schools presenting candidates." Thus, there will be two sets of educational institutions with entirely different systems of management, boards of studies, examinations and designations, but both grouped under the same University of London and both leading up to the same degrees, viz., B.A., Honours, &c. One set of these institutions under entire University control and limited to the London County, will be called *Colleges* and University Departments, the other and lower set of institutions will be called *Schools*, and they may be situated anywhere in a much wider area, viz., the counties of London, Middlesex, Surrey, Kent, Sussex, Essex and Hertfordshire — in short the whole S. E. Province of England. But the graduates must insert the name of their College or School after their degrees.

"The normal qualification for admission to the University will be a *school examination* based upon the curriculum of the school. There should be two such examinations: a lower planned for pupils of about the age of 16, which should be a test of general education and a higher for pupils of about the age of 18, which should be suitable as a test for pupils whose course has to some extent been specialised." A student who has passed the higher will, on entering the University, be exempted from the

intermediate examination but the course for the degree will not be shortened for him. A *Matriculation* examination will be held only for those students who do not approach the University through the normal avenue of the secondary school, and no pupil of any such school will be allowed to sit for this examination, he must pass the School Final.

We shall for the present, pass over mere technical or professional details and describe the composition of the Court or Supreme Legislature of the University. Its 200 members are to be thus chosen —

- 4 by the Ministry
- 20 „ Convocation
- 31 „ London County Council
- 6 by six County Councils
- 15 „ Corporation and Companies of the City
- 5 „ the Court itself out of the members of the Borough Councils London

About 20 by the Borough Councils of the six Counties other than London  
 11 Members of Parliament (ten of them co-opted by the Court)  
 25 Co-opted by the Court  
 23 by various Boards, Societies, Institutes and Chambers

- 160
- 14 must be teachers
- 2 „ elected by the Students
- Principal of each Constituent College
- Deans of the various Faculties
- 15 members of the Senate
- 1 representative of each Constituent College or Department, not being a member of the teaching staff
- 1 „ of each School, not being a member of the teaching staff

## REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF BOOKS

### ENGLISH

SELF GOVERNMENT FOR INDIA UNDER THE BRITISH FLAG By I. S. Srinivasa Sastri *Servants of India Society* Allahabad 1916 *Manager, Arya Bhava Press* Poona Eight Annas Pp 91 + 1xi

This is the first of a series of political pamphlets and an excellent one it is. Mr Sastri shows how this is a proper occasion for India to put forward the claim of self-government. He proves by some comparisons that the colonies and England herself were not fitter for self-government than India when they took the first steps in the art of managing their own affairs. He then examines the question of our fitness in detail. An outline of the Indian scheme of self-government is then given. The author then meets objection. He then discusses the question.

Will Englishmen renounce power? In conclusion he shows what our duty is and exhorts the nation to take occasion by the hand.

There are two appendices. The first gives the Memorandum of the nineteen and the second brings together the statements and pronouncements of English statesmen on India's services made on various occasions during the war.

Mr Sastri has done his work very ably.

THE TILAK CASE. SECURITY UNDER SEC 108 CR P. C. (1916) EDITED BY D. I. COOKSLEY, B. A., LL. B. Published by the Printing Agency Poona City 12 As.

This pamphlet contains portraits of Mr N. C. Kelkar Lokamanya Tilak Mr R. P. Karandikar, Hon. J. Bhatelkar Hon. J. Shahu Hon. J. Bhatelkar Mr S. R. Bakhale and Mr Yerulkar an introduction by Mr Kelkar dealing ably with the Tilak case, the Magisterial Proceedings, the trial in His Majesty's High Court of Judicature and English translations of Mr Tilak's speeches on Home Rule on which the Bombay Government took action.

The contents are very interesting and must be useful to all who have the cause of Home Rule and of freedom of speech at heart.

CONFESSIONS OF A THUG By Colonel Meadows Taylor Edited with introduction and glossary by C. W. Stewart F. A. Humphrey Milford Oxford University Press Bombay 11s 6d

Though the book makes gruesome reading it holds the reader's attention from the first page to the last, and as a historical romance acquaints him with one of the most cruel and wicked perversions of human nature known to history. The Thugs were an hereditary guild of murderers who acted under the supposed patronage and direction of the goddess Kali, strangled and robbed the victims in every part of India. Religious belief was the mainstay of the system to the Thugs murder was not only a means of gain but a duty and an act of worship. Thuggee is now believed to be extinct, and



modera conditions the old widespread system can never revive."

The book is included in The World's Classics" series published by the Oxford University Press, which is a guarantee of merit. It is well got up and includes a map of Central India and the Deccan in 1817, to illustrate the confessions of the Thug Amer Ali.

The Oxford University Press has sent us 18 dainty books of the "Memorabilia" series each in an artistic envelope. One of them is in French, 'Noels Français'.

Nine are in English, namely,  
 "Easter Day" by Robert Browning,  
 "The Ideal of Citizenship," being the speech of Pericles over those fallen in the War, translated from the Greek of Thucydides by A. E. Zimmermann,  
 "Christmas Eve" by Robert Browning.

"Ode on the Morning of Christ's Nativity" by John Milton;

"Elegy written in a Country Church-yard, and other poems" by Thomas Gray,

"The Happy Warrior and other poems" by William Wordsworth,

"A Book of Carols," and  
 "Quia Amore Languet" and Richard de Castres Prayer.

These are all well known productions. The paper and type chosen make it a pleasure to read them. Book-lovers will certainly like to possess this series.

Eight books consist of reproductions of works of art, edited by G. F. Hill. They are—

"The Visitation of Mary," 12 Representations by Artists of the XIV—XVI Centuries

"The Adoration of the Magi," 12 Representations by Italian Painters of the XIV—XVI

"The Flight into Egypt," 12 Representations by Painters of the XIV—XVI Centuries,

"Twelve scenes from the Life of Christ after Duccio,"

"Saint George the Martyr," 12 Representations by Artists of the XIV—XVI Centuries,

"Saint Francis of Assisi," 12 scenes from his Life and Legend after Giotto,

"Portraits of Christ," 12 Representations by Artists from Early Christian Times to the Renaissance, and

"The Last Supper," 12 Representations by Artists of the XIV—XVI Centuries.

While some of the works of art reproduced possess mere an historical interest many are undoubtedly excellent specimens of artistic idealisation. They must be very clear and precious to Christians. They deserve also to be cherished by those non-Christians who love and revere Jesus as one of the best of men. To art-lovers also the booklets should be welcome. The editor introduces each work of art to us in a few brief and well worded sentences.

The price of each book of the "Memorabilia" series is one shilling net. R. C.

THE STATE IN RELATION TO INDIAN INDUSTRIES  
 by C. S. Desai, B.A., Member, Servants of India Society  
 Price two annas

This is No. 2 of the series of pamphlets on Indian economic subjects which the Indian Economic Society of Bombay has taken upon itself to publish periodically. The author, after quoting from many authorities to prove the unsoundness of the doctrine of *laissez faire* especially when applied to the industries of an economically backward country like India, goes on to indicate the directions in which state-aid is likely to be most beneficial to the economic development of this country. A national system of educa-

tion, including both liberal and technical education of the highest quality, being based, at bottom, on compulsory and free primary education, assurance to the agriculturist of the fruits of his labour, introduction of a judicious measure of protection, a programme for developing Indian shipping and ship-building and training for Indian sea men, organisation of capital, credit and labour, and lastly the establishment of an Economic Board, these are some of the things which Industrial India has a right to expect from the State within the limits of its economic functions. This may seem a very large order, but it is not more than what the most progressive nations of the world have already adopted and are systematically following. It would occur to many as a curious anomaly that in India the State which claims to be the owner of the land and was one of the first to take part in industrial enterprises which in other countries are left to private initiative should require, at a time when rapid action would have been much more effective than words, the services of a strongly constituted Commission to recommend to it an extension of the policy which it has been more or less successfully pursuing for the last half-a-century and more.

At page 3 of the pamphlet under review, the author tries to indicate the relative prosperity of different countries by citing the statistics of foreign trade per head of their population. This standard though frequently adopted becomes very inaccurate and misleading unless due allowance be made for the size of the countries or their respective internal trade. A small country like England which has to import large quantities of raw materials of industry and food stuffs and to export a corresponding value of manufactured goods to pay for these imports must necessarily show a larger volume of foreign trade than another country, (e.g., U.S.A.) which is more self-contained and exchanges its manufactured goods for its own raw materials and food stuffs within its own borders. That is most probably the reason why in Mysore the trade (foreign) *per capita* is double that in the whole of India (p. 3) and not because the people of Mysore are twice as prosperous as the people of the rest of India. The home trade of a country is always more important than its foreign trade, and it is the total of internal and external trade, and not the latter alone, that really counts.

PRASAD CHANDRA BANERJEE

PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION IN ANCIENT INDIA  
 by Pramo-hanath Banerji, M. A., D. Sc. (Lond.)  
 Macmillan & Co. 1916 Pp. 316 7 6d net

The period mainly dealt with in this book is the millennium 500 B.C. to 500 A.D. but occasionally, references have been made to earlier and later periods. In Ancient India, the different branches of knowledge were grouped under four heads, namely, Philosophy (Anvikshiki) the Vedas (Trayi) Economics (Varta), and the science of Government (Danda-niti). The Mahabharata says: "When the science of Politics is neglected the three Vedas as well as all virtues decline." The Arthashastra of Chanakya is the most important of the works which treat especially of the subject of Public Administration. The political doctrine preached in this book, namely, that the end justifies the means marks a notable departure from the high moral standard of earlier times. Chanakya was a contemporary of Aristotle. He has sometimes been compared to Machiavelli, but according to Dr. Banerjee, in intellectual acumen and in comprehen-

clearness of method, and is as far surpassed by its 'on rival' Megasthenes' description of the Pao's things out the relation between the moral and material factors of the State: "For inhabitants having abundant means of subsistence tend in consequence to the ordinary stature, and are distinguished by their proud bearing. . . . It is accordingly affirmed that famine has never visited India, and that there has never been a great scarcity in the supply of nourishing food. . . . It is worthy of note that in India the state has never become a necessary in the proper sense of the word. First the ruler was never regarded as the head of religion. Secondly, the primary object of the state was not spiritual salvation, but a civil well-being. Thirdly law, mingled as it was with religion and morality was the chief source of the authority of the state. Lastly, the political status of individuals was independent of their religious beliefs and convictions. The great drawback of the state in Ancient India was that the rights of common men were not fully recognised. Individual rights and duties not as important parts of the body politic but as members of estates or classes in society. It is interesting to note that in the Mahabharata era, almost all the Indian nations possessed popular institutions of some type or other. At the time of the rise of Buddhism the republican or oligarchical system of government prevailed in most tribes. Even at the date of Alexander's invasion, the natives of the Punjab lived under democratic institutions. Some times the state was ruled by a President at the head of an assembly of elders. But the general (Chakravarti, Samrat, Sarvabhauma) idea gradually gained in importance, though the system of government which supplanted the republic was a limited monarchy. The Brahmins the customs of the country, the influence of learned Brahmins as a class the natural guard-keepers of society, and of the council of Ministers were the various checks on the authority of the monarch. 'The results of good government were to be seen in the happiness and prosperity of the people, the growth of literature, arts and sciences, and the development of a high order of civilisation.' The Empire of Asoka, according to Mr. A. A. Smith, was far more extensive than the British Empire of to-day, excluding Burma. In Vedic times, kingship often seems to have been elective. Kings were also sometimes deposed by the people. The formal offer by the people of the sovereignty to the king was for a long time held essential. Gradually there grew up the theory of the divine origin of kingship. But there is no doubt that at bottom the relations between the ruler and the ruled were contractual. 'The conception of the king as the servant of the state was one of the basic principles of political thought in Ancient India.' The Sukraniti says: '(Brahmins) created the king to be the servant of his subjects and he is remunerated by a share of the produce. He assumes the character (of king) only for protecting (his subjects)'. Again, 'If the king is an enemy of virtue, morality, and power, and is unrighteous in conduct, the people should expel him as a destroyer of the state'. The idea of an autocrat (svatantra) ruler was not very congenial to the Hindu mind. 'The king in India was never regarded as being above the law'. At no time was the royal power, in theory at least, quite absolute. The Mahabharata derives the word 'Rajan' from 'raja', to please. Among the kingly duties as enumerated in the great epic are (1) to please the people, (2) to protect them and (3) always to seek their welfare. There were two kinds of Assembly—the Samiti and the Sabha. The popular assembly was a regular institution in the early years of

the Brahminic age. The rule of law, as it was not unknown and it is probable that the ideas of the majority prevailed. The Muntri Parishad or the Council of Ministers was the chief administrative authority in the kingdom. It possessed immense powers and enjoyed a great deal of independence. In exceptional cases, it had even the power to elect the king. 'In point of numbers,' says Megasthenes, 'it is a small class, but it is distinguished by superior wisdom and justice'. According to the Nativakya mints, 'assent of opinion being difficult to obtain the number (of members) will be numerous'. Though such ministers controlled the destinies of large kingdoms and sometimes extensive empires they were simple, led very simple lives and were renowned for their honesty, integrity and nobility of character. 'The Ministers of often days may, in a sense, be called legislative assemblies. Although their main business was to interpret—not to enact laws yet in performing this duty they, at times, changed the laws as to bring them into greater harmony with the altered circumstances of changed times. The rules of conduct were not inflexible in ancient times and the Parshada, while maintaining the infidelity of the Vedas and the Smritis, considerably modified the spirit of the laws. The text book writers, in compiling the old laws of the country, greatly helped the process of change, and in later times the commentators also contributed to the same result'. The administration of justice bore several points of resemblance to the system now prevalent in civilised countries. The king, together with the Chief Justice (Pratyaksh) and three or four other judges (Dharmika), formed the highest court of justice. It was however, the Chief Justice, who in reality presided over the king's court even when the king was present. Had two sorts of jurisdiction, original and appellate. Great importance to the king's court were the district courts, and below them were the village courts, composed of the headman and the elders of the village. There was a regular mode of appeal from the decisions of the inferior courts to the superior courts. Trials were always held in public. The Sukraniti says: 'Neither the king nor the members of the judicial Assembly should ever try cases in private'. The prevalence of litigation in modern India is sometimes referred to as a sign of its falling off from a past golden age. But it appears that the complaint is as old as Narada himself, for he says: 'When mortals were bent on doing their duty, and were habitually veracious, there existed neither lawsuits, nor hatred, nor selfishness. The practice of duty having died out among mankind, lawsuits have been introduced'. There were professional lawyers (pratiadhi). The means of arriving at truth at the disposal of judges were four, namely, direct perception (pratyaksh) reasoning (yukti) inference (anumana), and analogy (upamana). There were trials by ordeal which were resorted to when the evidence failed to elicit the truth. Han Tsang emphatically states that in the investigation of criminal cases the rod or the staff was never used. The idea of equality before the law was not fully developed in Ancient India. A modified form of privilege ran through the whole system of Hindu jurisprudence. The law was not the same for all but depended upon the status of the person concerned—the Brahmins, as a rule, enjoyed immunity from the more degrading kinds of punishment. From the records preserved in Indian literature as well as from the accounts left by foreign travellers, it seems quite clear that the administration of justice was very efficient in ancient India. This must have been the result of three factors, namely, the uprightness of the judges,

the efficiency of the Police and the general honesty and probity of the people.' Vishnu gives the following advice to a conqueror 'Having conquered the country of his foe, let him not abolish (or disregard) the laws of that country... A king having conquered the capital of his foe should invest there a prince of the royal race of that country with the royal dignity. Let him not extirpate the royal race...' Chanakya says 'The King should adopt the manners customs dress and language of the conquered people and show respect to their national religions and social ceremonies and festivals.' While the rulers of the different parts of India fought with one another for supremacy, the country remained constantly exposed to the danger of foreign invasions. The history of these invasions shows us in a clear light the weak points of the political system of ancient India. neither their martial spirit nor their efficient military organisation was of any avail for the preservation of their national independence for the political condition of the country was eminently favourable to Alexander's designs. The Punjab was then divided into a number of separate States and instead of presenting a united front to the invader the states in most instances fought him singly, with the result that they were overcome with comparative ease. As Mr McCrindle rightly remarks 'if Alexander had found India united in arms to withstand his aggression the star of his good fortune would have culminated with his passage of the Indus. The political condition of India which made possible the foundation of the Mahomedan empire is thus described by Stanley Lane Poole. 'The country was split up into numerous kingdoms, many of which were at feud with one another. Internal division has proved the undoing of India again and again and has sapped the power of mere numbers which alone could enable the men of warm plains to stand against the hardy mountain tribes.'

The above are extracts from only a few of the chapters of this most interesting and instructive book. The author's patriotism, moderation and fair play are no less conspicuous than his great learning and ardent spirit of research and the style is simple and pleasant. The book is full of suggestions for the student of ancient Indian history and will prove a valuable addition to his library. Dr Banerjee has rendered a patriotic service by striking out a new path which other Indian schools will do well to follow.

POL.

## HINDI

ANANTH BALAK, translated by Pandit Parasnath Tripathi. *Harappa, Mohenjo-daro and published by Messrs Haridas & Co., 201, Harrison Road Calcutta. Crown 8vo pp 207 Price—At 10*

This contains a very telling story about the way in which a poor boy bereft of all his guardians except his pious aunt finished his education. There is a simple and natural pathos about the novel which is a continuous narration of events the like of which are not infrequent. There is a lack of such really useful and instructive novels and hence we welcome the present volume with all zeal. The use of the word *pratham* on p 175 l. 13, in the conversation in which it is introduced is not quite natural, and the author has in some instances gone to details which, though not long, are not quite in keeping with the trend of the novel. But the story is all the same exquisitely charming and leaves a very sound impression on the mind of the reader. The character of Mohabada and that of Raghu have been very cleverly depicted and the evil characters introduced in

the book have also felt the artistic skill of the author. Altogether the book is unique of its kind. Its get up is excellent.

SAVITRI translated by Pandit Gulzar al Chaturvedi and published by Haridas & Co., 201, Harrison Road, Calcutta. Crown 8vo pp 204 Price—At 8

In this novel the foolishness of attaching too much importance to the astrological matters at the time of a marriage etc. has been graphically pointed out. This resulted in a second marriage of a bride, room, and the second wife proved to be all but the ruin of the family. The way in which the piety and self-sacrifice of the first wife has been portrayed, is really very touching. Several phases of domestic and social life have been depicted in the novel. The get up needs no comment as it is invariably excellent in books published by Messrs Haridas & Co. We commend the present publication, presenting as it does many novel features to the readers.

MAHAHABI GALIB AUR UNKA URDU KAVYA by Pandit Jwalaaditta Sharma and published by Messrs Haridas & Co., 201, Harrison Road Calcutta. Crown 8vo pp 102 Price—At 5

The life of the great Urdu poet has been given and his writings have been very critically examined. No doubt this publication will help the admirer of the great Galib to find new beauties in his writings. For the use of those who do not know Urdu, a list of the difficult Urdu words occurring in the course of the extracts given in the book has been subjoined to it. The special tastes of the author in Urdu have helped to make this publication really useful.

JIVANI SHAKTI by Pandit Jwalaaditta Sharma and published by Messrs Haridas & Co., 201 Harrison Road, Calcutta, Crown 8vo pp 79 Price—At 5

This is a translation of the book of the same name by Dr Pratap Chandra Mazumdar. The translation is no doubt good. As to the views of the original author a few of them may appear to be novel to the present day people who have studied other books on the hygiene and on the subject of the preservation of life but they have the merit of being based on the special experiences of the author. A perusal of the book will give much real and practical help to the reader. Some of the subjects are specially instructive.

KRISHNAKANTA KI WILL translated by Pandit Gulzar al Chaturvedi and published by Messrs Haridas & Co., 201, Harrison Road, Calcutta. Crown 8vo pp 203 Price—At 12

This is a Hindi translation of Bankim Babu's 'Krishnakanta's Will.' Another translation of the same book has been published before this by the Khardghavil Press. But the work under review has the merit of being written in simpler and more homely style. The other translation is rather learned. As to the novel itself it will give an insight into Bankim Babu's versatile genius who could impart a special freshness to every novel of his, new to each one of his writings. The translator who published the book in the K. V. Press remarked adversely on the way in which 'Bhramor' the noteworthy character in the novel has been depicted. She has been painted, according to him more like a European heroine who can take so much pride and who can have such a centric individuality. We have not much to say on this point. But Bankim Babu's genius was nothing but grand and its characteristic was diversity of a

the inhabitants of Gujarat. There are in all forty-one papers, and they range over a variety of subjects including the military exploits of our Indian soldiers in the present war in Flanders. This paper is one of the best and should be read widely, so that people at large might know how our brave brethren acquitted themselves on the battle fields of Europe.

**SHRI ANAND KAVYA MAHODADHI, PART V**, edited by *Juvanchand Sakarchand Jhaveri* and printed at the City Printing Press, Ahmedabad. Cloth bound, pp 399. Price Rs 10 (1916)

This is the fifth book in the series which the Trustees of Sheth Dinchand Lalbhai are publishing of old Jain manuscripts. The well known Jain poet, Kishabhadra of Cambay has written a poem (Rasa) in connection with the famous event in the reign of Akbar, viz., the interview between the Emperor and the Jain saint Shri Hirsurivijay. It is this Rasa (written in 1685 Vikram era) which is published in this volume. It is preceded by an introduction by a Gujarati writer, who has spent his whole life in the study of Prakrit and Pali, which is worth reading. Its writer Mr. Becharadas Jivraj who possesses the degrees of Vyayarthi and Vyakarantirtha tries to show that Gujarati was never an original language but is the result of the many changes undergone by the several old languages of India. This view will of pass unchallenged we think, by those who have studied this subject.

**JANG MIN ZHAKUN JAGAT**, by *B. L. Kaji*, B.A., S.F.C.D., and *C. D. Nanavati*, B.A. S.T.C.D., both Assistant Lecturers in the Government High School, Broach. Paper Cover, pp 130. Second Edition. Price Re 0-8 0 (1916)

Principal J. N. Fraser's book, 'The World at War,' has been translated by these two gentlemen in order to acquaint the masses and also those who do not read English with the causes of the origin of the present war, and its moral responsibility. This they have done in order to dissipate incorrect ideas about it. It is full of information, which is conveyed in simple and lucid Gujarati and hence calculated to serve the purpose for which it is written, fully.

**THE PICTURE RAMAYANA** by *Balasaheb Pandit Pant Pratimshi*, B.A., Chief of Aundh, printed at the British India Printing Press, Bombay. Cloth bound. Price Rs 12 (1916)

That an Indian prince should so far be an expert in the art of painting, that he should evolve the whole story of the Ramayana in a series of striking colored pictures from his own brush is indeed a matter which should be noted with pride. This is an edition of the Ramayana in pictures printed on art paper. It is set up in every way worthy of its princely author. In order to make it useful over the whole of India, the letter press giving the descriptions of the episodes forming the subject of the pictures besides being in Sanskrit (the original shlokas being quoted) is printed in the six chief vernaculars of our country, Marathi, Gujarati, Canarese, Tamil, Hindi and Bengali. The introduction to the Gujarati edition is written by the Honble Mr. Lalubhai Samimaddar, C.I.E., and it gives a very good idea of the subject.

**SYNHALATA** by *H. R. Patel* printed at the

**Gujarat Printing Press, Ahmedabad**, pp 270. Thick Card board. Price Re 1-8 0 (1916)

This is a novel which would not be found heavy or uninteresting reading. The object of the writer is to portray love marriages (સહુપ) as contrasted with physical union (રેહુપ). The price is exorbitant.

**Aitihank Rasa Sangraha Part II**, edited by *Jainacharya Shri Vijaya Dharma Suri*, A.M. 4 S.B., printed at the Saranwati Printing Press, Bhavnagar. Paper cover, pp 74. Unpriced (1916).

We have already had an occasion to review the first part of this series, the second part only confirms the commendation we bestowed on the literary labors of the Acharya. The Rasa contained in this book is one written by a poet, Lavanya Samay by name, in the Samvat year 1589, and is divided into three sections giving respectively the lives of Kshemishi, Balibhadra and Yashobhadra Suri. The understanding of the text is made greatly easy by means of notes, and a vocabulary giving the meaning of difficult words, and two post scripts. The book is sure to prove useful to students of old Gujarati.

**Nandshanker Juvani Chitra** by *Vinayak Nandshanker Mehta*, B.A., I.C.S., Mirzapur, U.P., printed at the Gujarati Printing Press, Bombay. Cloth bound, with three photographs, pp 258. Price Re 1 0 0 (1916)

This 'picture of the life' (જીવનચિત્ર) of Nandshanker

is written on a novel principle. It is not exactly a biography as its very title implies. It is a collection of sayings and statements of the deceased, jotted down from memory in the style of Boswell, rendering the work very pleasant to read. There is no heaviness in it. It is all light reading. R. B. Nandshanker is best known all over Gujarat as the author of a unique historical novel, the Karan Ghelo, depicting the last days of Hindu rule in Gujarat. Beside this his work as a teacher and a revenue officer, hardly counts except with those who knew him personally. The same is the case with his extremely mild and amiable nature which won for him many friendships; so that for a regular biography perhaps there was not much scope and Mr. Vinayak has therefore done very well in confining the discharge of his filial duty to a mere narrative of reminiscences. The opening portion of the book for several pages hardly touches the personality of 'Master Sahib' as R. B. Nandshanker was popularly called, it is taken up so much with grandmotherly stories of his ancestors and caste men, which are very entertaining to read but of ephemeral interest. The self-satisfaction with which a Nagar of Surat (the caste to which he belonged) or for the matter of that of the whole of Gujarat and Kathiawad regards himself. The way in which he considers himself to be the cream of Hindu Society in the province, (even if one were to disregard the egoism which results from such a state of mind) peep out at the reader from every line of this portion. Besides this another feature of the book is the free use made by the writer of Persian and Urdu words, phrases and quotations, some apposite and some not, some well known and others obscure which rather detract from the merits of an otherwise interesting work. The same is the case with German quotations. Serving Upper India Mr. Vinayak has been betrayed using the former inspite of his care to avoid.

# "VARNASRAM-DHARMA" AND RACE-FUSION IN INDIA

BY PROFESSOR BENQY KUMAR SARKAR, M. A.

EVERY country presents the story of the fusion of races and blood-intermixture and India is no exception. The purity of blood or race-type claimed by the Hindus is, in fact, a myth. It was certainly out of the question during the period of the Guptas, which was preceded as well as followed by the military, political and economic settlements of Central Asian hordes in various parts of India.

## TARTARISATION OF ARYANISED DRAVIDIANS

Taking a vertical view of history, the following important race-elements must have contributed to the web of Hindu physico-social life of the Vikramadityan era :

1. The Aborigines (pre-Aryans or so-called Dravidians) should be regarded as the basic factor in Indian humanity both in the North and in the South. The Maratha race is Scytho-Dravidian ethnologically, and Maratha scholars point out the non-Aryan or pre-Aryan strain in the Hindu characteristics of Western India. Mahamahopadhyay Haraprosad Sastri in his recent essays has been testifying to the predominance of primitive non-Aryan influences on Bengal's life and thought. As for South India, the following remarks of Prof. Pillai quoted in the *Tamilian Antiquary* (No 2, 1908) are eminently suggestive :

"The attempt to find the basic element of Hindu civilisation by a study of Sanskrit and the history of Sanskrit in Upper India is to begin the problem at its worst and most complicated point. India South of the Vindhya—still continues to be India proper. Here the bulk of the people continue distinctly to retain their pre-Aryan features, their pre-Aryan social institutions. Even here the process of Aryanisation has gone too far to leave it easy for the historian to distinguish the native warp from the foreign woof."

The blending of aboriginal races with newcomers has to be recognised through all the ages of Indian history. It was not finished in the prehistoric epoch of Aryan Settlements, but is going on even now. The Himalayan tribes and the races inhabiting the forests and hills of the whole peninsula have always contributed their

quota to the making of the Hindu population. Thus among the so called Rajput clans some are descended from the foreign Sakas and Huns, while others have risen from the native pre-Aryan races. According to Vincent Smith,

"Various indigenous or aboriginal tribes and clans underwent the same process of Hinduised social organisation, in virtue of which Gauds, Bhars, Kharwars, and so forth, emerged as Chandels, Rathors, Gabarwars, and other well known Rajput clans, duly equipped with pedigrees reaching back to the sun and the moon."

2. Aryanisation must be regarded as the second factor in this composite structure. It is this by which the Hindus become one with the Iranians of Persia and Græko Romans and Teutons of Europe. Aryanisation has promoted in India a "fundamental unity" of cultural ideals, but must not be assumed to have effected any thoroughgoing transformation of race. The blending of the Aryan and non-Aryan has proceeded in varying degrees in different places; and the civilisation bears marks of the different degrees of fusion. Scientifically speaking, the term 'Aryan' implies a certain culture of people speaking a certain language, it cannot refer to certain blood-strains or physical characteristics involved in the use of the word 'race.' The Aryanisation of India, as of other countries of the world, should, therefore, indicate the super-imposition of a new language, new religious conceptions, new domestic and social institutions, and new polity upon those of the pre-Aryan settlers.

3. Persianisation or Iranisation, and, along with it, older Assyrian or Mesopotamian traces, need be noticed in the early civilisation of Aryanised India. Prof. Rapson in his primer, *Ancient India*, has dealt with the political relations between Persians and Indians in the sixth and fifth centuries B. C. Here, again, the influence may be more cultural than racial. Prof. Fenollosa suggests Mesopotamian influence upon Chinese Art of the Han dynasty.

(B C 202-221 A D) especially in the animal motifs. This may be suggested about India too, as has been done by Grunwedel in his *Buddhist Art*. Vincent Smith also remarks

'The title touches of foreign manners in the court and institutions of Chandragupta are Persian and the Persian title of Satrap continued to be used by Indian provincial governors for ages down to the close of the fourth century

The Persian influence on Maurya India has been described in the *Indian Antiquary* (1905). Mr Smith thinks that some features of Maurya administration "may have been borrowed from Persia", and hazards the conjecture that the Persianising of the Kushan coinage of Northern India should be explained by the occurrence of an unrecorded Persian invasion in the 3rd century A D.

4 Yavanisation or Hellenisation was effected both in blood and culture. Chandragupta himself had set the example of Indo Greek matrimonial relations. The Hellenistic Legation quarter, at Pataliputra (modern Patna), under Megasthenes, Asoka's propagandism in the Hellenistic Kingdom of Western Asia and Egypt, Kushan patronage of Greco-Roman artists, the establishment of Roman colonies in parts of Southern India as well as the contact of the Hindus with Greco-Bactrians and Greco-Parthians as enemies on various occasions, suggest more or less inter-racial as well as inter-cultural fusion. It is difficult to prove, however, what the extent or character of the fusion could amount to. Vincent Smith does not think it was much.

6 Tartarisation of India seems to have been as deep and wide in blood as Aryanisation was in culture. It is this by which the Hindus of medieval India became one with the people of contemporary China. The Aryans had brought civilising influences into the land of the Dravidians, but the nomad herds of Central Asia brought only vigorous and fresh blood, and accepted the civilisation of the new land in toto. Possibly some primitive folk characteristics, traditions of pastoral and agricultural life in Mongolia, Turkestan and Bactria, the rude nature deities and superstitions prevailing in the steppes and deserts of the wild homeland were necessarily introduced as new factors into Indian social life. It is to this common ethnic element that the commonness

of some of the folk beliefs in different parts of Asia may have to be attributed. Howarth's *History of the Mongols* is a monumental English work on the Central Asian tribes.

Roughly speaking, Tartarisation or Scythianisation of the Aryanised Dravidians of India, was effected in three different, but not necessarily successive, waves. The first wave was that of the Sakas, that of the Kushans the second, and the third that of the Huns. The waves overwhelmed not only the Northwest, the Punjab, Sindh and Gujrat, but the whole of Northern India, and crossed the Vindhya also to fertilise the Deccan plateau and Koonkan plains. The Central Asian migrations into the Indian sphere of influence can be traced to about the second century B C. Since then for about half a millennium the stream of immigration seems to have been continuous. The Central Asians poured in either as peaceful settlers or as invaders, so that layer upon layer of Tartar humanity began to be deposited on the Indian soil.

The Saka settlements at Taxila in the Punjab and at Mathura on the Jumna probably as 'satrapies' of a Parthian (Persian) power, the independent Saka Kingdom in Saurashtra or Kathiawar which was destroyed by the Gupta Emperor in A D 390, the Kushan Empire which under Kanishka extended in India probably as far south as the Vindhya, the Saka Satrapy at Ujjain probably tributary to Kanishka, the Kshaharata Satrapy of Maharashtra at Nashik which was annexed to the Andhra monarchy about A D 126 'the Abhiras, Gardabhiras, Sakas, Yavans, Bahlikas, and other outlandish dynasties named as the successors of the Andhras' in the Puranas, —all these are instances of Hinduisation of Tartar conquerors down to the time of the Gupta Emperors.

The Hun element in the Tartarisation of India began towards the close of the Gupta era. It was the Huns who destroyed the brilliant Empire and occupied north-western Punjab. They invaded the heart of India also and left settlements in Rajputana, during the fifth and sixth centuries, but were finally defeated by the Vardhanas in A D 601.

Recent researches of archaeologists have thrown a flood of light on the fusion of the Hunnic and the Indian races. The present

tendency among scholars is to believe that almost all the important ruling dynasties in Northern India between Emperor Harshavardhana (c. A. D. 647), the host of Hiuen Tshang, and Mohammedan invasions, were descendants of the mixed races, and may be regarded as more or less Tartarised or Scythianised.

Thus (1) most of the Rajput clans, some of which continue as Feudatories of the British Empire, should trace their pedigrees back to the Se (Sakas), Kushan (Yue-chu), and Hun (Hiung-nu) barbarians of Central Asia, rather than to the Sun, or the Moon, or the Fire-god.

(2) The Gurjara-Pratiharas of Kanauj, whose dominions under Mihira Bhoja (A. D. 840-90), and Mahendrapala (190-905?), according to Vincent Smith, 'may be called an empire without exaggeration,' "were the descendants of barbarian foreign immigrants into Rajputana in the fifth or sixth century;" "closely associated with, and possibly allied in blood to, the White Huns."

(3) Professor Jadunath Sarkar, in reviewing Banerji's *History of Bengal* written in Bengali language, suggests that the ancestors of the Pala Emperors (A. D. 730-1130), who, according to Smith, "succeeded in making Bengal one of the great powers of India," and established "one of the most remarkable of Indian dynasties," were the Rajbhatas of Gorakhpur in U. P.; and that these were, like the Gurjaras, Guhilots, Rashtrakutas, Solankis, etc., descendants of the Tartar settlers.

It may be remarked, therefore, that the democratic blood of the modern Bengal bourgeoisie and the blue blood of the Rajput aristocracy are both derived from the common spring of the uncouth blood of the savage Central Asian Huns.

6. Lastly, must be mentioned the race-fusion within the limits of India herself. The constant shifting of the political centre of gravity from place to place, and military occupations of the territories of neighbouring princes by ambitious monarchs—both afforded ample scope for social amalgamation and necessarily brought about inter-provincial blood-mixture. The effects of dynastic revolutions and territorial readjustments on the social-status of tribes and castes should require a separate treatment.

It is not known what the Gupta Emper-

ors were ethnologically; but that the people over whom they ruled were a composite product there is no doubt.

To bring the story of race-mixture and culture-fusion in India to a close, I need only mention the following three important stages:—

7. Islamite Invasions under the Pathans (A. D. 1300-1550). These commencing with the tenth century were of the nature of previous Tartar settlements or still earlier Aryan colonisations. The conflict of the Hindus with the newcomers was certainly very bitter like that described in the Vedic literature as having taken place between the Indo-Aryans and the aboriginal *Dasyus*. But the Indian capacity for assimilation led to happy compromises as soon as it was found that the Pathans meant to adopt Hindusthan as their motherland, and not exploit it in the interests of a far-off Transoxiana.

8. Saracenisation of the Indian population was the result of these new conditions. It may be conveniently described as having taken place under the powerful Moghul Monarchy (A. D. 1550-1700). This was the period of Mahometans Hinduising and Hindus Islamising in every department of life. The glorious civilisation of the age was neither exclusively Hindu, nor exclusively Mahometan, but an offspring of the holy wedlock between the two. It was Indo-Saracenic or Hindu-Islamic. The scars and wounds of the invasion-period had long been healed when the Imperial Head at Delhi was found to inherit the blood both of the Rajput and of the Mongol, when the *Taj Mahal*, that dream-verse in marble, raised its stately domes and minarets on the fair Jumna,—a visible symbol of the marriage between indigenous and foreign art-traditions, when language, literature, painting, music, religious preachings and philosophical teachings, folk-lore, fairs, processions, and even the commonplace superstitions testified to the eclectic spirit of the age.

Not only Chaitanya (1485-1533) and Nanak (1469-1538), Kabir (1440?-1518?) and Tukarama (1608-49), the Martin Luthers and Calvins of India, but the musician Tan Sen, the emperor Jahangir, the viceroy Man Singh, the statistician Abul Fazl and the financier Todar Mall are all embodiments of that Indo-Saracenic life-fusion. The Renaissance that characterised the 16th and 17th centuries was

as brilliant as the Vikramadityan Renaissance of a thousand years ago, and must be evaluated as the result of naturalisation of Sarcenic culture in India.

9 Decanisation (or South Indianisation) of Hindustan under the Hindu Empire of the Marathas. This may be said to have been a powerful factor in Indian civilisation during the period from the rise of Sivaji the Great (c. A. D. 1600) to the overthrow of the last Peshwa by the British (1818). During all previous ages, generally speaking, it was the North that had influenced the South\* both culturally and politically. Since the middle of the 17th century it was the turn of the South to influence the North. It was not only the reaction of the Hindu against the Mahometan power but also that of Dikshinatya against Aryavarta. To understand the race, religion, customs and culture of Northern India from Orissa to Gujrat or from Assam frontier on the east to the territory of the Amir of Kabul on the west during the 18th century is absolutely necessary to analyse the social influence of the splendid Maratha conquests.

#### CASTE-SYSTEM AND MILITARY HISTORY

In this connexion it may not be inappropriate to enter into a digression concerning the blood intermixture within the limits of the Indian continent and thus throw a side light on the history of castes.

It has been the custom up till now to study the caste system of the Hindus from the socio-economic and socio-religious points of view. The fundamental fact about it, however, is physical. For all practical purposes the castes are groups of human beings designed for the regulation of marriages, i.e., selection of mates. The Caste system should thus form the subject matter not merely of Economics and Theology, but also and primarily of Eugenics. In fact, the eugenic aspect of the castes is the basis of the socio-economic and socio-religious problems as treated by such classical Hindu law givers as Manu.

\* It need be noted, however, that of the greatest thinkers of Medieval India Sankaracharya (A.D. 850), Ramanuja (12th century), Madhva (13th century) and Ramanandanda (14th century) were all Southerners and the Northerners e.g. Chaitanya, Nanak and Kabir were the disciples of the 4 systems. Besides the influence of the Tamil, Napoleonic on Orissa, the buffer between Bengalee and Chola Empires (and it lately on Bengal) during the 11th to 13th centuries to be recorded.

A scientific treatment of the Caste System, therefore, is tantamount to the history of marriages or blood relationships among the Hindus and of the changes in their eugenic ideas. It thus becomes a part of the larger subject of Race Inter-mixture, i.e., Ethnology, or Physical Anthropology.

It has been shown above that the Physical Anthropology of Indian population has been powerfully influenced by the political and military history. The study of castes, therefore, has to be undertaken from a thoroughly new angle, viz., that of dynastic changes, military expeditions, subjugation of races, empire building and political disruption. It ultimately resolves itself into a study of the influence of warfare on social and economic transformation. When the caste system is thus studied as a branch of the military history of the people of India, it would be founded.

1 That the facts of the present day socio-economic and socio-religious system cannot be carried back beyond a certain age.

2 That the attempt to understand Vedic, post Vedic, Salyasimhan, Maurya, post Maurya, Andhra Kushan, Gupta and even Vardhana Pala, Gujara Pratihara and Chola societies according to the conventions of the Caste system known to-day is thoroughly misleading.

3 That probably down to the 13th century i.e. the beginning of Islamite aggressions on India, the history of social classes supplies more data for the study of races than for caste history.

4 That such terms as Brahman, Kshatriya etc., have not meant the same thing in all the ages down to that period—the same term may have covered various races and tribes.

5 That it is an open question how far the four fold division of society in authoritative works down to that time was, like Plato's classification a 'legal fiction,' and to what extent and in what sense it was an actual institution.

6 Since the 13th century there may have been formed eugenic groups like those we see to-day—but not necessarily four—in fact, innumerable.

7 These groups could never have been stereotyped but must have remained very elastic—because of the changes in the fortunes of the rulers, generals, viceroys etc., and the corresponding changes in the



portance of localities, tribes and families. [The kaleidoscopic boundary-changes in Europe during the last five hundred years have repeated themselves on a somewhat smaller scale in the Indian world].

8. Under conditions which must be regarded as more or less feudal, the customs were always local and were never codified into fixed codes as in the 19th century; and hence silent intrusions of new influences through economic pressure, or violent modifications through political revolution, were matters of course. It need be recognised, therefore, that the vertical as well as horizontal mobility of the population was greater under feudal than modern conditions.

9. The rise into prominence of a certain caste through military prowess or political aggrandisement led to a certain system of social values, which was sure to have been transvalued with its overthrow by another. In this way the political and military history of races down to the 13th century must have repeated itself in that of caste since then.

10. The consequence of changes in political and military history has been what may be described as a regular "convection-current" throughout the socio-economic system, making the elevation and depression of castes exactly parallel to that of races—the leading classes of one age being the depressed classes of another, and so on. The race-history and class-history have been affected in the same way all the world over by the history of warfare.

11. In each case of socio-economic transformation brought about by military political revolutions the new orders have tried to preserve the old "legal fiction" by affiliating themselves to the traditional orders. The dynamic principle of 'progress' has thus been in operation in each synthesis, though the statical principle of 'order' has never been lost sight of. The student of Caste-history should recognise these successive syntheses as the milestones of Hindu social evolution.

12. The economic aspect of the castes as occupational grades, and the auxiliary religious aspect which ultimately implies only the guardianship of the Brahman

caste in theological matters, must be regarded as an appendix, rather than as a prelude, to the political-cum-military treatment of the subject.

13. To understand the caste-system historically it has to be clearly realised that there was no *Pax Britannica* in ancient and mediæval times, and that warfare was a normal phenomenon with the Hindus as it has been with every race of human beings from the earliest times down to the present day. In India as in Europe there has been no generation without war.

14. Under these circumstances both the orthodox metaphysical Doctrine of *Adhikara* (i. e. intellectual and moral 'fitness' as the regulative principle of caste-distinction), as well as the *doctrinaire* Social-Reform-theory of Equality of Rights (which is supposed to be infringed by the caste system) are equally irrelevant and unhistorical. They seem to have been started by those who were led to consider the social order under peace conditions to be the same as that under conditions of normal progress through struggle for existence.

15. (a) That, after all, the classes in Hindu Social life have evolved on almost the same lines as those of other peoples, (b) that blood-intermixture has been no less potent in Indian society than in others, (c) that the abnormalities supposed to inhere in the system of social groups called castes have not really existed in history, but are the myths invented by the ignorant Portuguese settlers in the 16th century, who were struck by the superficial distinctions between their own life and that of the Hindus, and subsequently perpetuated by Orientalists who have not cared to compare the actual conditions and history of matrimonial relations among the Hindus with those among their own races, (d) that even at the present day the scope for intrusion of new blood into the Hindu castes is *actually* not less than that in the groups of other communities; and (e) that a historical study for the state of things obtaining in the past, and a statistical-comparative study for that in the present, would be the solvents for the erroneous theories regarding the origin as well as nature of the institution.

## SIR RABINDRANATH TAGORE AT THE STATE UNIVERSITY OF IOWA

BY DR SUDHINDRA BOSE M A PH D

ONE gray morning last October I rode down in a luxurious train from Iowa City to West Liberty. I had in my pocket a letter of official greetings from the State University of Iowa to the greatest living poet philosopher of the East. The world renowned visitor was already on his way from Chicago to Iowa. I had never come into personal contact with him and somehow I pictured him to be cold and his ways distant. How little I knew the man!

When the Chicago train arrived at West Liberty I found Rabindranath with his private secretary in a private compartment—a small neatly furnished room. He was riding backward and was reading that true Irish poet and artist A. B. S. (George Russell's) *Imagination and Reveries*. There was also on his table a copy of the *Modern Review*. As soon as he learned that I was there to welcome him to our University he laid aside his book and greeted me with cordiality and simplicity after the Indian fashion. Contrary to my pre-conceived ideas Tagore is gentle, courteous and even sociable. He is infinitely kind. His personality is as clean cut and vivid as lightning. The distinguished honor which has come to him as a world famous genius has not in the least intoxicated him. It seemed to me that he is not a bit like any other great man I have known. He is entirely different. He is just Rabindranath Tagore.

Education is nearest to his heart. Naturally one of the first things we talked about was the education of the Indian students in Japan and America. I believe Tagore said with his slightly Anglified accent that some of our young men ought to go to Japan to study Japanese art which is really very fine. But for scientific education they must come to the fountain head America.

A short time ago while he was in Japan met with an enthusiastic reception

everywhere. I like the Japanese, he continued, you can't help liking their charming ways. Their manners are very attractive. The Japanese at bottom are like us, they are not Westerners. Oh no! In spite of all their claims the Japanese are Orientalists through and through.

All his comments are candid and sincere. Every word he speaks stands for something, every statement he makes is the product of reasoned conviction. But what struck me most forcibly was that behind his subtle personality there was a charming blend of simplicity and reserved dignity. In a way he is apart from the multitude. Indeed he appears at times to shut himself up in impenetrable reserve making it impossible for any one to catch a glimpse of the workings of his mind.

The Chinese are a great people, averred Tagore as he slowly adjusted the nose glasses that dangled on a narrow braid.

They are so dignified! They have ancient traditions which sit on them well. In many respects I like the Chinese better than the Japanese.

Then he sat back straight in the green plush upholstered seat and looked out of the car window. His eyes were the eyes of a man thinking of things far away—so far away. The landscape was superb. Everywhere were blazes of color. Indeed all nature was clad in one mass of unspent magical autumnal hues—red, brown, pink, violet. The branches were rustling dryly in the gentle fall wind. Soft twilight was resting upon the river banks. And the western sky was a web of wonders over the passing fields.

I recently our train reached Iowa City, the seat of the State University of Iowa. Tagore was met at the station on behalf of the President of the University by Professor Benjamin F. Shambaugh, head of the Department of Political Science and Professor Edwin D. Starbuck of the Department of Philosophy. And a moment later, a wait

ing automobile whirled them over to the leading hotel of the city.

For days before the arrival of Tagore there had been a vigorous publicity campaign to arouse interest in him and in his work. The Senate Board on University Lectures, of which Dr Shambaugh is the chairman, indicated the importance of Tagore's visit in the following official statement to the press:

'The coming of Sir Rabindranath Tagore to Iowa City will be one of the notable events in the history of the State University. The writings of this Hindu poet and philosopher won for him the world's recognition in the award of the Nobel Prize in 1913. He comes from the Orient but his message of unity and harmony in the life of humanity is for the whole world. The privilege of seeing and hearing this really great man comes to our students as an opportunity of a lifetime.

Dr. W. A. Jessup, as President of the University, gave the following interview to the reporters:

I regard the coming of Sir Rabindranath Tagore to Iowa City as an event of so great importance that it ought to attract the interest of every student in the University. Tagore has been recognized as a master in the field of modern literature. He chooses to favor Iowa City with the only lecture he will give in Iowa. If only to show him respect we ought to hear him. The more important reason why we should hear him is that we are likely to receive impressions of permanent worth. It is to be hoped that the University will be strongly represented in the audience which greets Tagore Thursday evening October 26th.

In response to insistent demands to know more about Tagore, talks and addresses were given by a number of faculty men. The present writer was one of them. In his address on the 'Personality of Tagore' before the University students he said in part:

'Tagore is not only a poet of India but of China, Japan, Europe and America. He belongs to the whole world. He touches the very inner springs of emotion which are common to all humanity. In him there is no suggestion of anger or jealousy. He never soiled his pen by writing a hymn of hatred. He is a lover of world wide humanity. He always sees fundamental unity in diversity.

To be sure, his works suffer a great deal from the painful process of English translation but even so they are not altogether robbed of the glowing poetic feeling and the rich personality of the writer. In his lectures, essays, poems and dramas there is found the authentic voice of the deeper longings of the human heart; they lead us to the very edge of the infinite. He deals with eternal truth—truth which burns in our souls and transcends the limitations of race and time. In this respect he may be likened to other literary immortals. When we read *Hamlet* we forget that Shakespeare was only an Englishman; when we read the *Divine Comedy* we do not think that Dante was an Italian and when we study *Faust*

we are not worried over the German nationality of Goethe. The same is true of *Gitanjali* and *Siddhanta* and the rest of Tagore's work.

He comes as the bearer of a special message. He may be regarded as one who has consecrated his life in uniting the East with the West. In the Orient too much emphasis is laid upon meditation while in the Occident there is too much emphasis upon action. Tagore preaches and lives a philosophy whose final goal is to harmonize the life of action with the life of thought. When these two aspects of life are wedded together when there is a perfect blending of the material with the spiritual then we shall witness the beginning of a new era, the dawn of a happier civilization and the ultimate realization of life itself which is immense."

Rabindranath shuns publicity, it hurts his finer instincts and sensibilities. He seems to feel the same toward newspaper men as he would toward mosquitos. Of the many onerous responsibilities of his private secretary, Mr. W. W. Pearson, M. A., B. Sc., none is more exacting than devising means to throw American reporters off the track of the author of *Gitanjali*. Being an Englishman, Pearson takes none too kindly to the newspapers of this country, and he frequently has a lively time with newspaper sleuths. Let one instance suffice as typically illuminating.

It happened at Salt Lake City in the State of Utah. Tagore's hotel was besieged by an army of reporters clamoring for interviews. They were all "turned down." There was one enterprising reporter, however, who had a bright idea. He telephoned over to the hotel and asked for Tagore.

"Hallo! Hallo! Is this Sir Rabindranath Tagore?"

"No, but I am his secretary. What do you want?"

"I wish to see Tagore right away."

"Sorry you can't see him now."

"I am the British vice consul at Salt Lake City. I must see Tagore immediately on a very important business."

Pearson relaxed. He cleared his throat and said pleasantly, "Oh! well, you can come and see Tagore."

The supposed vice consul was taken into Tagore's room. "Your lordship," he began with suspicious politeness, "your lordship, I wish to ask—"

That was enough for wiseman Pearson. "Pardon me," broke in Pearson, "but being a British vice consul you may know that a knight is not addressed as your lordship. Can I help you any?" And he did. The masquerading reporter was promptly helped out of the room.

It was the intention of the University to give a reception or a dinner in honor of Rabindranath. But when it was discovered that he preferred not to have such an entertainment the plan was dropped. Tagore does not like to wear himself out socially. He has so much to do! He has such a strenuous schedule to go through every day!

A formal dinner or reception he confided to me is the surest way to kill me. I can't stand the strain. He was pleased however to accept my invitation to a quiet dinner in his hotel room.

He is a vegetarian. He likes ice cream and his only drink is water and milk. Tagore is a very small eater.

During the meal time we talked of Shantiniketan, Asram, the rush of American life, Indian students and Vedantic Swamis in the United States. What did he think of Americans? That is what I was curious about and that is what I asked. I think he replied with engaging frankness, your Americans live on the surface. They do not think deeply.

His comments on American universities showed keen philosophical penetration. They indicated that he had already formed a sound judgment of the state of learning in this country. When he was told however that the State University of Iowa spends three million rupees a year he looked a shade incredulous. Is that so? he asked in an undertone.

Apparently he cares precious little for his title of English knighthood and the degree of doctorate. Indeed, he seems to regard them with half amusement. Out of deference to his retiring habit I had ordered the dinner to be served in his living room instead of in the usual dining hall. The hotel management, fearing that he was sick, sent words of regret. Oh, tell them not to worry over that! Doctor Tagore directed his private secretary to reply. And then looking at me out of the corner of his eye he said laughingly, We ourselves are two doctors. What are we good for, Doctor Bose, if we can't take care of the sick?

All through the dinner his manner was quiet, modest and utterly unconscious. Magnetic tingling with genius he dares to live and laugh. He is a thoroughly human person, a dearly loving man. It is a pleasure to hear him talk. He has no gestures and speaks slowly and deliberately. In his conversation there is not any

trace of the 'Why sir?' and the 'No Sir!' and the 'You don't see your way through that question sir!' and the 'You talk the language of ignorance sir!' of the dictionary of Samuel Johnson. Tagore talks with you rather than at you. He is not given over to sermonizing. His voice is low and musical, his smile gentle and sweet. And his eyes—they are sad and penetrating.

Tagore looks like a prophet, or as the Americans would have it, he has a Messianic appearance. Indeed there are a few orthodox Christians in this country who even imagine that he received his inspiration for *Gitanjali* from David's Psalms in the Bible. To this he gave a decisive reply at Chicago last week that will not be soon forgotten. The Bible I have never read, remarked Tagore. I tried to read it. The first two books I tried. They were so—so—violent I could not. I have heard that the Psalms are beautiful. I must read them some day.

Tagore is now on a lecture tour in the United States for the purpose of raising funds to carry on the work of his school at Bolpur. The tour opened on the Pacific coast in September and will terminate on April first. He has sold his time to the Pond Lifeum Bureau under whose auspices he is booked to lecture. The subjects of his addresses are 'The Cult of Nationalism', 'Second Birth', 'The World of Personality', 'My School at Shantiniketan', 'What is Art?' He is shot by the bureau from town to town, city to city like a cannon ball. And the distances in America are greater than those of Africa. Tagore has hardly any breathing spell. At times he looks tired and worn out and may even say, I am homesick for Shantiniketan, but he is getting along finely. He has a working philosophy that combines the rugged zeal of Luther, the invincible optimism of Napoleon and the unconquerable will of Bismarck.

Three years ago when he first came to these shores some of his influential American friends volunteered to raise funds for his school, but he declined the offer. He was too patriotic, too proud to take help out of India. In a recent letter to me Tagore said that he had outgrown his patriotic pride. His words are worth appending. In our country the man who devotes himself to realize his spiritual oneness with all does not shrink to claim

his help from all men ; because it amounts to a tacit avowal that he belongs to mankind at large. My institution at Bolpur will accept food from all men and thus renounce its caste for good."

Tagore's address at Iowa was one of radiant intelligence ; it will easily be remembered as one of the very highest intellectual feats of the university year. His long wavy hair curling about his shoulders, his soft gray beard flowing over his breast, his benign face, and his dust-colored voluminous robe caught the imagination of the audience from the first. He made a superb figure of quiet dignity. And it seemed to me that as this Hindu stood there before his Christian audience with up-lifted hand he looked the veritable picture of one of their saints of old. A lady who had been to the Passion Play of Oberammergau told me that in his noble gentle dignity, in his generous outburst of righteous indignation, and in his consuming fire of religious ardor, Rabindranath Tagore came nearer resembling the spirit of Christ than did Anton Lang who thrice portrayed the role of Christus.

The subject of his discussion was the "Cult of Nationalism." To say that he treated it in a masterly manner is to say little. As nearly as I can remember his thoughts were these : Western nationalism is a perfected mechanical device for the promotion of material success and welfare of those persons composing the nation. It puts forth its tentacles into other people who are of "no nation," such as the Chinese and the Indian, and sucks their hearts dry. This nationalism is the process of turning a whole people to self-interest and selfishness. He characterized the Western nation as a creation of commerce and finance. Europe and America in their wild striving for commercial power and prestige have lost sight of the individual.

The West lives in an atmosphere of fear and greed and panic, owing to the preying of one nation upon another for material wealth. Its civilization is carnivorous and cannibalistic, feeding upon the blood of weaker nations. Its one idea is to thwart all greatness outside its own boundaries. Never before was such a sight of the wholesale feeding of God's creature. Never before such terrible jealousies, betrayal of trusts, lies ; and all this is called patriotism, whose creed is politics.

Tagore answered the argument that only the Western people, where nationality was strong, had progressed, by differentiating between two kinds of progress ; that which seeks to attain a definite material end, and that which is a continual growth, without end. The former was Western progress ; the latter the progress of the East.

The organized political and economic civilization of the West obliterates true humanity. It is aggressive ; it is mechanical. It has no soul under its jacket. The cult of nationalism is keeping India under foreign domination, is taking her customs and her ancient wisdom, and is engulfing her in ocean of modern inhumanity, in which she must writhe and suffer, while no help is at hand.

He pleaded for an abandonment of materialistic aims and materialistic ideals, and a return to a mode of thinking in which the individual and his well-being should be the chief consideration.

He also spoke on the subject of simplicity, comparing the perpetual hurry and worry of Western life with that of India. The simple life, simple without fruitless and racking strife for material goods and the empty satisfaction of possession, he upheld as ideal. "Simplicity in everything has characterized India," he asserted. "We are not mere philosophical abstractions, we are men with certain sensibilities. There is much to be learned by the Western nations through a study of Indian life and ideals."

The people in Europe and America are in a state of continual strife. There is no place for rest or peace of mind, or that meditative relief which in India we feel to be needed for the health of our spirits.

The present war, he said, is the self-destruction of the machine of nationalism. The European war is a retribution, the inevitable conclusion of organized nationalism.

The cult of modern nationalism is also a cult of self-worship. "We may find it convenient to forget truth, but truth does not forget us. It is, however, well to remember that humanity consists of other people than ourselves." The principle of barbarism is isolation ; but the principle of civilization is unity. The speaker looked forward to the time when there should be a federation of all nations, a universal

brotherhood of man, and a true worship of God in men's hearts

After the lecture the poet read three of his verses in English prose which related to the subject of nationalism. Rabindranath, like Alfred Tennyson, has the rare gift of "interpreting by reading the deeper meanings of poetry." Under the spell of his melodious voice people fairly sat on the edge of their chairs.

The address was a literary jewel. It did not lose in force although he read it from manuscript. Tagore knew how to pull out the soft stops on the organ, but he did not. He evaded nothing, compromised nothing, softened nothing. He spoke straight from his shoulder, and his utterance at times fell like shrapnel. Yet he was warmly applauded. How could he inspire such a response? That is hard to say. Perhaps the soul gripping quality of the message that he brought accounts for it.

Many were the comments that reached my ears on the Tagore lecture. "I thought that the Hindus were a bunch of people," a slangy undergraduate was overheard to remark, 'who needed to be taught, but

now comes a Hindu who can really teach us Americans. For the love of Mikel Doesn't that beat all!" I also heard a distinguished professor of the University say that parts of Tagore's address were so elevated in moral tone as to make him think of Emerson, so poetic in thought that they reminded him of Shakespeare, and so impressive in spiritual fervor as to give him the uplift of the Bible.

When I helped him into the Pullman Car at the station that night I thought of him as a personification of the Vedic spirit of Hindustan. No sentiment seems to command his life so completely as loyalty to Indian ideals. This loyalty is no mere academic formula, no pose, but a reality. It is with him something vivid, tangible; it is something alive, practical, fit to live and work for. "I shall be born in India again and again," remarked Tagore with a smile of pride lighting up his face. "With all her poverty, misery and wretchedness, I love India best."

November, 1916

U S A

## GLEANINGS

### Buildings Moved by Water

Buildings have been moved from the Panama Pacific Exposition site to permanent locations in surrounding countries by loading them on barges.

A white pine bungalow built by the Weed Red River & McCloud Lumber Company at an approximate cost of \$18,000 was one of the first to be moved in that way. It took a week to move the house from the south gardens of the Exposition to the yacht harbor—a distance of less than 1 mile—for transfer to the barge.

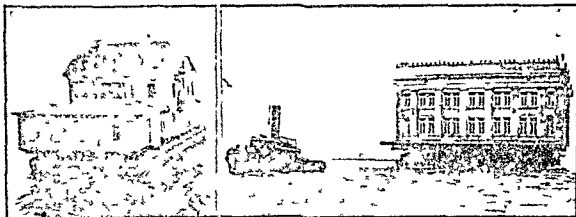
Loading on the barge was difficult, owing to the rise and fall of the tide which is about 9 feet at that point and necessitated quick work on the part of the movers to prevent damage to the 170-ton structure as it left the shore. After it was loaded the 15-mile journey across the bay to Santa Venetia, a suburb of San Rafael, was made in about 24 hours. The largest and heaviest structure moved was the Ohio Building which is 132.5 feet long, 80 feet wide and 43 feet high. Its estimated weight is approximately 1,000 tons. Two 600-ton barges were placed on ways so that they were entirely out of water at low tide and the building was moved onto them. They floated off at high tide. Owing to the choppy sea beyond

the Marina the barges were moored to the transport dock near by until the following morning and then towed about thirty-two miles down the bay to San Carlos. The building will be used as a home for the Peninsula Country Club. The George Washington home and the Wisconsin Building are to be moved in the same manner. —*The Literary Digest*

### To Detect Left Handedness

An instrument to ascertain whether a child should use the right or left hand has been devised by Prof. W. Franklin Jones, head of the Department of Education in the University of South Dakota. The device, a form of brachimeter (arm meter) may be used even with newborn infants. The child should be taught to use the arm having the longer ulna, it seems and in 96 cases out of 100 the ulna is longer in the right arm. Professor Jones has come to the conclusion that this knowledge is highly important, and should be obtained as early as possible.

The moment we contemplate the effect of transference, says Professor Jones, that is, teaching a left-handed child to use the right hand—we must first ascertain the effect upon the speech connection which is greatly dependent upon the arms. The fact that I have found a larger number of feeble-minded indivi-



*This house was moved from Winthrop to Point of Pines, Mass. 15 miles in three hours*

*One of the Panama Pacific Exposition buildings being moved to a new setting by water. A number of the Exposition structures are being transplanted in this manner*

#### BUILDINGS THAT GO DOWN TO THE SEA ON SHIPS.



Measuring for right or left handedness

duals and snitters than statistics would lead one to expect among the thousands of children I have examined causes me to fear any transfer from one arm to the other. Out of 10 000 brachiometer tests Professor Jones discovered that 417 children were born left handed while 9 853 were born right handed, 4 per cent of the one are left handed while 96 per

cent are right handed. Out of 417 born left handers four are shifted by accident—1 per cent of all left handers are shifted by deliberate interference. One person in twenty five is using the minor arm. It is easy to return the individual to his birthright so far as the arms are concerned he declares. A little practise will be amply sufficient to develop skill in the arm which Nature intended to be used and what Nature intends, in the case of left or right handedness should be followed to the letter. In making his determination Professor Jones relies to a great extent upon a measurement of the 'ulna plus'. The arm for which this measurement is greatest is the arm which the child should be taught to use. The ulna plus is the length of the ulna—one of the bones in the forearm—plus the length of the hand to the middle of the knuckle. This measure is used because it is more easily determined than the length of the ulna alone. —*The Literary Digest*.

#### The History of a Failure that was Great

##### DR. ROSE'S REMINISCENCES

At the invitation of the President and the Committee of the Industrial Exhibition Dr. Rose gave a lecture on the life of his father the late Bhagadad Chunder Bose who founded the Exhibition at Farid Pore, where he was the Sub-Divisional Officer fifty years ago. In the course of his address he said:

It is the obvious the insistent, the blatant that often blinds us to the essential. And in solving the mystery that underlies life the enlightenment will come not by the study of the complex man but through the simpler plant. It is the unsuspected forces, hidden to the eyes of men—the forces imprisoned in the soil and the stimuli of alternating flash of light and the gloomings of darkness—these and many others will be found to maintain the ceaseless activity which we know as the fullness of throbbing life.

This is likewise true of the congeries of life which we call a society or a nation. The energy which moves this great mass in ceaseless effort to realise some common aspiration often has its origin in the

unknown solitudes of a village life. And thus the history of some efforts now forgotten which emanated from Paripore may be found not unconnected with others with which India is now meeting her problems to-day. How did these problems first dawn in the minds of some men who forecast themselves by half a century? How fared their hopes? how did their dreams become buried in oblivion? Where lies the secret of that potency which makes certain efforts apparently doomed to failure rise renewed from beneath the smouldering ashes? Are these dead failures so utterly unrelated to some great success that we may acclaim to day? When we look deeper we shall find that this is not so, that as inevitable as is the sequence of cause and effect, so unrelenting must be the sequence of failure and success. We shall find that the failure must be the antecedent power to lie dormant for the long subsequent dynamic expression in what we call success. It is then and then only that we shall begin to question ourselves, which is the greater of the two, a noble failure or a vulgar success.

As a concrete example, I shall relate the history of a noble failure which had its setting in this little corner of the earth. And if some of the audience thought that the speaker has been blessed with life that has been unusually fruitful they will soon realise that the power and strength that nerved me to meet the shocks of life were in reality derived at this very place, where I witnessed the struggle which overpowered a far greater life.

#### STIMULUS OF CONTACT WITH WESTERN CULTURE

An impulse from the outside reacts on impressionable bodies, in two different ways depending on whether the recipient is inert or fully alive. The inert is fashioned after the pattern of the impression made on it, and this in infinite repetition of one mechanical stamp. But when an organism is fully alive the answering reaction is often of an altogether different character to the impinging stimulus. The outside shocks stir up the organism to answer feebly or to the utmost in ways as multitudinous and varied as life itself. So the first impetus of Western education impressed itself on some in a dead monotony of imitation of things Western, while in others it awakened all that was greatest in the national memory. It is the release of some giant force which lay for long time dormant. My father was one of the earliest to receive the impetus characteristic of the modern epoch as derived from the West. And in his case it came to pass that the stimulus evoked the latent potentialities of his race for evolving modes of expression demanded by the period of transition in which he was placed. They found expression in great constructive work, in the restoration of quiet amidst disorder, in the earliest effort to spread education both among men and women, in questions of social welfare and industrial efforts, in the establishment of people's bank and in the foundation of industrial and technical schools. And behind all these efforts lay a burning love for his country and its nobler traditions.

#### MATTERS EDUCATIONAL

In educational matters he had very definite idea which is now becoming more fully appreciated. English schools were at that time not only regarded as the only efficient medium for instruction. While my father's subordinates sent their children to the English schools intended for gentle folks, I was sent to the vernacular school where my comrades were ardy sons of toilers and of others who, it is now the fashion

to regard, were belonging to the depressed classes. From these who tilled the ground and made the land blossom with green verdure and ripening corn, and the sons of the fisher folk, who told stories of the strange creatures that frequented the unknown depths of mighty rivers and stagnant pools, I first derived the lesson of that which constitutes true manhood. From them too I drew my love of nature. When I came home accompanied by my comrades I found my mother waiting for us. She was an orthodox Hindu yet the 'untouchableness' of some of my school fellows did not produce any misgivings in her. She welcomed and fed all these as her own children, for it is only true of the mother heart to go out and enfold in her protecting care all those who needed succour and a mother's affection. I now realise the object of my being sent at the most plastic period of my life to the vernacular school, where I was to learn my own language to think my own thoughts and to receive the heritage of our national culture through the medium of our own literature. I was thus to consider myself one with the people and never to place myself in an equivocal position of assumed superiority. This I realised more particularly when later I wished to go to Europe and to compete for the Indian Civil Service, his refusal as regards that particular career was absolute. I was to rule nobody but myself, I was to be a scholar not an administrator.

#### THE HISTORY OF A FAILURE THAT WAS GREAT

There has been some complaint that the experiment of setting out cut and dried moral texts as a part of school routine has not proved to be so effective as was expected by their promulgators. The moral education which we received in our childhood was very indirect and came from listening to stories recited by the kathaks on various incidents connected with our great epics. Their effect on our minds was very great, this may be because our racial memory makes us more prone to respond to certain ideals that have been impressed on the consciousness of the nation. These early appeals to our emotions have remained persistent. The only difference is that what was then taken as a narrative of incidents more or less historical is now realised as eternally true, being an allegory of the ascending struggle of the human soul in its choice between what is material and that other something which transcends it. The only pictures now in my study are a few frescoes done for me by Abanindranath Tagore and Nanda Lal Bose. The first fresco represents Her, who is the Sustainer of the Universe. She stands pedestalled on the lotus of our heart. The world was at peace, but a change has come and she under whose veil of Compassion we had been protected so long suddenly flings us to the world of conflict. Our great epic the Mahabharata, deals with this great conflict, and the few frescoes delineate some of the fundamental incidents. The coming of the sword is signalled by the rattle of discus thrown by Yudhishthira the paven at stake being the crown. Two hostile arrays are set in motion the mighty Kaurava armaments meeting in shock of battle the Pandava host with Arjuna as the leader, and Krishna as his Divine Character. At the supreme moment Arjuna had flung down his earthly weapon, Gaudara. It was then that the eternal conflict between matter and spirit was decided. The next panel shows the outward or the material aspect of victory. Behind a foreground of waving flags is seen the battle field of Kurukshetra with procession of white-clad mourning women seen by fitful lights of funeral pyres. In the last panel is seen Yudhishthira, released,



ing the fruits of his victory setting out on his last journey. In front of him lies the vast and sombre plain and mountain peaks faintly visible by gleams of unearthly light, unlocalised but playing here and there. His wife and his brothers had fallen behind and dropped one by one. There is to be no human companion in his last journey. The only thing that stood by him and from which he had never been really separated is Dharma or the Spirit of Righteousness.

#### LIFE OF ACTION

Faridpur at that time enjoyed a notoriety of being the stronghold of desperate characters—dacoits by land and water. My father had captured single-handed one of the principal leaders whom he sentenced to a long term of imprisonment. After release he came to my father and demanded some new occupation, since the particular vocation in which he had specialised was now rendered impossible. My father took the unusual course to employ him as my special attendant to carry me a child of four on his back to the distant village school. No nurse could be tenderer than this ex-leader of lawless men whose profession had been to deal out wounds and deaths. He had accepted a life of peace but he could not altogether wipe out his old memories. He used to fill my infant mind with the stories of his bold adventures the numerous fights in which he had taken part the death of his companions and his hair-breadth escapes. Numerous were the decorations he bore. The most conspicuous was an ugly mark on his breast left by an arrow and a hole on the thigh caused by a spear thrust. The trust imposed on this marauder proved to be not altogether ill placed for once in a river journey we were pursued by several long boats filled with armed dacoits. When these boats came too near for us to effect an escape the erstwhile dacoit leader my attendant stood up and gave a peculiar cry which was evidently understood. For the pursuing boats vanished at the signal.

#### INDUSTRIAL EFFORTS.

I come now to another period of his life fifty years from now when he foresaw the economic danger that threatened his country. This Agricultural and Industrial Exhibition was one of the first means he thought of to avert the threatened danger. Here also he attempted to bring together other activities. Even amusements were given by the performance of Jatra<sup>s</sup> which have been the expression of our national drama and which have constantly enriched our Bengali literature by the contributions of village bards and composers. There were athletic tournaments also and display of physical strength and endurance. He also established here the people's bank which is now in a most flourishing condition. He established industrial and technical schools and it was there that the inventive bent of my mind received its first impetus. I remember the deep impression made on my mind by the form of worship rendered by the artisans to Viswakarma God in his aspect as the Great Artificer. His hand it was that was moulding the whole creation and it seemed that we were the instruments in his hand through whom he intended to fashion some Great Design.

In practical agriculture my father was among Indians one of the first to start a tea industry in Assam, now regarded as one of the most flourishing. He gave practically everything in the starting of some Weaving Mills. He stood by this and many other efforts in industrial developments. The success of

which I spoke of did not come till long after—too late for him to see it. He had come before the country was ready, and it happened to him as it must happen to all pioneers. Every one of his efforts failed and the crash came. And a great burden fell on us which was only lifted by our united efforts just before his work here was over.

A failure? Yes but not ignoble or altogether futile. Since it was through the witnessing of this struggle that the son learned to look on success or failure as one to realise that some defeat was greater than victory. And if my life in any way proved to be fruitful then that came through the realisation of this lesson.

To me his life had been one of blessing and daily thanksgiving. Nevertheless every one had said that he had wrecked his life which was meant for far greater things. Few realise that out of the skeletons of myriad lives have been built vast continents. And it is on the wreck of a life like his and of many such lives that will be built the Greater India yet to be. We do not know why it should be so, but we do know that the Earth Mother is hungry for sacrifice.

#### History of Caste in India and Varnasram Dharma

By SIR RAMKRISHNA GOPAL BHANDARJEE,  
Ph.D., LL.D.

During the early portion of the period occupied by the composition of the Rig Veda Samhita two Varnas, which word afterwards came to signify a caste, are alluded to, (1) The Arya Varna, i.e., Arya colour or group of men. (2) The Dasya Varna, i.e., Dasya colour or group of men. Later on there appears a mention of Brahma, Kshatriya and Visva which indicate three occupations viz.—that of priests, rulers and politicians and the ordinary people. These occupations have not yet become hereditary and anyone could assume them in accordance with his own circumstances. Devapi who is represented by Yaska as belonging to the Kuru race is mentioned in A. 98, 5 as having assumed the function of a sacrificial priest and brought down rain. The person for whom he acted as priest was his brother Santanu and since according to Yaska they belonged to the Kuru race, they must both be considered to have followed the occupation of rulers or politicians. This is an instance in which a Kshatriya may be considered for a time to have become a Brahmana. There is a story related in the Aitareya Brahmana that the old Rishi held a sacrificial session on the banks of the Sarasvati. There was among the sacrificers a man of the name of Kavasha Atusha and being a non-Brahmana of a disrespectful character and thus not authorised to be a sacrificer was driven out to the dry sands that he might not drink the water of the Sarasvati. There he became a seer or a Rishi and composed a hymn in consequence of which the Sarasvati ran up to him and enabled him to quench his thirst. Having thus composed a hymn he became, non-Brahmana as he was a Brahmana. And there are stories of Visvamitra having been originally a Kshatriya current in the Epic period. Visvamitra and his descendants were the an-hors of the Third Book of the Rig Samhita and consequently Brahmanas pre-eminently. There are no plain indications in the Samhita itself of his having been once Kshatriya but according to a very old tradition current in the time of Aitareya Brahmana, and of Yaska he was. The latter in explaining the expression कुपिषत्सु or the son of

Kusha, occurring in one of Visvamitra's hymns, tells us that Kusha was a king in the Aitareya Brahmana. Visvamitra is represented to have addressed him as Kajasputra or the son of a king and Bharatashabha is the great Bharata. Thus the epic story seems to have been confirmed by a very old tradition. Visvamitra having been born as a Kshatriya became a Brahmana and a Rishi. Thus originally there were three orders and as anybody was at liberty to take up any of them that suited his circumstances, the orders were in no sense castes. In time, however, they became hereditary and no one could assume that order into which he was not born. In one of the latest hymns of the Samhita that known as the Irushasokta, the four castes Brahmana, Kshatriya, Vaishya and Sudra are distinctly mentioned. The first three belong to the Aryan stock and the last is clearly distinguished from it. It has already been mentioned that when the Aryans invaded India they met with hordes of indigenous tribes to whom they gave the general name of Dasuya. In the course of time one or more of these tribes became incorporated with the Aryan society and to them was assigned the function of menial service. I probably one of the main tribes was called by the name of Sudra and that term acquired a comprehensive sense so as to render it applicable to all non-Aryan tribes.

But though these orders had become hereditary and acquired to that extent the nature of castes, still commensality and consanguinity between the members of a certain group which are the essential characteristics of a caste at the present day did not exist for a long time. The epics are full of instances in which Brahmanas dined with Kshatriyas and Vaishyas and in some cases with Sudras also. And the members of a caste were allowed to marry with from the lower ones in addition to one from their own. Such marriages are called Anuloma marriages, i.e., marriages in conformity with the established gradation of castes. Marriages in the reverse order, i.e., of a woman of a superior caste with a man of an inferior one were prohibited by law but still were in practice. The authors of Dharmasutras and the metrical Smritis give the names of the mixed castes formed by these two kinds of marriages. Among the names mentioned by them are such ones as Vaidehika and Magadha which are clearly names derived from the locality in which the people belonging to the castes originally lived, i.e., these were considered as separate castes only because they lived in the provinces of Videha and Magadha and were thus isolated from the rest just as the Vadnagars and Visnagars have become separate castes in consequence of the locality to which they belonged. Chandalas and Nishadas are also mentioned among the mixed castes and were evidently aboriginal tribes. The authors of the Dharmasutras finding a number of castes prevalent in Hindu Society endeavoured to account for them by the theory of the mixed marriages we have mentioned. Probably a few castes were formed by such marriages; but it has been out mental practice to form a theory based upon the instances falling within our ordinary observation and extending that theory to other instances also, in which the origin is unknown. But the enumeration of these mixed castes shows us this at least that there were some which owed their origin to mixed marriages, that there were others due to the difference of locality and still others which properly were original races. Difference of race has been a very fruitful cause of the difference of castes. Not only did the aboriginal races form

as many independent castes, but there were other races also which made incursions into the country in later times and swelled the number. The Yavatas or Hellenes (Greeks) made their appearance in the country, a few centuries before Christ and were followed later on by Sakas. Though these held large portions of the country, they ruled it as conquerors and remained there as rulers. When they lost power they were probably absorbed in the existing castes. I may here mention a colony of Persian priests called Magi who sought the worship of Mithra in the south of the country about 200-300 A.D. These are known to Sanskrit literature as Magas and are considered as Brahmanas. The Magas Brahmanas exist as an independent caste in Rajasthan and elsewhere in Northern India to this day. Put forward about the first century after Christ to about the sixth large hordes of tribes of the name of Abhiras and Gujjaras poured into the country and settled in it. The Abhiras occupied the country from the east of the Junjals to about Mathura and southwards to Kathiawar and Koonkan. The Gujjaras followed afterwards. They came by way of the Punjab to a province of which they gave their name now known as Gujrat. Then they entered Kaiputana and founded a kingdom at Kanauj which subsisted for a few centuries. Subsequently they turned to south and established a kingdom in northern Gujrat at Anahilpatana and gave the name of Gujrat to the off province of Idara which it still holds. The Abhiras and Gujjaras formed separate castes and we have at present Abhiras and Gujjaras, Siddhis, Abhiras and Gujjaras, carpenters and even Abhiras and Gujjaras Brahmanas. Later on came also a small horde of Huns called in Sanskrit Hunas. These Hunas seem to have formed a caste and there are a few people in the Punjab whose Gotra is known by the name of Hunas in addition to these three castes there were others also which contributed to the multiplication of castes. We have epigraphic evidence that there were in the early centuries of the Christian era a number of trade guilds such as Tashikastri or the guild of linen, Malhastri or the guild of gardeners which had their own constitution. This enabled them to receive in permanent deposit sums of money the interest of which was to be devoted for the benefit of Buddhist monks. Guilds such as these became exclusive castes in the course of time. Then arose a number of religious sects which too hardened into castes eventually. But the most fruitful source for the multiplication of castes was the number of persons who were called Vratyas. These whose Upanayana ceremony was not performed at time prescribed or not at all were called Vratyas. All communication with them was prohibited. In general terms it may be stated that those who violated the Brahmanic ordinances were excommunicated and formed separate castes. This principle of excommunication went on being largely resorted to in later times even when there was a slight departure from the ordinary usages of castes. From the operation of all these causes the number of castes has now swollen to more than about 1000 and the Hindu population of India is now divided into so many distinct communities differing in manners and customs and often hostile to each other.

The germs of the caste system existed among the nations of the west. There were no later marriages between the Patricians and the Plebeians of ancient Rome for a long time and there were traces even amongst the Greeks, Germans and Russians of the same prohibition and of not eating together. But

these traces disappeared in the course of time among those nations, while they have had a luxuriant growth in India until they have developed into a mighty and extensive banian tree casting the dark shadow of its branches over every province, city and village of India, and what is the reason? This is what M. Senart a French scholar who has written an essay on 'caste' says on the subject 'The growth of strong political and national feelings constantly tended in the west to weaken and at last succeeded in removing these (caste) restrictions.' He suggests that absence of such feelings in India may be one reason why the disabilities have not also there been gradually softened away. Softened away, indeed! There is no talk here of caste restrictions softening away; they have instead hardened into a rock in a manner to challenge the skill and power of the great athlete among us to break it. Not only have political and national feelings not grown among us but whatever rudiments of those feelings existed at and before the time of Buddha have on the contrary softened away and now there is no trace of them. But we have received an English education, and European ideas have been grafted on our minds and they are filled with new national aspirations. As a result of the terrible war that is now being waged in Europe there is a hope that some of these aspirations will be realized and the aim of the British Government will be to make India a friend of the Empire and not a trusted dependant. To become the friend of the Empire, India must be one and one hearted and this can only be effected by the obliteration of caste distinctions among the Hindus and a good understanding between them and the Mahomedans. Our efforts therefore must now be directed towards achieving such a result.

[Part of the address delivered by Sir R.G. Bhandarkar as President of the Aryan Brotherhood Conference]

## Post war Reforms

### DEMAND OF UNITED INDIA.

The following is the scheme of Post War Reforms prepared and adopted by the Congress and the Moslem League.

#### I—PROVINCIAL LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL.

1. Provincial Legislative Councils shall consist of four-fifths elected and of one-fifth nominated members.

2. Their strength shall be not less than 125 members in the major provinces, and from 50 to 75 in the minor provinces.

3. The members of Councils should be elected directly by people on as broad a franchise as possible.

4. Adequate provision should be made for the representation of important minorities by election, and that the Mahomedans should be represented through special electorates on the Provincial Legislative Councils.

Provided that Mahomedans shall not participate in any of the other elections to the Legislative Councils.

5. The head of the Provincial Government should not be the President of the Legislative Council but the Council should have the right of electing its President.

6. The right of asking supplementary questions should not be restricted to the member putting the original question but should be allowed to be exercised by any other member.

7. (a) Except customs, post telegraph, mint, salt, opium, railways, army and navy, and tributes from Indian States, all other sources of revenue should be provincial.

(b) There should be no divided heads of revenue. The Government of India should be provided with fixed contributions from the Provincial Governments, such fixed contributions being liable to revision when extraordinary and unforeseen contingencies render such revision necessary.

(c) The Provincial Council should have full authority to deal with all matters affecting the internal administration of the province including the power to raise loans, to impose and alter taxation, and to vote on the Budget. All items of expenditure, and all proposals concerning ways and means for raising the necessary revenue, should be embodied in Bills and submitted to the Provincial Council for adoption.

(d) Resolutions on all matters within the purview of the Provincial Government should be allowed for discussion in accordance with rules made in that behalf by the Council itself.

(e) A resolution passed by the Legislative Council shall be binding on the Executive Government, unless vetoed by the Governor in Council, provided however that if the resolution is again passed by the Council after an interval of not less than one year, it must be given effect to.

(f) A motion for adjournment may be brought forward for the discussion of a definite matter of urgent public importance if supported by not less than one-eighth of the members present.

8. Any special meeting of the Council may be summoned on a requisition by not less than one-eighth of the members.

9. A Bill other than a Money Bill, may be introduced in Council in accordance with the rules made in that behalf by the Council itself and the consent of the Government should not be required therefor.

10. All Bills passed by Provincial Legislatures shall have to receive the assent of the Governor before they become law, but may be vetoed by the Governor General.

11. The term of office of the members shall be five years.

#### II—PROVINCIAL GOVERNMENTS

1. The head of every Provincial Government shall be a Governor who shall not ordinarily belong to the Indian Civil Service or any of the permanent services.

2. There shall be in every Province an Executive Council which, with the Governor, shall constitute the Executive Government of the Province.

3. Members of the Indian Civil Service shall not ordinarily be appointed to the Executive Councils.

4. Not less than one-half of the members of Executive Council shall consist of Indians to be elected by the elected members of the Provincial Legislative Council.

5. The term of office of the members shall be five years.

#### III—IMPERIAL LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL

1. The strength of the Imperial Legislative Council shall be 150.

2. Four-fifths of the members shall be elected.

3. The franchise for the Imperial Legislative Council should be widened as far as possible on the

lines of the present electorates and the elected members of the Provincial Legislative Councils should also form an electorate for the return of Members to the Imperial Legislative Council.

5 The President of the Council shall be elected by the Council itself.

6 The right of asking supplementary questions shall not be restricted to the member putting the original question but should be allowed to be exercised by any other member.

7 Any special meeting of the Council may be summoned on a requisition by not less than one-eighth of the members.

8 A Bill, other than a Money Bill, may be introduced in Council in accordance with rules made in that behalf by the Council itself, and the consent of the Executive Government should not be required therefor.

9 All Bills passed by the Council shall have to receive the assent of the Governor General before they become law.

10. All financial proposals relating to sources of income and items of expenditure shall be embodied in Bills. Every such Bill and the Budget as a whole shall be submitted for the vote of the Imperial Legislative Council.

11 The term of office of members shall be five years.

12 The matters mentioned hereinbelow shall be exclusively under the control of the Imperial Legislative Council.

(a) Matters in regard to which uniform legislation for the whole of India is desirable.

(b) Provincial legislation is so far as it may affect inter-provincial fiscal relations.

(c) Questions affecting purely Imperial Revenue, excepting tributes from Indian States.

(d) Questions affecting purely Imperial expenditure except that no resolution of the Imperial Legislative Council shall be binding on the Governor General in Council in respect of military changes for the defence of the country.

(e) The right of revising Indian tariffs and customs-duties of imposing, altering or removing any tax or cess, modifying the existing system of currency and banking and granting any aids or bounties to any or all deserving and nascent industries of the country.

(f) Resolutions on all matters relating to the administration of the country as a whole.

(g) A Resolution passed by the Legislative Council should be binding on the Executive Government unless vetoed by the Governor General in Council, provided however that if the Resolution is again passed by the Council after an interval of not less than one year it must be given effect to.

(h) A motion for adjournment may be brought forward for the discussion of a definite matter of urgent public importance, if supported by not less than one-eighth of the members present.

13 The Crown may exercise its power of veto in regard to a Bill passed by a Provincial Legislative Council or by the Imperial Legislative Council within twelve months from the date on which it is passed,

and the Bill shall cease to have effect as from the date on which the fact of such veto is made known to the Legislative Council concerned.

14 The Imperial Legislative Council shall have no power to interfere with the Government of India's direction of the military affairs and the foreign political relations of India, including the declaration of war, the making of peace and the entering into treaties.

#### IV—THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA.

1 The Governor-General of India will be the head of the Government of India.

2 He will have an executive Council, half of whom shall be Indians.

3 The Indian members should be elected by the elected members of the Imperial Legislative Council.

4 Members of the Indian Civil Service shall not ordinarily be appointed to the Executive Council of the Governor General.

5 The power of making all appointments in the Imperial Civil Services shall vest in the Government of India due regard being paid to existing interests, subject to any laws that may be made by the Imperial Legislative Council.

6 The Government of India shall not ordinarily interfere in the local affairs of a province, and powers not specifically given to a Provincial Government, shall be deemed to be vested in the former. The authority of the Government of India will ordinarily be limited to general supervision and superintendence over the Provincial Governments.

7 In legislative and administrative matters the Government of India shall, as far as possible, be independent of the Secretary of State.

8 A system of independent audit of the accounts of the Government of India should be instituted.

#### V—THE SECRETARY OF STATE IN COUNCIL.

1 The Council of the Secretary of State for India should be abolished.

2 The salary of the Secretary of State should be placed on the British Estimates.

3 The Secretary of State should, as far as possible, occupy the same position in relation to the Government of India as the Secretary of State for the Colonies in relation to the Governments of the self-governing dominions.

4 The Secretary of State for India should be assisted by two Permanent Under-Secretaries, one of whom should always be an Indian.

#### VI—OTHER MATTERS

1 The military and naval services of his Majesty, both in their commissioned and non-commissioned ranks should be thrown open to Indians and adequate provision should be made for their selection, training and instruction in India.

2 Indians should be allowed to enlist as volunteer.

3 Indians should be placed on a footing of equality in respect of status and rights of citizenship with other subjects of his Majesty the King throughout the Empire.

4 The Executive Officers in India shall have no judicial powers entrusted to them and the judiciary in every Province shall be placed under the highest Court of that Province.

## INDIAN PERIODICALS

Mr S H Freemantle in a thoughtful and ably written article discusses

### The True Aim of Education

in the pages of the *Educational Review* for December, 1916. He begins by pointing out correctly that "schooling is not the whole of education, and that the science of economics is very closely concerned with the study of education."

There are boys who have been many years at good schools but have got little good from it and are incapable of any real work. There are men who can manage a large staff and are intimately acquainted with not only the names but the habits and treatment of a large variety of plants and yet have had little or no schooling. Or take the village potter. Is he not wonderfully skilful and efficient in his own sphere? It may be said that a good education has been of little real service to the one nor has a defective education been a serious obstacle to the other. This does not mean however that education is a failure. Education is not a matter only for schools and Universities. It includes all conscious human influence brought to bear on the young and no view of education is complete which does not lay stress on the responsibility of parents and older relations for doing their part towards the training of youth. In India many students come from homes where there is little enlightenment and this places a special responsibility on the schools and colleges for doing what they can to supplement the deficiencies of the home.

What is it that we should wish to give our children through education?

The answer of some will be the power to earn their own living and of others the power to be useful to the community. This is the economic view plain and unadorned. But I was greatly struck by a newspaper article I recently saw on the aims of education.

"If we are wise," it said, "we should wish our children to be happy first of all, since by real happiness they find their greatest success and their greatest usefulness. And I think there is a great truth in this. And the author goes on to tell us at length what it is that makes people happy. We need, he says, a faith in the very nature of the universe, a belief that the universe is itself interesting and that it will not betray any one or any nation that is interested in it. Therefore what we should wish in the education of our sons is that they should be made happy through incessant interest in it. The universe should not be regarded as a place where men labour to grow rich or to make their country the greatest in the world. But the baseness of education is to give to the boy through right experience of life and nature the will to act rightly in any position in which he may be placed. This through his happy industry and

awakened intelligence he will be able to hold his own in the competition of life and the nation also.

It may be noted here that in Sir Rabindranath Tagore's opinion one of the most distinctive features of his school at Bolpur is that the boys are happy there.

How are we to apply these principles to the conditions of Indian students?

It is obvious that some subjects in the curriculum are naturally more interesting than others. History and Geography and physical science when taught as they should be in relation to each other and to the world around us. Economics too when applied to local conditions. Literature also both Indian and English. These are the chief subjects of study in the college. They contribute directly and obviously to utility and culture and they fulfil the test applied. But what of the subjects in the schools reading and writing of vernacular reading and writing of English, and arithmetic. These are the mere mechanism of education the keys to unlock wide realms of knowledge. Lord Avebury puts it in a homely way when he says Reading writing arithmetic and grammar do not constitute education any more than a knife fork and spoon constitute a dinner. It is then as means and not as ends in themselves that we should regard them.

To the question—should elementary education be restricted to the literary classes whose aim is to proceed to the secondary school?—the writer, gives the following answer.

I think that we should make an effort to devise a system of education adapted to rural conditions and that there is no insuperable difficulty in doing so. For even the 3 R's can be made interesting and therefore educative if the methods in use are carefully considered and revised in order to interest the class and if the lessons are brought into close touch with each other and with rural life.

Children like nothing better than acting as grown up people. They are constantly seen in the villages playing at marking out field boundaries in the sand and even constructing miniature terraced fields in uneven land. Nature study and the establishment of school gardens will teach them to interest themselves in flowers and vegetables and crops and trees and make them more adaptable—more open to new ideas and more ready when grown up to adopt any new crops and processes recommended by the Agricultural Department. Then boys who have acquired a competent acquaintance with the 3 R's the keys that open the realms of knowledge should be given all possible opportunity of using those keys and not letting them rust. Village libraries should be established occasional lantern lectures on popular subjects might be instituted and periodical readings of religious and popular books should be.

in the school. Village panchayats co-operative credit societies school committees all of which have great educative value would meet in the school and it might and should be the centre of culture for the neighbourhood.

Courses should also as time goes on be established for upper primary passed boys by itinerant agricultural teachers who would visit central schools once a week and give instruction in rudimentary agricultural science.

### The writer concludes by saying

Neither the individual nor the nation is benefited by a large increase in the facilities for Anglo Vernacular (mis-called secondary) education and that charitable and benevolent people who now contribute largely to such institutions would be better advised if they devoted their available resources to commercial enterprises which not only add directly to the wealth of the country but provide careers for educated men and employment for the semi-educated where by congenial work they can keep up and expand their interests and lead lives that are both happy and useful to themselves and to the community. On the other hand they prefer to devote their spare resources to the encouragement of education there is ample scope for their generosity in founding scholarships for the poor yet brilliant boys who would otherwise have been unable to reach the secondary school and college. Such boys will soon pass through the introductory stage and their higher education will be a joy to themselves and an economic asset to the nation.

The Mysore Social Review for January contains an interesting

### History of the Blotting Paper from which we cull the following.

Blotting paper, a necessity of modern life was unknown a century ago. Our ancestors when they wrote a letter sprinkled sand over it to dry the ink—a cumbersome process typical of times when deliberation was the keynote of business but altogether impossible in these days of haste and hurry. Many years ago there was a Mill at Hagbourne not far from Wallingford in Berkshire, where paper was made by hand under the proprietorship of Mr. John Slade, a direct ancestor of the present proprietor of Snakely Mills—High Wycombe, England—which are the largest mills in the world solely employed in the manufacture of blotting paper. One day so new workmen omitted the essential ingredients of size, during their manipulations and the result was the output of what was regarded as a quantity of waste. This mistake proved a fortunate one for it led to the most important consequences. Some one used a piece of the "waste" to write a note and found the ink spreading so rapidly as to render the writing illegible. Such an incident would in nine cases out of ten have passed without special attention but there was evidently at Hagbourne Mill a quick brain ready to grasp industrial possibilities. It was realised that here was an opportunity to produce something of value to the commercial world and to all who used the pen. The result was "Slade's Original Hand-made Blotting Hagbourne Mill ceased to produce ordinary paper, its resources were turned into the new channel. The novel article took the public by surprise and a vast increase in its rapidly that another Mill in

Hampshire was adapted for its product. Hagbourne Mill came eventually into the proprietorship of Mr. Thomas Birch Ford under whose supervision the output was further extended. In 1839 Mr. Ford came to the conclusion that there was an opening for machine-made blotting paper. He purchased Snakely Mills and leaving to make hand-made blotting put the machine-made article on the market. It was of course cheaper but all the best characteristics of the old hand-produced article were retained. Success was speedy. As the paper became known to the stationery trade the demand rose. Its high quality never varied and Ford's Blottings acquired—and have never lost—the reputation of being the very finest articles of their kind in the world. The beautiful blotting paper now produced at these Mills is the result of generations of ingenuity and skill solely devoted to the perfecting of blotting paper. Blottings were originally made uniformly of one shade of pink, and the sheets were thin. The prevalent colour arose from the fact that rags, from which ordinary paper could not be produced from the impossibility of eliminating the last colour, were utilised in this way. The very latest addition is a black blotting that will absorb inkmarks without showing them.

Jean Roberts writes interestingly about

### Poetry and Poets of Today

in East and West for December

"In early youth," says the writer, "our ardent affection glows for the poems appulse with their creator's breath, fresh from the poet's lips."

We have lost the first fresh rapturous enthusiasm for poetic flavours, but it may be that Time, in blunting the edge of the growing mind's appetite, has given us a discrimination of palate that can only be developed by experience and force of comparison. We contrast the freshly gathered fruits with the stored delicates. We have lost the keenness of anticipation, we have gained a retrospect.

The writer goes on to say and quite correctly too, that not Genius alone dominates us. She is helped by Art.

There are many minds that would never be reached by Genius unaccompanied by Art. For it is not only the thought—the inspiration of the poet—that strikes our minds and aways our emotions. It is the manner also in which those thoughts take shape, the quality of the words that clothe them. Some judges maintain that the true test of poetic value is the effect of verse on the emotions, and that the sphere of poetry's dominion is that of the heart and feelings, not of the head, the realm of sentiment, not of intellect. If they are right, more dependence on art than on inspiration; on the way an idea is put forth than on the idea itself. But if this were the only test, the veriest ditties so expressed as to touch and move popular sensibility, would be of higher value than the finest thought, clothed in the austere dignity of a sonnet, or other poetic form unappealing to the multitude. It is, however, indubitable that a noble thought, wrapped in a cumbersome or ill-fitting word garment, excites no more attention or interest than a page of heavy prose would arouse, while clothed in suitable

language, it will pierce the attention of a world of readers with the force of an electric current.

The *thought* embodied in a poem gives that poem rank, the expression of it gives it *distinction*. Genius, in other words, gives it immortality. Art gives it the body by which immortality is recognised and proved.

Poetry, to be a true claimant of the name, must reveal something of the realities that life holds for man and must help to make him conscious of his powers by exciting him to use them. All true poetry has a vein of mysticism in it. Poetry is also prophecy, not necessarily foreseeing but giving insight into those things which remain sealed to the uninspired and to those out of inspiration a reach. A true poet is a prophet, a revealer of secrets.

The following verses of Robert Louis Stevenson are powerful because of their simplicity.

"A naked house, a naked moor,  
A shivering pool before the door  
A garden bare of flowers and fruit  
And poplars at the garden foot.  
Such is the place that I live in,  
Bleak without and bare within."

Surely, here we have the artist's power of "making a picture." Let us go on to the prophet's vision.—

"Let shall your ragged moor receive  
The incomparable pomp of eve,  
And the cold glories of the dawn  
Behind your shivering trees be drawn;  
And when the wind from place to place  
Doth the unmoored cloud galleons chase,  
Your garden gloom and gleam again  
With leaping sun, with glaucous rain."

The poet's eyes see over the rim of actuality that bounds the artist's horizon. Both visions are real, but only the poet-prophet can make plain men see the glory suffusing the commonplace.

Here is one of Maschfield's picture called *Twilight*:

"Twilight it is, and the far woods are dim, and the  
rooks cry and call.  
Down in the valley the lamps and the mist, and a  
star above all,  
There by the rick, where they thresh, is the drone at  
an end,  
Twilight it is, and I travel the road with my friend."

I think of the friends who are dead, who were dear  
long ago in the past,  
Beautiful friends who are dead, though I know that  
death cannot last;  
Friends with the beautiful eyes that the dust has  
defiled,  
Beautiful souls that were gentle when I was a child."

The following poem by Alice Meynell called *To the Beloved* has the ring of that intense love which "fears to lose the least note, or vibration of the music quivering from the heart-strings" of the beloved.

"Oh, not more subtly silence strays  
Among the winds, between the voices,  
Mingling alike with pensive lays  
And with the music that rejoices  
Than thou art present in my days.

My silence, life returns to thee  
In all the pauses of her breath  
Hush back to rest the melody  
That out of thee awakeneth  
And thou, wake ever, wake for me!  
Thou art like silence all unweaved,  
Though wild words part my soul from thee.

Most dear pause in a mellow lay!  
Thou art inwoven with every air

Darkness and solitude shine, for me.

It is the very soul of life  
Listens for thee, listens for thee

O pause between the sob of cares,  
O thought within all thought that is:  
Trance between laughter and unweares;  
Thou art the shape of melodies,  
And thou the ecstasy of prayers!

Indian readers will hardly fail to be wooed and won by Robert Bridges' *Asian Birds* from which we cull the following:

"What have I seen or heard?  
It was the yellow bird  
Sang in the tree 'he flew  
A flame against the blue.  
Another 'Hush' Behold  
Many like boats of gold,  
From waving branch to branch  
Their airy bodies launch  
What music is like this,  
Where each note is a kiss."

## FOREIGN PERIODICALS

"The day of my death will be the great romance of my life," so said

Stopford Augustus Brooke

the eminent Irish poet and critic who passed away on March 15, 1916, leaving a

lasting name in the annals of English literature. Some reminiscences of his literary work have been brought together in the course of a lengthy article appearing in the *Fortnightly Review* from the pen of Eleanor Hull.

The writer tells us that the personality of Stopford Brooke appeared more valuable than his books to those who knew him.

He loved humanity and sympathetically understood many sides of it, but he himself seemed always to stand a little aloof from it; his presence had something about it of the mountain top uplifted breezy unapproachable, in a sort of Olympian calm that the worries and troubles of life should not disturb. His splendid mental healthfulness and his Irish sense of humor kept him free from the attitude of weak sympathy, that often overtakes men sought by his fellow-men a certain touch of autocratic hauteur that was half-assumed and half-playful would not allow too close a pressure on his personality. But the friends who gathered round him and remained faithful to him at a crisis of his life revered him not only as a teacher always fresh, individual and inspiring but as a constant and wise companion, certain to be accessible to help them in their need. His optimism, which in his writings sometimes influenced his critical judgments was, in personal contact with him, infectious. It passed through his hearers like a tonic. It made the difficult seem possible, and the laborious delightful. And, indeed, to him things seemed impossible only because men would go about them in the wrong way. Make people happy, don't trouble so much about making them good, he would say, and he acted up to this axiom, for happiness seemed to be in the atmosphere where he came and involuntarily men and women were at their best. He was that rare thing even among the intellectual, a stimulating conversationalist; one had not been long in his company before being launched on some literary or artistic theme, entered upon with verve and imagination, and made splendid by the touch of romance which he always imparted to any matter in which he was interested. There was nothing academic in his view, it was alive with his warm appreciation and pleasure in it.

He preached and ministered in many places, but

His healthy view of life was not in accord with the medieval conception of man's position and destiny taught in the formularies of the Church of England and still professed by it in its corporate capacity, however much individuals may privately modify that conception, his Irish nature felt the constant drag of a fixed system of belief and thought and longed for liberation. So when in 1880 his secession from the Church of England took place he again and again rejoices in his freedom. He could not conceive of life without religion, or of a religion that did not harmonize with daily experience, and the spirit of the *Song of the Pyra Singers* into the troubled world as she passed by—

The year's at the spring  
And day's at the morn,  
Morning's at seven,  
The hill-side's dew pearled;  
The lark's on the wing,  
The snail's on the thorn,  
God's in his heaven—  
All's right with the world!

was to him no poetic romance, but the sturdy conviction of his soul.

Regarding his literary work the writer

We read him for those lovely images he conjures up like the sudden glimpse of a sunshine flooded landscape seen through a dark window frame; and for those exquisite passages of musical wording which haunt our memories like the sound of a silver bell.

Speaking of the *Songs of Innocence* by Blake, Stopford Brooke wrote:

There are songs of many passions, of sorrow, of earthly rapture, of mirth, of the fine spirit of youth and age, of patriot fervor, of the beauty of the world in our soul—of a hundred things—but the song of the child's heart has never been written by a child. It is only sung within. To write it needed a man with the heart of a child; and to find him is one of the rarest things in the world. The best explanation of Blake's songs is that he was always a child at heart, and it would not have mattered where he lived, he would always have been at home. The child, if he be loved, knows neither time nor space. Were he placed suddenly in the Egypt of the Pharaohs, or on the steps of the Parthenon when Pheidias was working, he would play, were those he loved with him, with as much unconsciousness and joy as in his own garden in Surrey. All his life long Blake was like that.

Stopford Brooke did not see literature isolated from the conditions amid which it grew up.

The literary and political and social development of the country were to him, part of one connected and interwoven story. The causes which produced our literature, and the surroundings in which it was nourished, were to him as important to grasp as the poetry and prose itself. It is this grasp and realization of the intellectual life of England as a connected whole that give its special character to Mr. Brooke's two contributions to the history of English literature, viz., *Primer of English Literature* and *Early English Literature*. Especially is this the case with his study of Anglo-Saxon prose and poetry, a study which vibrates with the joy of its author in his subject.

As an Irishman born in wild Donegal Stopford Brooke always loved to trace the bearing of Celtic thought and character on English poetry. He finds in it one of the most powerful moulding influences which caused the rise of English poetry in Northumbria, rather than in the South of England. Some of his most interesting chapters are those devoted to this subject.

Among the places that made the deepest impression on Mr. Brooke's mind and literary work, and that he loved the best, Italy and the Lake district perhaps held for him the strongest ties. His *Sea Charm of Venice* (1907) is a graceful memorial of his visits to the Lady of the Seas and, in addition to *Dore Cottage* his studies on Wordsworth and Coleridge in his *Theology in the English Poets* (1874), as well as some of his poems bear witness to his affection for the latter. But as an Irishman who had drawn his first breath in the wild air of Donegal and gained his first literary distinctions in Trinity College, Dublin, where he was educated, Stopford Brooke retained all his life the warmest affection for his native country. In every way he could be helped to forward its literary progress. His inaugural address, delivered before the Irish Literary Society of London, on his acceptance of the Presidency in 1893 gave a real impetus to the translation of Irish literature into the English tongue and did much to draw the attention of English people to it, and his partnership with



Mr T W Rolleston in editing a *Treasury of Irish Poetry* (1900) resulted in one of the best collections of Anglo-Irish verse ever got together. It was too thorough his recognition of the beauty and pathos of the Hon Emily Lawless poems that she was led to publish her book called *The Wild Geese*, to which he wrote an historical and critical introduction.

### On Spoken English

is the theme of an article contributed to the *New Statesman* by S K Ratcliffe in which he states that in America the question of preserving or restoring the language is much more generally discussed in the magazines and elsewhere than it is amongst Englishmen. Professor Brander Matthews of Columbia University states some points in the case for a standard of spoken English.

He is a firm believer in it although at the outset he admits that there exists no authority to declare what and where the standard is. Sainte Beuve affirmed and many have said it before and after him that it is universal suffrage which rules a language. We all agree within limits. But when logically carried out this principle leads us to the method which was applied without flinching by that thorough-going phonetician the late Henry Sweet. He saw no reason for offering resistance to the unresting process of phonetic decay. His concern was simply to register, by means of a scientific alphabet the slipshod vocabularies of the more or less educated Southerner was to elide the *r* to sound the short *a* as *e* is sounded in the North or to slip a syllable or several syllables, in a word then that was standard English and there was nothing to be done but to record and accept it.

Professor Brander Matthews does not belong to this school. Although *ex hypothesi* there is no dictator of language outside and above the multitude no authority save ordinary usage. We all he says, recognize that a normal pronunciation exists and seek to conform to it. We may fall short of the standard even cultivated folk are far from blameless but a large part of our offending is unconscious and would be denied and grieved by a majority of those who are guilty of it. What then is to be done? Mr Shaw concentrating into *Pygmalion* all its preface the advocacy of many years, proclaims that the reformer England needs to-day is an energetic phonetic enthusiast. Professor Brander Matthews offers a different suggestion. France and Germany Italy and Spain he reminds us, have established a standard speech and the first two nations have accepted the stage as exponent and criterion. So, he argues.

A majority of those interested may be quite willing to abide by the decisions of a dictator-commission composed of disinterested experts, and there might be profit for us who have English for our mother tongue if we were to follow this German example and to constitute an American-British commission of actors and linguistic experts to suggest a preference in all those cases where the pronunciation is in dispute.

Now there are several things to be said about this proposal. If we were to concede that actors

and actresses had a claim to sit upon such a commission (and a few of them speak English almost perfectly) we should doubtless discover that the stage could not be treated as a homogeneous region. Between the noble English of Forbes Robertson and the speech which passes muster in such theatres as the St. James's or the Criterion there is a very wide gulf. As a matter of fact educated England has been influenced much more by the pulpit than by the stage. I do not know whether any phonetician has devoted himself to the study of modern academic English—a subject out of which a fascinating monograph might be made.

The writer goes on to say

Spoken English could not be reformed nor standard English attained, by settling pronunciation though to every word now in dispute its single sound were attached. All speakers have preferences and idiosyncrasies but they do not materially affect the quality of the English. Lord Curzon, for instance, is the only public man in this country who gives an almost Transatlantic flatness to the *a* in *past* but he is as near to standard English as most of his contemporaries. The essential matter is not pronunciation, but enunciation articulation and that is a subtle and complex union of values in which pitch and stress and cadence may be almost as important as the vowel sounds.

Of course if it were merely or mainly a question of pronunciation in the narrow sense the problem would be simple enough. A Government decree could impose the standard. Nothing could be easier than for English and Americans to remove those curious little differences which apart from accent, serve to reveal the country of origin. Hawthorne was of opinion that the pronunciation of *been* was an unalloyed taste the Briton rhyming it to *seen* and the American to *sin*. He did not know of the millions of English people who habitually say *bin* although, of course, it remains true that the test holds for the great majority of educated folk on both sides of the Atlantic. Professor Lounsbury, a useful champion of good English, was disposed to regard *schedule* as an almost perfect shibboleth between British and Americans and perhaps he was right. At any rate I should say that no Englishman used to public speaking in America would have the hardihood to refrain from saying *skedyule*. Few things bother an audience more than the recurring shocks which come from hearing a speaker giving an unaccustomed sound to words in constant use. Hence one finds it natural in America to shorten the final syllable in words like *hostile* and *fertile* and it may be to avoid any tendency to excessive indulgence in the broad *a*.

Professor Matthews takes it for granted that the greater regional variations must persist. The educated classes in a small area such as Great Britain tend inevitably to a uniform accent. It is even conceivable that the country as a whole may be gradually subjugated by London Schools and national armies, and the movement of the population may bring that about; although at present there is not a grain of evidence to show that the tremendous barrier of accent between the classes is giving way—except perhaps in the drift of smart society towards the use of the cockney *a* and *o*.

Geography and climate are factors so decisive that the Scotch can never speak like the Nova Scotians or the people of New York like those of New South Wales. But all the same Professor Matthews is persuaded that given an accepted standard it should be possible to get rid entirely of local variations.

That eminent and wide hearted English Socialist H. M. Hyndman contributes to the *Fortnightly Review* a trenchant and outspoken article entitled

### The Awakening of Asia

which we have read with deep interest and genuine pleasure.

The writer compares the present arrogant attitude of several prominent European nations towards Asiatic peoples with the attitude of the English, the French, the Dutch and the Portuguese three centuries ago towards the Indian and Chinese rulers of their day.

Certainly, the present scarcely veiled contempt and rudeness of our own contemporaries in India itself to Indians is the growth of little more than two generations. Earlier records bear witness to a much better tone than that which prevails today. Even during this great war, when Indians of high rank and long descent are fighting side by side with English officers, for the same cause, they have been treated with considerable rudeness. Color prejudice has become the rule, and is growing stronger as Englishmen reside less and less in India and more and more lose touch with Indians.

The Chinese were approached by Europeans in the earlier stages of their intercourse, as a race in many respects more capable and more powerful than themselves. Though the Jesuits obtained for a time great influence over the Manchu Emperors of Peking, their teaching scarcely touched the surface of the huge Chinese population below. Their simple family life, their material religions and their queer superstitions, their competitive bureaucratic system, and universal education went on as they had gone on for generations.

Not until we English discovered that the whole of these intelligent 400,000,000 of Chinamen were organized solely for industry and peace, possessing no armies in the least capable of resisting aggression, did we force the sale of opium upon the country in the face of the protests of its Government; a policy fully illustrated by the seizure of Hongkong and the sacking of the Winter Palace.

Thereafter, for many years the Chinese, when, by their honesty in trade, social courtesy, and general culture, had good grounds for regarding us as Western barbarians, were likewise considered an inferior people.

Our missionaries even did not disguise their low opinion of the Chinese cults nor did they, like the Catholics, adapt themselves in dress and daily life to the customs of the people. Even the late Lord Salisbury, a devotee of Christianity, complained of their inconvenient ardor and uncoöperative methods of proselytism. Western peoples seldom look at matters concerning the East except from their own point of view. In the same way, having discovered that Li Hong Chang, the real author of the ruinous Japanese war, was as unscrupulous in diplomacy as he was dishonest in finance, we assume that all mandarins are of similar character. Yet the great majority of the literati who  
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All this time the kidnapping of China men was going on in the great cities for being shipped off as hopeless slaves to the Guano Islands off the coast of Peru. The writer saw "the first evidence of the latent power of Asia's hundreds of millions of inhabitants" in the industrial Chinamen in Australia nearly fifty years ago. The same evidence was manifest in the Sandwich Islands and in California too.

Referring to the Anglo-Japanese Agreements of 1903 and 1911 the writer says:

It is quite clear that these serious diplomatic instruments place Japan on at least an equal footing with England in the Far East. They also give the impression that, should we be unable for any reason to maintain our Empire in Hindostan, then we are entitled to look to Japan until 1921, and probably for a longer period, to assist us in keeping up an alien rule in India.

### China is awakening.

She has undergone a complete political transformation. The Mongols have gone. The Tartars, the sign of subservience to the Tartars, have disappeared. The Chinese race proper is in control of its own territory. Western knowledge, largely owing to the influence of Yuan Shi Kai and his opponent, Sun Yat Sen, is being substituted for the old interminable literary studies at which the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, with their devotion to Latin and Greek, can scarcely afford to smile. Railways chiefly constructed with foreign capital and for the time under foreign control now connect many of the great cities and their ports. Not Chinese engineers and managers are steadily replacing the outsiders, and projected lines deprived by the war of their skilled superintendents from Belgium and other European countries are now being carried forward by Chinese engineers. Mines and other industries are being developed. Amicia, also, are being raised and armed and trained according to European systems. The movement is slow as compared with what has been witnessed in Japan, but all capable observers are of one mind as to its being very sure. Even what we call anarchy, the stir in the various provinces against the domination of Yuan Shi Kai from Peking, is evidence of new life and proof of fresh vigor. Left alone, they can settle their own affairs far better than we Europeans or the Japanese can arrange them for their benefit.

And what about India? Says Mr. Hyndman:

We ourselves must not imagine that India is still asleep because perfect peace reigns throughout Hindostan, and—as they tell us—Indians are eager that British rule should endure forever—so eager that they voluntarily supply fighting forces in the East to the extent of tens of thousands of men. This is not so. India is stirring too. India demands self-government, and requires that the drain of £30,000,000 yearly to England from the poorest population on the planet, without any commercial return, should be stopped. An empire which declares that it is fighting a world war for the maintenance of national rights and national freedoms cannot in decency keep one fifth of the human race in subjugation to foreign

potism and liable to the exaction of a foreign economic tribute on a huge scale.

The following is the conclusion the writer arrives at:

When the war is at an end and peace is at last proclaimed, all the leading European nations will be well nigh bled to death, alike in men and in

money. Asia will not have suffered; Japan will have actually gained in means and influence. The lessons of the terrific struggle will not have been lost upon the East. The relative positions of the two continents will have been modified still farther in favor of the yellow races against the white.

## NOTES

### Prophets and Statesmen, and World-peace.

Peace is desired,—a lasting peace embracing all countries and peoples, civilised and uncivilised. How is this to be had? Prophets of love have said that if there be good will to man, there will be peace on earth. The *Ishopanisat* says:—"Enjoy what *He* has given: do not covet any one's wealth." There can be no question that the root-cause of many wars and of the present war is greed. Monarchs and nations wish to conquer in order to be able to take possession of the wealth of others, either by means of administration or of exploitation or both. The seeking of markets is often an euphemism for the desire to plunder. Many wars have also been caused by tribal, national or racial hatred. The prophets, then, have been true promoters of peace when they have laid stress on *maitri* or friendliness to all, and denounced greed and hatred. They have also tried to convince mankind that mere outward possessions cannot make one truly happy: true happiness is an inward possession.

Statesmen who are lovers of progress and humanity have sought to promote international peace by treaties and alliances, and also by *preparedness*. It is believed that if a nation be prepared and in a position to fight to resist aggression, or if several allied nations be ready to prevent aggression upon themselves or others, there is likely to be lasting peace. There is some truth in this. But national alliances are not lasting. The friend of to-day may become a foe to-morrow. Moreover, there being mutual distrust among allied nations, there is rivalry in the increase of

armaments. And whenever nations are equipped to fight, there is often a cause for fighting easily found. In this respect nations are somewhat like children who, when they get a stick, cannot resist the temptation of laying about themselves, or when they get a knife, cannot refrain from trying its edge upon something or somebody.

Even the best alliances and the utmost armed preparations for enforcing peace may be of no use in the direction desired and may even be the cause of war, if there be not mutual trust and good will and the absence of greed. Hence statesmen with all their devices can only be the auxiliaries of the prophets of love, who really lay the foundations of peace on earth.

### Nationalism and Internationalism

Nationalism is a necessary stage on the way to internationalism. If a people have not found themselves, have not awakened into a consciousness of their being a unit, if they have not organised themselves for civic welfare, how can they give to the world what they are specially fitted to give, how can they hold intercourse with other groups of peoples? It is only militant, aggressive nationalism, the nationalism of hate, which is incompatible with cosmopolitanism. Hitherto nationalism has been mostly of this type. That is why patriotism or nationalism was in bad odour with a lover of man like Tolstoi, and why Rabindranath Tagore is preaching against nationalism in the West.

That true nationalism, that nationalism of love, leads to internationalism or cosmopolitanism is evidenced by the history of the growth of some of the most remarkable personalities. Take Rabindranath

Tagore Some of his poetical and prose writings exhibit a most intense, a most deeply thoughtful and a most passionately loving nationalism. Most of these have not yet been translated into English. They represent a stage in the development of his personality and there is no fundamental inconsistency between them and what he has been writing and saying since their publication.

### Before and After Home Rule

We must make the most strenuous endeavor for obtaining Home Rule. We must be prepared to make the utmost sacrifices for it. But we must not for a moment forget that character is the most essential means to achieve our object, and that without character we cannot obtain the best results from Home Rule, when we have won it. Character goes before Home Rule, and must accompany it in order that it may be beneficial in the highest degree.

### All India Muhammadan Educational Conference

The Hon. Mr. Mian Muhammad Shafi, in his address as president of the All India Muhammadan Educational Conference, began by drawing attention to what the Moslem community has done to help the British Empire, and said that His Majesty's Muslim subjects in this country have, "in circumstances absolutely unparalleled in the history of the world and under conditions which no one of the other Indian communities can conceivably have to face," given proof of their loyalty. The educational condition of the Musalmans was thus described:

What are the existing conditions obtaining in this country in the three stages of education and what are the problems arising therefrom which the Government at ourselves have to face? On the 31st March 1915 there were 50,579 scholars on the rolls of the various Colleges in this country of whom only 5,426 were Muhammadans. The total number of students in Secondary Schools on the same date was 1,097,923 of whom 225,235 belonged to the Muslim community. And of 5,447,800 scholars reading in Primary Schools, our co-religionists numbered 1,136,100. It may here be noted that these figures include both boys and girls and do not include scholars reading in special schools or private institutions. It will thus be seen that while Muslim scholars constitute less than 10th of the entire body of students receiving instruction throughout their number in Secondary and Primary Departments is approximately 1-5th of the total scholastic age portion of our population. Bearing in mind the fact that the Muslim community constitutes roughly speaking a little over 1-5th of the entire population of India, these figures obviously

disclose so far as Muslim education is concerned a highly unsatisfactory state of things in the higher rungs of our educational ladder.

He spoke of Urdu as unquestionably the lingua franca of India and expressed the opinion that "any movement designed to displace it from its predominant position is bound to lead to disintegration and would be fatal to the cause of intercommunal co-operation." He held the view that the Moslem community ought to have accepted from Government the charter for the Aligarh University on conditions similar to those imposed on the Hindu University. He also drew attention to the industrial and commercial backwardness of his community, and urged them to make a well-organized effort in the direction of industrial and commercial advancement.

### The "Indian" Science Congress.

The name of the "Indian" Science Congress seems to have been as happily chosen as that of the "Indian" Educational Service. Last month Bangalore witnessed the fourth meeting of this congress. Evidently this institution, like the Indian Educational Service, is meant to be bossed by other than Indians. There have hitherto been four sessions of this congress, and over not one of these has an Indian been thought worthy to preside. It would be interesting to enquire what original contributions to science the four European presidents have made in recent years or even in the remote past, and whether their standing in the world of science is immeasurably higher than that of any Indian man of science who has done original work. Over the next session also a European is to preside. Like the "republic of letters," there is a "republic of science." Is the "Indian" Science Congress meant to overthrow this republic, and establish in its place an Anglo-Indian bureaucracy of men whose names may be connected with science somehow or other?

His Highness the Maharaja of Mysore opened the congress. His speech, as reported, does not contain any reference to any scientific research made by Indians. About the President of the Congress, *The Karnataka* has made the following apposite remarks—

And he who like Sir Alfred Bourne himself is not impelled from within either towards the discovery of Truth or towards the invention of things for human comfort—or whose primary impulse towards science is later on overcome by other impulses will be content

to admire science from a respectful distance, and—  
 mind his business

The President, too, did not pass in review the year's scientific work in India As the *Hindu* observes:—

Those who are familiar with the addresses of Presidents of the various sections of the British Association for the Advancement of Science, will know that, unlike those informing utterances which bring together in a convenient form, the results of researches and developments in particular branches of science, Dr Bourne's address as President is almost entirely confined to the enumeration of different research institutes in India and the meaning and scope of research work. The reason why the President is unable to give what he calls an 'intellectual treat' is, to quote his own words, because "it is now fifteen years since I was caught up by the great wheels of administration and had during that time very little leisure or energy to devote to scientific work."

A very happy selection for the president of a science congress!

### "Chemistry in India".

In opening the chemistry section of the Science Congress, Dr. I. L. Simonsen, who presided, referred to the condition of chemistry teaching and research work in India. In the course of his address he referred to the small amount of original work which is being done in the educational institutions and to the fewness of research workers. "Only in Bengal," he said, "does there appear to be more than one college in the University in which research is done." According to him the four main causes of the paucity of research are:—

(1) That in many colleges the staff are insufficiently trained. I do not intend to throw any aspersions on the hard working, worthy body of men. It was not their fault that when at college they received a training which did not fit them for higher teaching or research, and for reasons which I shall mention in a moment they have had no subsequent opportunity to improve their knowledge. (2) That the majority of colleges are very much understaffed. This, in my opinion, is the most serious defect and the main cause of the present state of affairs. (3) The low rate of pay in academic posts. (4) The present method of promotion by seniority and not by merit, and other causes to which the lack of research from time to time had been ascribed. I may perhaps mention two other facts, namely, the want of library facilities and the want of a scientific atmosphere. I cannot bring myself to believe that these are really serious factors.

### "The Bent of the Indian Mind."

Western people generally hold and express the view that the bent of the Hindu mind is mainly towards abstract and metaphysical speculation and unbrid-

led imagination. The address of Dr. Mac'achan, president of the Mathematics and Physics section of the "Indian" Science Congress, contains an opposite view. He observed:—

"It would rather seem to be true that the bent of the Indian mind was towards the practical and not towards the merely speculative. He had sometimes wondered whether they might not discern even in the strictly philosophical efforts of thought of India something of the practical purpose which ran through its mathematical achievements. Indian philosophy was no mere speculative exercise. It was not pursued simply to satisfy intellectual craving. It was something pursued with a view to the practical ends of religious life."

There is much evidence in favour of the view that our ancestors had a practical as well as a speculative bent of mind.

### India's "Representation" in the Imperial War Council.

Mr Austen Chamberlain, Secretary of State for India, will "represent" India in the Imperial War Council, Sir James Meston and Sir S. P. Sinha will "assist" him, and the Maharaja of Bikaner will "accompany" him, whatever that may mean. Mr. Chamberlain is a representative, not of India, but of the Government of India, two different things. Therefore, it cannot be said that India will be represented at the conference. And this not merely formally but in reality also. For, Mr. Chamberlain is ignorant of India and is not at all in sympathy with Indian opinions and aspirations. The worst of it is that India will thus go not only not truly represented, but there is the greatest risk of her being misrepresented. The two gentlemen who will "assist" him have not been elected by Indians. Whatever may be said against the representative character of the elected Indian members of the Imperial Legislative Council, they are the only persons who can at present speak officially and formally for All-India. So India's representatives or rather India's assistants-to-the-"Representative" ought to have been elected by them. As that has not been done, whatever advice they may give or whatever suggestions they may make, may or may not be good, but they will not have the formal right to speak on behalf of India. And Mr. Chamberlain will not be bound to accept their advice. Moreover, Sir James Meston is an official, and Sir S. P. Sinha is an ex-official and official elect. Sir James

Meston has on some occasions professed sympathy with Indian aspirations. But as his participation in the Round Table conspiracy to subject India to the ignominy and danger of the rule of the Dominions divulged by the publication of Mr Curt's notorious private circular has not been denied by Sir James it has become extremely difficult nay impossible to believe that his professed sympathy can mean much.

Personally no doubt Sir Satyendra Prasad Saha is a worthy man. No one can question his ability. We believe also that his patriotism is sincere though we do not endorse all his views. It is a pity that he has not been generally speaking in close touch with public opinion in India and his faith in India's present capacity and in her capability in the immediate future is not as robust as we should like it to be. In spite of all these drawbacks we believe he will be able to voice Indian opinions and aspirations to a very great extent. His presidential address at the last Bombay session of the Indian National Congress was unsatisfactory as far as we can now recollect only on two important points. One was the pace of our advance towards entirely responsible self government. The other was his unfortunate borrowing from an English writer on India the untrue and insulting comparison of India to a man with fractured limbs which required to be kept under surgical advice in a steel frame. But we hope Sir Satyendra will now be able to see that India's limbs are really all right though there is room for their gaining in additional strength. And as for our pace of advance does he not see that circumstances are in some directions proving too strong even for the antagonism of the bureaucracy? We can move fast enough if allowed to.

India's demand is for direct representation in the War Council by Indian representatives elected by our representatives in the legislative councils. As we have not got what we want, the two Indians Sir B. I. Saha and the Maharaja of Bikaner should have seats in the council with equal voice and votes with the representatives of the colonies. India is the most important part of the Empire. Hence the demand which we make is really the most moderate possible. Let Sir James Meston only advise Mr Chamberlain for

him we do not demand a seat in the council. Mr Chamberlain alone is enough of an undesirable element.

As India consists of Indian India and British India and Indian India has been giving material help to the Empire during the war the hereditary rulers of the Indian States have been rightly thought of in connection with India's representation in the Imperial War Council. There was sufficient time for calling a chiefs conference for the purpose of asking them to elect their representative. It was by that means alone that a representative character could have been formally given to a potentate chosen for voicing the opinion of Indian India. This course should have been adopted apart from this consideration however the choice of His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner is unexceptionable.

### The Maharaja of Bikaner

The Maharaja of Bikaner is to adopt the phraseology of Mr St. Nihal Singh a constitutional Rya who has conceded privileges of self government to his subjects without being compelled to do so by popular agitation. The Bikaner People's Representative Assembly was inaugurated in 1914. It is partly composed of members elected by the people and partly of officials and non-officials nominated by the Administration. Its functions are to discuss the budget and legislative measures, to submit bills to move resolutions and to interpellate the heads of the State Government on matters of public interest.

In announcing the scheme for the constitution of this body His Highness made a speech in 1912 from which Mr Saint Nihal Singh has given extracts in his book on *The King's Indian Allies*. We select two paragraphs.

The aim and end of all Governments is and ought to be the good of the people and that Government justifies itself best which secures the greatest possible good of the greatest possible number of people entrusted to its care.

It is a universal conviction that the progress of a nation is not achieved by such a result as is vastly greater under a system of government which is carried on in consonance with the wishes and opinions of the people and where possible with the advice and consent of its subjects or the chosen representatives.

The Maharaja is a brave soldier and has seen active service. He has mastered the tactics of modern warfare as few men Eastern or Western have done. He commands his own army. He possesses great administrative genius.

### Subjects to be discussed at the Imperial War Council

We do not know exactly what subjects are going to be discussed at the council. If one of the subjects be, how to carry on the war more effectively, the answer would be found to a great extent in the article on *Preparedness* written by 'A Japanese Friend of India' and published in this number. The suggestions made therein would require time to give effect to. But certainly, Indians can be given the right to form a national militia immediately and the commissioned ranks of the army may be thrown open to them without delay. Lasting peace can also be secured indirectly by thus making effective the full man power of India.

Perhaps peace terms will be discussed at the conference. Of course, England and her allies cannot accept any peace terms which do not restore and guarantee independence and territorial integrity to Belgium, Serbia, Montenegro and Rumania. They will also demand the restoration to France of all her territory occupied by Germany in the present war and also perhaps of Alsace and Lorraine. Autonomy and independence have been promised to Poland by both the belligerent parties.

As the Allies have declared again and again that they are fighting for safeguarding the political rights and liberties of small nationalities, it may not be irrelevant to suggest in this connection that England can best prove the sincerity of her professions by granting to the great nationality of India the political and civic rights demanded by its accredited official representatives, the elected nineteen and by the representatives of the people assembled in the unofficial parliaments styled the Indian National Congress and the All India Moslem League. Stress ought to be laid on this point by those who have been chosen to speak for India.

Regarding pecuniary contributions from the revenues of India, our firm opinion is that we cannot contribute more than we have done. The country is phenomenally poor. We have proved it more than once. It would be cruelty to put pressure on India to pay more than she has been doing.

Most probably the future of Turkey, including the fate of Constantinople, will come up for consideration. The question will require to be handled in a very states-

manlike manner. Sir James Weston declared great and special friendship for the Muslims at the Lucknow session of the All India Moslem League. On his attention particularly, on that of the others who will speak for India and of all the members of the Council generally, we press the following paragraph from Mr. Jinnah's presidential address at the last session of the Moslem League —

I should be failing in my duty towards my own people and the Government if I did not at this crisis make it clear that of the many delicate questions there is none that requires closer attention and study than the question of the Caliphate by the Government and the Ministers of Great Britain. The sentiments and feelings and the religious convictions not only of the Muslims of India but of the Muslims of the world are not to be lightly treated. The loyalty of the Muslims of India to the Government is no small asset. From the very commencement of the great crisis through which the British Empire has been passing the allegiance of the Muslims to the Crown and their loyalty to the Government has remained wholehearted and unshaken. May I therefore urge that the Government should have regard for their dearest and most sacred religious feelings and under no circumstances interfere with the question of the future of the Caliphate? It should be left entirely to the Muslims to acknowledge and accept their own Caliph. I do not desire to dilate on this grave and delicate subject but much deeper currents underlie this exceptional exhortation of mine which I have ventured to make both in the interests of the Muslims and the Government of Great Britain than it would be expedient at present to discuss on a public platform. But the Muslims may well claim that their feelings and sentiments relating to their most cherished traditions should receive consideration in the general policy of the Empire particularly when they coincide with the demands of justice, humanity, and international obligations.

More is meant here than meets the ear

### Premier on Imperial War Council

Following the latest fashion of confiding information and opinion on important matters of state to newspaper or Cable Company correspondents, Mr. Lloyd George has, in an interview, given some important information to the London Correspondent of the Australian United Cable Service, on the subject of the forthcoming Imperial War Council. In course of it he said —

The war has changed us. Heaven knows it has taught us more than we yet understand. It has opened a new age for us and we want to go into that age together with our fellows overseas just as we have come through darkness together and shed our blood and treasure together.

It is obvious that by "our fellows" he meant only the colonies, not India also.

For the only reference to India in the interview was in the following passage

You do not suppose that we think that the overseas nations can raise and place in the field armies containing an enormous proportion of their best manhood and not want to have a say and a real say in determining the use to which they are to be put. That seems to us an impossible and undemocratic proposition and that is why one of the first acts of the new Government was to ask the overseas Premiers to come over to a formal Imperial Conference but to sit in the Executive Cabinet of the Empire and that is why we have arranged for a representative of India which has rendered invaluable service to our common cause to be present also

That by "our fellows" Mr Lloyd George meant only the Dominions will be quite clear from the following passage

'What about after the war?'

Mr Lloyd George If you mean by that constitutional reconstruction I can only say it is too soon to talk about after the war but I can say this that things can never be the same after the war as they were before it. Five democracies all parts of one Empire, cannot shed their blood and treasure with a heroism and disregard of cost which has been beyond all praise without leaving memories of comradeship and great accomplishment which will never die. Of this I am certain. The peoples of the Empire will have found a unity in the war such as never existed before—a unity not only in history but of purpose. What practical change in the Imperial organisation that will mean I will not venture to predict. That it will involve some change is certain. I believe that all the statesmen of the old country and the Dominions who have spoken about it are unanimous on that point. The forthcoming War Council however cannot deal with these fundamental post war problems but it may afford some insight into the form they may take

Mr Lloyd George speaks only of "Five democracies shedding their blood and treasure." What of India, the greatest part and greatest asset of the Empire? Mr Lloyd George should know that we are determined to have self government, and still more firmly resolved not to submit to be ruled by the colonies. Our 'representatives' ought to tell this to the Council and the English people

Mr Lloyd George gave out that 'the first duty of the Council would be to consider the immediate task of winning the war.' Other important questions will also be discussed

- Nothing affecting the Dominions the conduct of the war or negotiations for peace will be excluded from the purview. There will of course, be domestic questions which each part of the Empire must settle for itself questions such as recruiting in the United Kingdom or home legislation. Such domestic matters will be our only reservation but we propose that everything else shall be so to speak, on the table

"Will the discussions include such matters as the German colonies?"

Mr Lloyd George replied that is the one obvious question, but there are many questions of equal moment. All difficult problems connected with making peace as was stated in the Government's invitation will be threshed out. The war policy of the Empire will be clearly defined and of great importance is what I may call the preparation for peace. That will involve the question not only of demobilisation but such after war questions as the migration of our people to other parts of the Empire, settlement of soldiers on land and the commerce and industry question

We are told "nothing affecting the Dominions will be excluded from the purview" of the Council. But will questions vitally affecting India be excluded or included?

What is meant exactly by "the migration of our people to other parts of the Empire"? Who are exactly meant by "our people"? The white citizens of the Empire are even now quite free to migrate to and settle in any part of the Empire they like. It is the people of India who are prevented from migrating even temporarily to the colonies as free men. If the question of our migration comes up, the Council ought to be told that we feel it to be a great injustice and a greater insult not to be able to go anywhere we like, and should the colonies not agree to treat us as fellow citizens, we want to be allowed to do unto them as we are done by

### "The Commerce and Industry Question."

"The commerce and industry question," referred to, probably covers the suggestion that after the war there should be an "Economic War." We commented on this topic in our last number in the note on "Economic War after the War." We invite the attention of our representatives to that note which we reproduce on another page for convenience of reference. To what we have said there we desire to add that the very idea of an "economic war after the war" militates against the idea of a lasting peace. Peace to be lasting requires that all causes of irritation and resentment should, as far as possible, be removed, and, if that be not possible, they should at least be minimised. Any premeditated arrangement to place any country at a disadvantage commercially and industrially would be a perpetual source of resentment and would be sure to lead to another war at no distant date

Our "representatives" should declare against an economic war against war,



to be taken to see that there is not *cheragh ke niche andhera*, darkness beneath the lamp, and if there be, it is not at all impossible to dispel that darkness. Many British statesmen have already declared that in course of time India will be a sister nation in the perpetual Empire. That is good so far as it goes. What we object to is the plea of "not yet." This phrase is not being uttered by the Allies in the case of the European peoples whom it is their declared object to enfranchise. They are going to make these peoples independent. Our demand is much less—we simply want internal autonomy. And a mere glance at the Joint Note of the Moslem League and the Indian National Congress will show that the immediate demand is not even complete internal autonomy. We trust this Joint Note will be considered in the Council, in order that to use Mr. Lloyd George's words, 'it may afford some insight into the form' which post-war problems like "the constitutional reconstruction" of the Empire may take.

#### Presidential Address at the "Indian" Science Congress

The President of this gathering with questionable taste chose to have a fling at a "Professor in this country who, as I have been told, expects and helps each of his students to turn out a research, to use a now common expression, every month. This may or may not be true. If true, it bespeaks considerable energy. How far it makes for progress, authorities in the subject alone can say—at any rate it may serve as an example of how things have changed." Orientals are often credited or rather discredited with proneness to exaggeration. Evidently Sir H. Bourne by his long stay in this land of regrets has imbibed this imputed amiable vice or he would not have charged the Professor in question with the guilt of helping his students to turn out a research every month. A counsel who has taken up a bad case and who has no sound arguments to use abuses his plaintiff's attorney or gives his opponents a bad name before condemning him to be hanged. But surely such tactics are unworthy of a man of science, occupying the presidential chair of a Science Congress.

Now, to take up the question at issue. It does not necessarily mean that mere quantity is secured at the expense of quality.

There are researchers who devote themselves wholeheartedly to their work heedless of the smiles or the frowns of the outside world. There are students of science to whom its pursuit is their *whole existence*, there are others again to whom it is a thing apart. Even in England it is by no means a rare thing to come across men of science who, as soon as they have secured a comfortable berth or a prize in life, almost give up the pursuit of it or at least pursue it perfunctorily. It thus often happens that certain laboratories suffer from break in the continuity of work and turn out researches only spasmodically, while others enrich the world with original investigations. Another important factor has to be borne in mind. Some laboratories have the knack of attracting brilliant pupils who gather from far and near round their teachers, whose inspiration they easily catch and as a consequence a *school is gradually built up*, and, no wonder, the outturn of such laboratories is very satisfactory. It is curious to note that the complaints about the overproduction in the laboratory of a 'Professor in this country' has been anticipated by Dr. P. C. Ray by at least two months. At the annual meeting of the Indian Association for the cultivation of Science as President of the Chemical Section, Dr. Ray observed:

I owe I think something like a personal explanation to this gathering of chemists. Some of my brilliant pupils have been charged with the guilt of publishing too many papers. If they had confused their attention to a few instead of too many papers they would have done better. It is said. Well, it is a very difficult question. There are chemists who can do full and adequate justice to a respectable number of papers. I shall quote a few typical examples. Take the case of some of the greatest of our living chemists. The number of papers contributed by Emil Fischer, Werner and Willstätter is a supplegion—they have all done epoch-making researches and are Nobel Prize men. I hope no one will have the hard heart to say that because the output of their work is so numerous it is therefore of inferior merit. I shall take the liberty for a moment to refer to my humble case. When I was working alone and by myself I could barely publish one or two papers a year. When, however, the research scholarships were founded by the Government of Bengal a new chapter was opened in the progress of Chemistry. As some of you will remember the first scholar, Mr. Jatindranath Sen, who is now Imperial Chemist at Pusa, joined me in the year 1902. He was followed by my friend Prof. Pancharon Vogt and several others. Some scholars notably Messrs. Anukulchandra Sarkar, Kumudbhari Sen and others have also worked under my friend Prof. Watson at Dacca. If any one will take the trouble to go through the indexes of scientific journals he will find that from 1902 onwards the number of papers contributed by Indian Chemists has gone on

increasing by leaps and bounds. When a researcher has the benefit of working in collaboration with zealous and indefatigable students the production is bound to be bulky. Two of my brilliant pupils, Messrs. Rasiklal Datta and Nilratan Dhar, who have been exceptionally fortunate in attracting co-workers have also got a large number of papers to their credit and it would be unfair to discount the importance of their work simply because within a short period they have been authors of several communications—in fact Datta's paper on the halogenation of organic compounds has been pronounced by several independent competent authorities as of a high order. Then again S. R. Taraknath Pal and S. R. Rasbihari Ghosh endowments have secured for us several research scholars and I am glad to be able to say that each of them has been able to give a good account of himself. The institution of these scholarships is destined I hope to mark a new era in the history of scientific progress in Bengal.

A prodigious output of work does not necessarily detract from the merit of its author. In illustration of this statement I may be permitted to cite the case of the eminent physiologist Ludwig. He worked and taught in Marburg, Zurich, Vienna and Leipzig. Prof. Stirling writes of him: "From each and all of these centres his numerous papers are published under his directions and guidance an amount of work the extent and originality of which is probably unsurpassed. His own papers are epoch-making and he founded the largest school of physiologists of modern times. What I have said above holds equally good for literature. Shakespeare is credited with the authorship of some 37 plays and Beaumont and Fletcher of 50 or more. S. R. Walter Scott wrote more than a score of novels, nay, Lopes de Vega the real Founder of The Spanish drama wrote 1800 plays and 400 sacred dramas and our own Rabindranath has been also a prolific and voluminous writer and I hope he will not be condemned for his superabundant productivity."

"I had at first hoped it would be possible for me to attempt some review of the history of science in India and I have been compelled to give up the idea as impracticable." The ignorance betrayed by Sir A. Bourne is as pitiable as it is colossal. Here is an Anglo-Indian man of science who has spent the best years of his career in India, but who has never heard of Dr. Ray's work on the *History of Hindu Chemistry* or of Dr. B. N. Seal's *Positive Knowledge of the ancient Hindus*—a work which has been most appreciatively noticed in the columns of *Nature* only a few months ago. The fact is, the President has allowed himself to be converted into a fossil and no wonder he should betray such crass ignorance of the knowledge of the Hindus on the Physical Sciences.

#### Advocates Admission of Hindus to Canada

"Immigration After the War" was the subject of a lecture delivered before the Canada India League by Mr. S. T. Wood, who made a strong plea for the admission

of the Sikhs and the Hindus into Canada without restriction. Mr. Wood said that the chief problem of immigration was the settlement of the land, and that no policy had yet been adopted for this work but that it was to be hoped that the land will be first for Canadians. He advocated the admission of Sikhs and Hindus on the grounds that they are primarily agriculturists and that they are industrious. They are also British subjects and should, he thought, be permitted to have their wives and children with them. They are, he said, the victims of prejudice. The men of these races settled here are Canadian citizens and should receive justice. Miss Mary Clarke of the Central Neighbourhood House, presided. These fraternal feelings, entertained and expressed by some Canadians, are welcome.

#### The Directors' Conference

The deliberations and discussions at the Directors' Conference have been interesting and useful though why this particular time of financial stringency should have been chosen for incurring expenditure on this sort of conference is not clear. Lord Chelmsford's very first pronouncement in the legislative council did not give us any hope of any considerable grants for educational improvement and expansion, nor does his opening address at this conference do so. Even when there is no financial stringency the recommendations of many committees and commissions somehow or other get shelved. So we cannot quite confidently hope that the information brought together and conclusions arrived at in this conference will be garnered for future use, though undoubtedly they will be kept in some pigeon hole. But the past is never an unerring guide to the future. May it be hoped then that under Lord Chelmsford things will be done in a way different from previous ways.

His Excellency said—

Owing to the War it is now necessary for us to select what we can afford to adhere to and to decide what we can with the least disadvantage postpone. This is largely a matter in which expert advice is necessary.

This shows that whatever the real objects of the conference may be, we are afraid it may lead to further retrenchment in educational expenditure. Just as in the case of a family, so that of a state, education and

are the two things which ought to have priority of consideration. No good and wise father does or safely can put off the education of his children or the seeking of medical advice when they are ill. All other expenditure is curtailed or put off in order to promote their bodily and mental and moral welfare.

His Excellency wishes to awaken an intelligent interest in education and an active co-operation on the part of the general public. That is a worthy object. The public certainly requires to be made still more keenly conscious of the paramount need of education. But co-operation also requires that Government should meet the public half way. Educational wisdom and educational enthusiasm are not a monopoly of the education department. We also know something, and may perhaps without vanity claim to be eager for the improvement and spread of education. But we have not found a general desire on the part of the executive and educational officers of the Government to co-operate with the public.

Like His Excellency we want efficient education, and for that reason would increase the pay of the teachers as far as that is practicable. But we cannot make a fetish of Efficiency. Efficiency is a relative term. None of our schools and colleges are as efficient as the best schools and colleges in Great Britain, and even there educational reformers are trying to make them still more efficient. But nobody can assert that because our institutions are comparatively inefficient, according to the British standard, therefore money is being thrown away on them. For this reason we cannot accept the dictum, "inefficient schools represent so much good money thrown away," in an unqualified form. For what is the standard of efficiency? It is not and cannot be the same in all countries. It depends on the state of educational progress of the country, its wealth, and many other factors. We want efficiency, but always with due regard to the circumstances of the country and specially to the claims of educational expansion. For, if very efficient education for a limited number can be had only by depriving the rest of any education, it would not be just to go in for it. It should never be forgotten that even inefficient education, does not necessarily mean bad education, is better than no education.

We are aware of the value of training for teachers. But we cannot say that education should keep pace only with the supply of trained teachers. Even in so highly advanced a country as England and Wales, in 1913-14 there were in 21,006 ordinary public elementary schools, 108,732 certificated teachers, 41,404 'uncertificated' teachers, 13,367 supplementary and 1,971 student teachers. Rather less than one-third of the certificated teachers in England are men, and of these nearly 74 per cent. were also trained; of the women certificated teachers 53 per cent. were trained; which means that, not to speak of uncertificated and other teachers, more than one-fourth of the certificated men teachers were untrained, and nearly half of the certificated women teachers were untrained. Considering the educationally backward condition of India and the scantiness of her resources, the policy which ought to guide us here is to go on providing more training schools and colleges and also to employ as teachers as many of the passed students of our ordinary schools and colleges as may be necessary for the expansion and improvement of education. Training is good for the teaching profession as for other professions; but it is not as absolutely necessary as it is, say, for the medical profession. It is not true that men cannot become good teachers unless they are "trained," nor is it true that trained teachers are invariably better than untrained teachers. In Bengal, the most respected among teachers, Ramtanu Lahiri, Rajnarain Bose, Peary Charan Sircar, and many others, never received any "training." We write all this not to disparage training; but simply to say that while training ought to receive due attention, the expansion of education ought not to wait upon the supply of trained men. United men, if educationally and morally qualified, should continue to be employed as largely as, and if need be, more largely than, now, without the least misgiving or hesitation.

While we agree with what the Viceroy says on technical and commercial training, we have read with special satisfaction his observations on agricultural education. His Excellency said:—

There are some who say we have nothing to teach the men on the land in this country. I cannot claim to talk with authority on such a question. But having seen something of the work of scientific agriculture in other parts of the world, I take leave to

doubt such a statement. The great advance made by scientific agriculture during the last half a century justifies us in pressing forward with a policy of agricultural education.

We hope His Excellency has made a convert of Mr. Sharp, his Education Commissioner, who has written in "Progress of Education in India, 1907-1912," Vol. I, p. 15, that "...where the bulk of the population is agricultural, the period of education is necessarily shorter than under more complicated conditions and the amount of education required is less."

Regarding the education of women, the Viceroy rightly remarked:—

I view with apprehension the growing inequality between men and women arising out of difference in education. It cannot be good for a country that its women should lag so far behind the men in the matter of education. I believe that this apprehension is shared by many Indians, and I think it behoves us to do all in our power to improve the women's education so far as we can do so, within the limits laid down for us by social customs. In the meantime, we must look to, and hope for a gradual change in the public opinion and in this we can count, I hope, on the support and co-operation of all educated Indians. I trust, however, that in the consideration of this most important matter we shall enlist the co-operation of women. It is they who know where the shoe pinches, and any purely man-made scheme is foredoomed to failure.

Equally thoughtful were his remarks on the relative claims of English and vernacular teaching.

### Mr. Curtis's "Private" Letter.

The reader knows how it came about that a "Round Table" circular marked 'private' was published in the papers. Mr. Curtis says it was a private letter of his "written to intimate friends." English is to us a foreign tongue; so we may not be able to ascertain the exact meaning of "intimate." Mr. Curtis says, however, "I am printing this letter for circulation amongst friends to whom I cannot write, including the secretaries of local groups. I will ask each secretary to read it to his group." These are all his *intimate* friends! However, as we consider Mr. Curtis's attempt to subject India to the Dominions nothing less than a conspiracy against Indians, the marking of his letter to his fellow conspirators or would-be conspirators as "private", does not in the least entitle it to be treated as really private and confidential. This conspiracy is as bad as conspiracy against a state, and if India had independent political existence, certainly legal action would have been taken against Mr.

Curtis and his friends. How would Canada treat a group of men who might be considering in secret a plan for handing over the government of that colony to the U. S. A.? How would Holland treat any such men who proposed to place her under France or Russia? That India is a dependency does not at all matter. A person's estates may be under the Court of Wards; but still it would be a crime to conspire to pilfer what small personal effects he might possess, and then to send him to a Home for Imbeciles. India is a ward of Great Britain's, and possesses only a few rights; but still the men who would propose to deprive her of even these are no better than would-be robbers of political rights, their noble professions of philanthropy notwithstanding.

The participation of some high officials in the Round Table conspiracy has not surprised us. What we wish to tell them is to look at the matter from our point of view, as they are paid to look after *our* interests, not those of the colonists. Officials are supposed not to take part in politics; but the rules are meant to be obeyed by Indian officials alone. European officials have all along written anonymous political editorials in newspapers and taken part in politics in other ways. But even in their case the line ought to be drawn firmly somewhere.

In the *Canadian Law Times*, Dr. A. Berriedale Keith has written a very well-informed and closely reasoned article on "The Ideal of an Imperial Constitution." *New India* has rendered good service to India by reprinting the whole of it. Dr. Keith has dealt very ably with the *Round Table* scheme of Imperial Federation and shown how impracticable it is. But Mr. Curtis seems to be a fanatic of federation. He would be prepared, for the sake of realising his scheme, to face "the fact that we cannot effect the changes advocated in the volumes already published without provoking in India an agitation, which, as I judge, might lead to bloodshed"! He is so very philanthropic that, in order to do good to us or to our disembodied spirits, he would be prepared even for the death of some of us! And yet he poses as an injured innocent, as witness the following sentence: "We must do our best to convince them [Indians] of the mischief to their own cause wrought by the deliberate campaign which is on foot here embitter feeling against the

If the lamb tries to tell the world how it has been treated or may be treated by a certain other animal, why, it is the lamb who must be held to be guilty of singing the Hun's hymn of Hate!

Enough has been written in our last December number by Mr. Polak and by ourselves in the January number to expose Mr. Curtis's fallacies and philanthropy. His letter does not really contain any new argument. He thinks Indian opinion is not as sound and disinterested "as our own now is." Not to speak of the glaring self-seeking and corruption to be found in the public life of England and the colonies in some past years and ages, the *disinterested* colonists of South Africa, of whom Mr. Curtis is one, have grabbed fourteen fifteenths of the land there, though there are about six black men to every white man there. As for the political rights enjoyed there, *vide* our note on "political philanthropy" in the last number. We shall not, it is said, be able to exact "regular, willing and continuous obedience" from our fellow countrymen. We suppose educated white men in their country have been able to exact regular, willing and continuous obedience from labour strikers, suffragettes, Sinn Féiners, the Ulstermen led by Carson, the Boer rebels, etc., etc. In his paper on "The Rationale of Autonomy," contributed to the first Universal Races Congress, Mr. John M. Robertson, M.P., says in reply to an argument practically identical with that of Mr. Curtis —

"Now within the English-speaking world the mother country had civil wars in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries; there was civil war between the mother country and colonies towards the end of the eighteenth and again within the independent United States and Canada in the nineteenth—all this in a race that makes specially high claims to self-governing faculty. On the imperialist principle a laudatory Angel with plenary powers would have interferred to stop the premature experiment" of Anglo-Saxon self-government at any one of the stages specified—*and then he had ever allowed it to begin.*

Mr. Curtis intends to ascertain "how many of the 315,000,000 inhabitants of India have any voice, direct and indirect, in choosing these so-called elective bodies [legislative councils &c.], and also how far election is as yet a reality at all." There is no harm in his doing all this. But he must not think that what is is all that be elections can be made a reality in immediate future, if Government make them so. India can pro-

vide a sufficiently large electorate any day, as we have shown in our last number,

### "The Danger in India."

*The Nineteenth Century and After* contains an article on "The Danger in India" by Lord Sydenham, a former governor of Bombay. In it he repeats all the usual misrepresentations and quarter truths which we are accustomed to hear from the lips of the opponents of self-government in India. "The Danger in India" exists, but not where his lordship locates it. The real seat of the danger lies in the race arrogance, race prejudice, self-seeking and pig-headedness of men like himself. The arguments and objections of men like him have been refuted again and again, but to no effect. None are so blind as those who will not see.

### Carrying on her father's tradition.

Miss E. W. Stead, writing in an editorial note in the December issue of the *Review of Reviews*, very pithily sums up our demand for post-war reforms as India's desire "to be made mistress of her own household," and her insistence "that her position in the Empire be made equal to that of the daughter Dominions." She is evidently very much struck by the suggestion put forward to eliminate what she aptly calls "the Indian civil service element from the Viceroy and Governor-General's Cabinet, and giving of portfolios to Indians and Britons prominent in public life."

Mr. St. Nihal Singh deals with "India During and After The war." The writer points to the failure of all plots against the British Government. He very frankly points out the anomalies existing in a Government conducted by foreigners, deploring the fact that Indians are denied the privilege of managing their own affairs, debarred from carrying arms, and kept out of self-governing Dominions. The same writer in another part of the *Review of Reviews* brings out the point that Indians show great genius as military leaders whenever they are given the chance to show their ability.

The progressive rule of His Highness the Maharaja Gaekwar forms the subject of a leading article. The details of the mammoth artificial lake constructed some time ago in Mysore, taken from the *Modern Review*, given on another page, also show how an Indian State is forging ahead under an enlightened Maharaja.

Miss Stead's note on Japanese education should be taken to heart by all Indians. She points out that agitation is going on for increasing teachers' pay, and strengthening primary and secondary education. This cry is being raised in a country which has a school in nearly every village, and where almost cent per cent of boys and girls of school-going age are receiving education. What of our own India? The article on the Japanese press, compiled from Mr. Lajpat Rai's article in our Review, is also very interesting.

Apart from these oriental subjects treated in the Review, it is full of attractive features. A brief account is given of the visit to the Stead Hostel by Her Majesty the Queen-Mother in London, which has been raised in memory of the great man who courageously championed the cause of women, Indians and other subject people, a tradition that Miss Stead is now carrying on. Persons interested in spiritual phenomena, will find Miss Scatchard's article suggestive. The notes, leading articles, and book reviews, cover the whole world, and a great variety of topics. Many powerful cartoons are also included in the December issue.

### "The Thin Line."

According to Anglo-Indian papers like the *Pioneer*, only a thin line divides constitutional agitation and anarchism. That paper has, therefore, enthusiastically acclaimed the following sapient observation of the Special Tribunal that was recently engaged in the second supplementary trial of the Lahore conspiracy case: "Constitutional agitation may easily drift into intemperate agitation, intemperate agitation into sedition and sedition into active revolutionary methods." The obvious suggestion is that, therefore, constitutional agitation should be suppressed. But as the suppression of constitutional agitation also leads to the adoption of revolutionary methods, there is a sort of dilemma, from which the escape lies in listening to the constitutional agitator, as he is a very reasonable person. People are apt to become unreasonable only when what is reasonable is treated with scorn.

### The Hindu School Centenary.

The Hindu School in Calcutta links the present with the past of English education in Bengal. It is associated with some

of the most honoured names in Bengal and all India. The words with which the Hon. Mr. P. C. Lyon concluded his address at the Centenary of the School deserve to be quoted for their wisdom, and the spirit which animated them. He said:

We have very great problems before us in education in Bengal. We have to guide the enormous demand for more education and we have to help that spirit, which is wholly good in itself and which calls for the satisfaction of its intellectual and moral aims. In all humility I say this, that we who have the direction of educational forces, cannot do better than go back to the mind, spirit and aims that actuated men like your founders—David Hare and Ram Mohun Roy. We feel that however great the difficulties may be, they are not insurmountable, if we can emulate that spirit of culture, sympathy with the pupils, desire for advance, and that broad minded appreciation of the current needs of the country that animated those celebrated men."

### Mr. Jinnah's Presidential Address.

As president of the ninth annual sessions of the All-India Moslem League held in Lucknow in December last year, Mr. M. A. Jinnah delivered a thoughtful and able address, in course of which he referred to "the growth of a tremendous class-interest, the interest of the governing class as distinct from, if not wholly opposed to the interest of the governed." He was right in holding that "it was the existence of this vast, powerful and by no means silent interest that explains the origin and wide currency of certain shallow, bastard and desperate political maxims which are flung into the face of Indian patriots at the least provocation." The following samples are given from Mr. Jinnah's address:—

(1) Democratic institutions cannot thrive in the environment of the East. Why? Were democratic institutions unknown to the Hindus and Mahomedans in the past? What was the village Panchayet? What are the history, the tradition, the literature and the precepts of Islam? There are no people in the world who are more democratic even in their religion than the Mussalmans.

(2) The only form of Government suitable for India is autocracy tempered by English (European) efficiency and character. All nations have had to go through the experience of despotic or autocratic government at one time or the other in the history of the world. Russia was liberated to a certain extent only a few years ago, France and England had to struggle before they conquered the autocracy. Is India to remain under the heel of a novel form of autocracy in the shape of bureaucracy for all time to come, when Japan and even China have set up constitutional Governments on the democratic lines of Great Britain and America?

(3) (a) The interests of the educated classes are opposed to those of the Indian masses and  
(b) The former would oppress the latter if the

strong protecting hand of the British official were withdrawn

This astonishing proposition beats all reason and sense. It is suggested that we who are the very kith and kin of the masses most of us springing from the middle classes are likely to oppress the people if more power is conferred that the masses require protection at the hands of the English Officials between whom and the people there is nothing in common and that our interests are opposed to those of the masses—in what respect it is never pointed out and that therefore the monopoly of the administrative control should continue in the hands of non-Indian officials. This novel suggestion which is so flippantly made is intended to secure the longest possible lease for the bureaucracy and to enjoy their monopoly. But it can neither stand the light of facts nor the analysis of truth. One has only to look at the past records of the All India Muslim League to dismiss this specious plea. The educated people of this country have shown greater anxiety and solicitude for the welfare and advancement of the masses than for any other question during the last quarter of a century.

Mr Jinnah observed —

Amid the clash of warring interests and the noise of foolish catchwords no cool-headed student of Indian affairs can lose sight of the great obvious truth that *India is in the first and the last resort for the Indians*. Be the time near or distant the Indian people are bound to attain to their full stature as a self-governing nation. No force in the world can rob them of their destiny and thwart the purposes of Providence.

He thought that

The first and the foremost question that requires to be put at rest is that the position of India in the Empire should be defined in the most unequivocal terms. It should be made clear by the Government in an authoritative manner that self-government is not only a mere distant goal that may be attained at some future indefinite time but that self-government for India is the definite aim and object of the Government to be given to the people within a reasonable time. That should be the aim and object of the reconstruction and reformation of the present constitution of the Government of India and some definite steps should be taken after the War to introduce the reforms towards that end in view both by the Government and the people.

### What the Conferences Want.

If one could tabulate the opinions and sentiments, the desires, demands, and aspirations which have found expression in the presidential addresses and resolutions of the various conferences which met during the latter part of the month of December last, one could in that way afford a glimpse into the workings of the Indian mind and show towards what future developments India was tending. We have neither the time, nor the space, nor the before us, to be able to do this careful and interesting piece of work, but

we shall pick out at random some points from some presidential addresses and resolutions of some of the gatherings. The aims and objects of a gathering like the Indian National Social Conference are well known. It wants to promote the education of girls and women, the re-marriage of widows and the amelioration of their condition in other ways, the fusion of sub-castes, and the elevation of the depressed classes. It wants to abolish child marriages and introduce the marriage of adults in their place, it wishes to abolish the evils of the extortion of dowries, it is against polygamy, and the social evils born of entertainments like nautches, &c.

The president of the Vaisya Conference "was most emphatic on the point of education, both male and female, and conclusively showed that our backward condition was due to our illiteracy. Connected with this he emphasized the need for a serious and well-directed reform in the marriageable age of boys and girls together with an observance of the wholesome rule of Brahmacharya." The conference recorded the opinion that it was desirable to have compulsory primary education.

The Bhatia Conference resolved that provision should be made for the relief of widows and the keeping of a register of boys and girls of marriageable age and for such education of girls as might fit them to do the duties of mothers and mistresses of households. One resolution "advocated the ideal of marriages working towards 23 and 18 years as the marriageable ages for boys and girls respectively, but with 18 and 14 years, respectively, for the present."

At the Orissa students' conference some resolutions were passed, mainly of a social and educational character, such as starting a Students Magazine, Libraries and Reading rooms in different educational centres of Orissa, discouraging child marriage and extortion of dowry and fund to encourage students to go abroad for technical and industrial education.

The following more important resolutions were passed at the Kayastha Conference — "That in order to encourage commerce and industry among members of the community this conference urges the establishment of technical classes in the Kayastha Pathshala to impart instruction in those subjects." "That this conference urges upon the community the importance

and necessity of female education and the abolition of the purdah system as the foundation of all social reforms."

At the tenth Mahratha (non Brahmin) provincial educational conference, the president exhorted his fellow castemen to avail themselves of the facilities within their reach, to educate their backward brethren and to try to ameliorate their present depressed condition by doing away with many evil customs such as the Dowry system, the Pardah (Gosha) system, drink and so forth. Mr Bhaskarrao Jadhav, a Kolhapur State Officer, alluded with satisfaction to the changed angle of vision of their Brahmin brethren towards their endeavours, unlike their forefathers in the times of the Peshwas. But he exhorted his brother bearers to stand on their own legs in the matter of improving their status.

Some of the more important subjects dealt with at the Goan Congress were

Means for the moral social and intellectual up lift of Goans; the improvement and strengthening of the Goan Union; female education; female immigration need for a young women's home co-operative society, co-operative housing need for a maternity home; improvement in the conditions of and housing of the humbler classes in cities; publication of biographies of eminent Goans; education of the masses.

At the All India Arya Kumar Conference resolutions were passed expressing high admiration of the heroism of the Indian soldiers, exhorting young men to take up social service work, to promote the Vedic Dharma, to maintain social purity, to open "Desi Akharas" and gymnasiums, and to develop the commercial and industrial interests of the country.

At the first Home Rule Conference, in an eloquent speech Mrs Besant surveyed the situation and appealed to the Hindus and Mahomedans to work in harmony and hearty co-operation for Home Rule for India. In a humorous and closely reasoned speech Mr B G Tilak asked every one to agitate bravely and lawfully for Home Rule. He said that Home Rule would not fall as a gift from heaven. The people of India must be prepared to make necessary sacrifices.

At the Utkal conference, resolutions praying for the revival of salt manufacture on the sea coasts of Orissa, establishment of an Engineering College at Cuttack, amalgamation of the Oriya speaking peo-

ple, an Oriya member on the Imperial council, amendment of Patna University Bill, and advancement of Ayurvedic instruction in Orissa were adopted.

The following resolution was passed at the last Aligarh session of the All India Moslem Education Conference

This conference accepts the principle of free and compulsory education and respectfully requests the Government of India to take practical steps accordingly at the earliest opportunity. Several speakers spoke on the subject and the resolution was carried unanimously.

At the Humanitarian conference, its aims and objects were declared to be as follows —

(1) To educate public opinion regarding the advantages of vegetarian diet from the health, economy, temperance and mercy points of view; (2) to take up strictly non-political questions of human welfare such as treatment of widows, murder of children for ornaments etc.; (3) to appeal to the authorities as well as to the people to discontinue cruel fashions and ceremonies; (4) to try to protect animals as well as birds from all kinds of cruelty; (5) to carry on our Mission in such a way as not to wound the feelings of any community.

At the All India Christian Conference, with reference to certain suggested amendments of the law relating to Indian Christian marriages, the president, Hon Babu Madhusudan Das, said that

Whatever rules might be formulated by the Law Committee they should bear in mind one principle. They (Indians) had peculiar sacred ideas of matrimony. To his mind the sacred nature of the matrimonial alliances was to be learned from the practice of the 'Sati'. Europeans of course had looked at marriage from a different point of view. He believed that one woman ascending the funeral pyre of a husband left many thousands of sermons. They might have things not revolting to the Indian mind. Nothing contributed so much as the sacred nature of wedlock as it was observed in an Indian's life.

At the same conference one Indian Christian named Mr H. David said that

Indian Christians should not bear Indian names, but should adopt purely Biblical names. The charge that the Indian Christian aped Eurasian manners was puerile. There was nothing wrong in their adopting modern habit of dressing.

The Hon. Mr Das said the matter of Nationality was one in which discussion would avail nothing. Nations grew according to certain lines. Man was a creature of his environments. The outward manifestation of Nationality was Nationalism and Nationalism was very often the result of the circumstances in which the majority of the people belonging to a Nation were situated or placed. But a Nation should have its life, and in order to have a National life they must have an origin, a past and a future. Looking on the past of India he saw the glorious achievements of his ancestors and looking before he saw the glorious future. He felt he was but a drop in the ocean. He, as a Christian, thought



it was his duty that he should not do anything which would give him the appearance of being outlandish in his own land.

Then came Mr Chakka Chetti who said that the Hon Mr Das had echoed the real sentiments of all those present.

Professor C. M. Kerkar wanted to know the opinion of the Conference whether the paper read by Mr David should be printed in the report of the Conference. If it was printed, it might give a wrong idea of the sentiments of the Indian Christians. If it was to be printed they must mention that the majority of the Conference did not entertain the sentiments of Mr David.

The President wanted to know the opinion of the Conference whether Mr David's paper should be printed in the report or not.

Mr David complained that the President was unfair to him in not allowing discussion on his paper.

The President said that his object in not allowing discussion on the subject was only to preserve order in the Conference. From the restlessness which was visible at the Conference when the paper was read it seemed to him Mr David would be subjected to bitter criticism.

The Conference unanimously (with the exception of Mr David) decided that the paper should not be printed in the report.

At the Student's Convention held at Madras under the presidentship of Sir Subramania Iyer a resolution to the effect that "in addition to the usual sectarian hostels, cosmopolitan hostels in which the distinction shall be one of vegetarian or mixed diet and not of caste or creed should be established," was carried by an overwhelming majority. At the same convention some of the other resolutions passed were:

That the Convention while regretting the recent strikes which were breaches of discipline harmful to the true spirit of education thought that the results were to be traced to the lack of mutual sympathy and understanding between teachers and taught, and suggested that facilities of intercourse between them should be periodically arranged by constituent associations. The resolution also appealed to the principals and professors of colleges to look with sympathy and tolerance both upon students' individual and national aspirations and also to institute in their colleges a representative council consisting of elected representatives of students to consider student grievances.

Mr Chinnasamy Ramanujam moved a resolution vigorously appealing for higher education for women on national ideals and vernaculars as the media of instruction.

Mr L. Panigrahi moved the resolution commending to all students the principle of Swadeshi, and appealed to their patriotism to give preference to home-made articles over foreign goods in a telling speech.

Another resolution appealed to the students to abstain from the use of tobacco and form leagues for putting down the evil practice.

"This Convention expresses its emphatic protest the disgraceful system of demanding dowries, also against the ruinous custom of early marriage among students."

At the All-India Khatri Conference, the president, Diwan Bahadur Amar Nath, Minister, Jammu and Kashmir State, observed:—

At regards the customs of early marriage and polygamy, I would add that it is now admitted on all hands that they are sapping the physical and moral health of the Hindu nation as a whole. Stringent social measures should be adopted to stop these evils. The minimum age of marriage should be raised to sixteen in the case of girls and twenty-one in that of boys, so as to allow sufficient time for their normal development and proper education—conditions essential alike to the production of healthy issues and to the prevention of polygamy.

At the All India Hindu Conference two of the resolutions were:—

Resolved that this Conference urges upon all Hindu Sabhas and Panchayats the necessity of maintaining schools for the free elementary and religious education of Hindu boys and girls and prays the Government to make elementary education free and compulsory in the country.

Resolved that this Conference urges upon the Hindu community the great necessity of

(a) improving the condition of and meeting out better treatment to their submerged classes, (b) making provision for reclaiming converts to other religions, (c) taking proper care of Hindu widows and orphans, and (d) abolishing child marriage.

The Hindu Conference also passed a resolution exhorting all Hindus to perform joint family and social worship. Christians, Musalmans, Brahmos, etc., do it.

In her first Theosophical Convention lecture Mrs. Besant said in part:—

#### UNITY OF RELIGION

The special work they had to do was to proclaim the unity of religions and the realisation of oneness with God. There was nothing in all their activities which could be separated from religion.

#### POLITICS AND RELIGION

It was said that Mrs. Besant was a religious teacher and must have nothing to do with politics. Her answer was that, because Mrs. Besant was a religious teacher, she had everything to do with questions relating to the welfare of the country. They must be religious not only in temples, mosques and churches but in market places in Court as well as in the Judge giving judgment, as Doctor healing as soldier fighting as merchant trading. They must be religious throughout, or else they had no true religion. Only when they were thoroughly religious religion permeating every activity every thought and work, would Theosophists do their duty to religion.

In the course of her third and last convention lecture she said:—

#### WHAT POLITICS MEAN

To her politics meant the organised life of the Nation, on the liberty of a Nation depended its self respect and dignity and its life to her mind. One great

reason why a Nation should be free and self governing was that without those conditions man was not a man but only half. They all knew how Mr Asquith spoke of the possibility of German domination in England, and he said that it would be inconceivable and intolerable if all the highest offices in England were filled by Germans. Was it not an intolerable thing that an Indian if he had to rise to a high place in his own country had to go to a foreign country to acquire the qualification? An Indian in India must have everything that an Englishman had in England, he must have pride of race, pride of country.

### THE LIBERATION OF INDIA.

Patriotism must not be labelled sedition and desire for liberty must not be branded as rebellion. The duty of the Theosophist was to help in the liberation of India. It was a human duty, a national duty which came from service to the Motherland which none had right to forbid.

### THE DUTY TO HUMANITY.

Speaking of the Theosophist's duty to humanity, Mrs. Besant said that there was nothing contrary or antagonistic between nationality and humanity, if nationalism be based on love and not on hatred. A Theosophist must be a peace maker outside his Nation and also within his Nation, drawing communities together into one, and outside his Nation trying to draw Nations into brotherhood so that there might be no more war and none of the misery through which the world was passing to-day. In their life outside the Nation they must do nothing to increase the spirit of hatred even to those who were their enemies in the physical world to-day, remembering that they also were their human brothers, separated now by a gulf of blood and misery, but love could build bridges across gulf and look forward to a future when Nations shall once more be at one. She prayed that no Theosophist would cast fresh fuel into the fire of hate. In the Germans they saw that the evil of hating dulled the intellect and hardened the heart in the terrible strife now going on, and also in the struggle in their own Nation for constitutional liberty they must take care that they work by love and not by hatred and that they raise all and not push away any one. Only thus would the Will of God be done and the Brotherhood of Humanity be founded in the world.

At the Kshatriya Upakarini Mahasabha, the President, H. H. the Maharaja of Jammu and Kashmir, asked in the course of his address:—

Will it be hoping too much to expect of Rajas, Maharajas and other leaders to encourage education and introduce social reforms as their personal example is better than precept? I have learnt with much gratification that at the instance of some of the leading members of the Maha Sabha and in conformity with the pledge they took at Agra in 1913 they have abjured the entertainment of Nautch girls at ceremonial occasions and have thus established good examples for others to follow. I would wish that similarly many would come forward and make a vow that they would neither give nor receive negotiated and bartered dowries. It is the most harmful and shameful custom prevailing amongst the Rajputs.

### Nationalism among Indian Christians.

From some paragraphs in the foregoing note, it must have become clear to the reader that Indian Christians can no longer be characterised as denationalised. The Hon. Babu Madhusudan Das, C.I.E., of Orissa, president of the last session of the Indian Christian Conference, said in the course of his address that "the charge that their community had not shown any sympathy with those who were working for improving the political status of India was unjustifiable.

The community he said had done much to organize the national movement. Since the days of the community's birth from its very infancy, it had been struggling amidst powerful opposition to form a nucleus of the Indian nation. He believed that so long as a portion of the population remained untouched their attempts to raise India to the position of a nation would be retarded with much discount, and asked whether they had not done much to remove the pernicious caste system. They were Indians and would continue to work as they had done in the past. He would afford every facility for inter-marriage between the several portions of the Indian population and thus fuse different races into one powerful nation. He assured their non-Christian brethren their services would always be at their command in any movement which sought the political progress of India within the British Empire.

His thoughtful, earnest and intense nationalism found expression in passages like the following:—

When I read the two great national epics—the *Mahabharata* and *Ramayana* (with the aid of the light which the Cross sheds on them), I am inspired with an earnest desire to improve the position of our women and the depressed classes in the social economy of India. I learn that in ancient India the aboriginal tribes, who represent the monkeys of the *Ramayana*, were honoured by kings and monarchs who were worshipped as Gods. The writer of the *Ramayana* knew no depressed classes in the population. Take away Draupadi from the *Mahabharata* and Sita from the *Ramayana*, and the two great National epics have no existence. Where could I find more convincing proof of the influential position which women occupied in ancient India? Where can I get more forcible illustrations of the unflinching martyrdom to conviction, than I find in the life of my revered ancestor who cheerfully ascended the funeral pyre of her husband to keep inviolate the sacred bond of matrimony? Her blood, which I proudly hold in my veins, constantly impels me to act up to my conviction. I repudiate with indignation the assertion that I do not belong to the Indian Nation. I have spoken in the first person. I have done so because these are the unanimous sentiments of the community, and the sentiments of many, when expressed by one, lend emphasis to the unanimity. We are Indians. Indian blood runs in our veins, Indian history, Indian traditions are the springs from which we draw our inspirations, our hopes for the future greatness of India are built on the glorious achievements of ancient India.

### The Urgent Need for Immediate Abolition of Indentured Labour.

Mr C F Andrews, to whom along with his and our friend Mr W W Pearson, Indians owe a deep debt of gratitude for unveiling to the world the truly horrible picture of indentured labour in South Africa and Fiji, has written the following letter to the dailies —

Sir—I have received definite news from many quarters in Fiji that an assurance has been given by the Home authorities in London that the system of indenture will be allowed to go on for five more years before it is abolished.

Yet the Government of India despatch of October 15 1915 has written about it as follows —

It is firmly believed in this country and it would appear not without grave reason that the women emigrants are too often living a life of immorality in which their persons are, by reason of pecuniary temptation or official pressure at the free disposition of their fellow recruits and even of the subordinate managing staff.

That these grave fears which the Government of India regards as well founded are not imaginary has been proved in any proof were needed by the facts given in the report which Mr Pearson and I circulated and published nearly a year ago. These facts have never been challenged. They amount to nothing more or less than a clear evidence that the system itself leads up to a kind of legalised prostitution.

May I ask for your valuable help in urging publicly that a system which involves such immoral conditions be abolished immediately? It is now nearly a year since the late Viceroy promulgated its abolition, and there should be no longer any delay.

We had the privilege of publishing the entire report of Messrs Andrews and Pearson on indentured labour in Fiji. Those who have read it know that the system under which such labour is recruited is akin to slavery, horribly inhuman and degrading and is the greatest insult that can be offered to a nation. Its outrageous nature that a suggestion should be made for its continuance even for a day, not to speak of five years. If we had Home Rule, it would have been abolished long ago, nay, it would never have been allowed to be introduced at all. We are under no obligation, legal or moral, to supply human cattle to any British Colony. Moreover, we are convinced that indentured labour does no good to Fiji itself, it only enables a company to earn very large dividends.

The honour of all women, be they black or brown or white or red or yellow, be they peasants or princesses be they rich or poor, is equally dear and equally precious. No system which makes it difficult for any woman to preserve her honour ought to be tolerated for a day. And this accursed

system of indentured labour leads, by the Government's own admission, to a kind of organised and legalised prostitution. If for no other reason, for this reason alone it should be immediately abolished, though there is plenty of other reasons.

The mere raising of the proportion of women to men will not do. The very idea of so many women to so many men is disgusting and bestial. Men and women are not brute beasts that even an equality of the numbers of male and female emigrants under indenture can satisfy men who have any regard for the sanctity of conjugal relations and for high ideals of home life.

Mrs Sarojini Naidu and Messrs Polak and Andrews are making noble efforts to rouse the country to the evils, the shame and the ignominy of this most accursed system. Mr M K Gandhi is also nobly labouring in the cause of deceived and outraged humanity. Let all who can help in any way do so with all the earnestness that he possesses. One of the ways is to hold meetings of protest against the system all over the country.

Some Indian member or other of the Imperial Legislative Council may be depended upon to introduce a bill or move a resolution, if permitted to do so, for the immediate abolition of the system of indentured labour. And the hope may safely be expressed that among the Indian members, whether elected or nominated, there will not be found any one to brand himself as a moral leper by not supporting such a bill or resolution, which must have the wholehearted support of the whole country.

### Sarat Chandra Das, Explorer, Traveller and Scholar.

India is the poorer by the death of Sarat Chandra Das, Tibetan explorer, traveller and scholar. He was born in Chittagong in Bengal in 1849 and had completed 67 years of his life at the time of his death. We learn from the Encyclopædia Britannica that

“Lama Ugyen Gyatso, a semi-Tibetan who was originally a teacher of Tibetan in a Darjeeling school, was trained by the Indian Survey Department as a surveyor, and being deputed to take tribute from his monastery to Tashilhunpo he secured permission in 1879 from the Tashilhunpo authorities for Sarat Chandra Das a Bengali school master at Darjeeling, to visit that monastery, where his name was entered as a student. This was the opportunity for a series of valuable exploratory journeys through the Tibetan provinces adjoining the Indian and Nepalese frontiers which added greatly to our stock of informa-

tion about Lhasa and the districts surrounding that city. In their first journey the travellers set out from Jongri in Sikkim and traversing the north-east corner of Nepal crossed into Tibet by the Cnatangla, and travelled northwards to Shigatse and Tashilhunpo. They returned by much the same way to near Khambaiong and re-entered Sikkim by the Donkya pass. The journey was fruitful of information and valuable for mapping. Chandra Day made a second journey in 1881 with the intention of reaching Lhasa. He travelled by way of Tashilhunpo lay dangerously ill for some time at Samding monastery, duly reached Lhasa, where he visited the Dalai Lama but owing to smallpox in the city could remain there only a fortnight though he made full use of this time. During a journey home occupying nearly half a year he collected much further valuable information. Sarat Chandra Das's reports of his two journeys were published by the Indian government, but for political reasons were until 1890 kept strictly confidential. In 1899 they were edited by the Royal Geographical Society and in 1902 published. They contain valuable information on the superstitious ethnology and religion of Tibet. Chandra Das also brought back from his journeys a large number of interesting books in Tibetan and Sanskrit, the most valuable of which have been edited and published by him some with the assistance of Ugyen Gyatso and other lamas.

He gave an account of one of his journeys to Tibet in the pages of this review in a series of articles about which *The Leader* says, "readers must have been deeply impressed by them." The same paper has extracted from "Who's Who in India" the following facts about the life of the explorer—

In 1884 he accompanied the late Mr. Macaulay Chief Secretary to the Government of Bengal on his mission to Sikkim and the Tibetan frontier during which he was able to induce the Jonpong of Khambajiong to enter into friendly relations with Mr. Macaulay and was instrumental in saving the lives of the British envoy and Sir Griffith Evans. Major Evans Gordon and Mr. Paul who were in danger of being frozen to death near the enemy's camp. In 1895 Sarat Chandra Das again accompanied Mr. Macaulay this time to Pekin when the latter went to seek permission from the Chinese Government for a mission to enter Tibet and his services in that connection were recognized by the grant of C. I. E. Two years later Mr. Das visited Siam where he studied the Buddhist religion with Prince Vajra Juana Varorasa and was decorated by the King of Siam with the Tushita Mata medal. In 1893 he inaugurated the Buddha at Text Society of India with the object of publishing valuable Buddhist manuscripts brought by him from Tibet and in recognition of his contributions to the literature on Tibet the Government gave him the title of Rai Bahadur and a jagir of the value of Rs. 500 a year, and the Royal Geographical Society awarded the Back Premium for his geographical researches. Among his publications were *Journey to Lhasa and Central Tibet* and *Tibetan English Dictionary*.

Mr. Das was a man of indefatigable energy, buoyant temper and genial disposition. Last year he visited Japan and received a warm welcome there. Returning from

that country he wrote about the women of Japan in this Review.

### "Varnasrama-Dharma" Meetings.

Recently there have been some *Varnasrama Dharma* meetings in the country, the latest perhaps being that held in the Sobhabazar in Rajbati and presided over by the Maharaja of Darbhanga. Not being a follower of this cult, we do not know whether a sense of humour is one of the qualifications which its adherents are required to possess. For, men who have a sense of humour do not make themselves ridiculous by preaching what they do not practise. Be not alarmed, gentle reader. We are not going to be inquisitorial about the spiritual qualifications or even the mere mundane characters of any, persons. We speak only from a sense of puzzlement, which arises thus. We had an idea that one of the four *Asramas* was called *Vanaprastha*, or the stage of retirement to a forest for meditation and cultivation of the spiritual life, and that a Brahmin at any rate should retire to the forest on completing the fiftieth year of his age. Among the speakers at the Sobhabazar meeting there were several Brahmins past fifty, but Thacker's Indian Directory does not say that the residence of any of them is in a forest, nor does any of them dwell in a thatched hut, after renouncing all earthly possessions, as the forest-dwelling *Vanaprasthasramins* of old did. There was indeed rich unconscious humour in the richest *Brahmin* landholder in Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, preaching *Varnasrama Dharma*.

*Varnasrama Dharma* does not exist in this *Kali Yuga*. Whether it existed, not in theory, but in actual life, in any previous age, historians alone can say, not *pseudo* historians. Whether it ought to be or can be revived, sociologists and biologists, or earnest students of sociology and biology may discuss, and it would be fruitful to engage in a discussion with such men. But it would be waste of time and energy to examine what mere dabbles in *pseudo* sociology and *pseudo* biology may say, in moments of diversion from their absorbing worldly avocations and pleasures.

The four stages of life "constitute a beautiful ideal, and may be adopted in their spirit with modifications suited to it."

modern times But they should have nothing to do with the caste system

It is reported in the papers that Sir Guri das Banerji referred to the attempt to legitimise intercaste marriages in terms which implied condemnation As such marriages were co-acted in ancient times and are still held to be legitimate in the independent Hindu kingdom of Nepal we do not think the attempt was un-Hindu But that is not what we were going to say Babu Bhupendranath Basu who made the attempt wanted among other things to make such marriages honorable and legal *Hindu* marriages Such marriages are contracted even now only they are considered *un-Hindu* marriages Thus Hindu society is a loser While honorable marriages between parties of excellent character and intentions are thus looked at askance and discouraged illicit vicious and wicked connections go on unchecked As Sir Gurudas is himself a man of spotless purity of life and unquestionable orthodoxy and is universally respected for that reason, we feel no hesitation in appealing to him to show by word and deed that opposed as he is to even honorable and legal marriages between persons of different *Hindu* castes he condemns at least in equal measure illicit and vicious connections between Christian or Moslem women and Hindu men For surely such connections cannot be consistent with *Varna* *rama* *Dharma*

### The Poet Grey and Calcutta Graduates

The majority of the registered graduates of Calcutta University have shown that the poet Grey of *Elegy* fame is an old fossil He wrote of full many a flower  
born to blush unseen and waste its  
fragrance in the desert air He wrote of  
gems of purest ray serene too which the  
dark unfathomed caves of ocean bear  
But in their recent election of two Fellow  
they have not allowed two such flowers to  
blush unseen and waste their fragrance in  
the desert air they have dried and brought  
up from the dark ocean-caves two such  
gems Every one can vote for a worthy  
and a Bengal celebrity like Principal  
Trivedi but it requires rarer powers of  
appreciation and of thought reading in  
addition to falsify a classic like Grey

### Report of the Public Services Commission

We are not yet in possession of a copy of the Report of the Public Services Commission We shall comment on it in detail when it is procurable for money in the local book market The Government of India favours us with very few of their publications and those that are sent to us are generally received when they have become old stories Many of the reports of the Bengal Government are similarly delayed in their despatch to us We find for instance that Mr Hornell's latest annual report on public instruction in Bengal was discussed some weeks ago in the Calcutta dailies but we have not seen it yet One must not we may be told look a gift horse in the mouth Whether these official publications are gift horses at all need not be discussed in this connection The question that matters is why these gift horses should come earlier to some editors and very late to others and why some of these beasts should not at all be at the disposal of some editors to receive their caresses and castigations In spite of all our attempts to cultivate a due sense of humility we cannot persuade ourselves to believe that our comments on matters of public importance are inferior to those appearing in each and every one of the dailies which promptly receive Government publications *gratis*

### The Public Services Commission

The Indian papers which have seen and commented upon the report of the Public Services Commission are disappointed with it Some of them have compared the commission to the mountain in labour which produced a pitiful mouse Some of the Anglo-Indian papers too are disappointed with the report

At the time when the appointment of the commission was announced we did not profess to be very sanguine about its probable results We wrote in July 1912 (p 105) —

We shall be glad if the new Commission does not further narrow the sphere of the higher appointments open to Indians and add the glory with higher salaries to be paid to European officials

We note that in paragraph 34 of the majority report the public services are divided into three main groups In the first we place the Indian Civil Service and the police

department, in both of which the nature of British responsibility for the good governance of India requires the employment in the higher ranks of a preponderating proportion of British officers." In paragraph 26 it is observed that "in the civil service which with the police department we have placed separately in our first group as likely to require for many years to come a preponderating proportion of British officers, we have proposed that roughly three-quarters of the superior posts be recruited for in England and one-quarter in India." Now, both according to the Charter Act of 1833 and the Queen's Proclamation of 1858, we are entitled to all posts for which we may be qualified by our ability; neither created a ruling caste or set up a racial bar. The majority report distinctly does so, and shuts us out from three-fourths of the civil service and higher police appointments. Hence the commission does "further narrow the sphere of the higher appointments open to Indians," as we apprehended it would, in July, 1912. We note, too, that the proposals of the majority of the Commissioners would involve an additional annual expenditure of Rs. 62,25,760.

We also wrote in the 1912 July number :

But if anybody asks what we wish this Commission to do, we will say, "Let ability, merit, to be tested by means equally applicable to all candidates for office, be the sole qualification, not race or creed; let the line of demarcation between the provincial and imperial services, drawn along racial lines, be wiped out once for all; and let all Government servants, whether Indian or European, doing the same work, be paid the same salaries." Let the value attach to the man's work, not to the colour of his skin.

Again, the November (1912) number of this Review (p. 327) contained the following hints :—

Justice demands that at all posts in the higher grades of public services in this country should be recruited by competitive examinations held in India only, at which Indians should be allowed to appear and those domiciled persons whose parents have settled in India. One of the compulsory subjects for examination should be a vernacular of the country, in which a proficient knowledge of the candidate is to be tested. If this be done, much of the present discontent and unrest in this country will disappear.

Needless to say, this has not been done in the Report.

In the same number from which we have quoted above appeared the following :—

The very fact that the appointment of the Public Service Commission has not been hailed with delight

by the general public of India, goes to show its unpopularity. They know that none of the previous commissions, whether Royal or Indian, did much good to the people of this country. Many recommendations of the last Public Service Commission have yet to be given effect to. India was proining under the weight of heavy public expenditure and asked for some relief. A Royal Commission was appointed to devise some remedy. But the remedy which that Commission, known as Welby's, proposed was worse than the disease. The nomination of members of Commissions depends on the sweet will of the leaders of the political party that happens to be in power. Like packed juries such persons alone are made Commissioners as would carry out the intentions, if not the behests, of the party which appoints them. Of course to prevent adverse criticism one or two persons are selected whose judgments are not to be swayed by considerations of so-called political expediency. They are always in a minority.

In the case of the present commission, such men were the never-to-be-forgotten Mr. G. K. Gokhale, and the Hon. Mr. Justice Abdur Rahim, who has nobly done his part in his able and courageous solitary minute of dissent and of whom all India, and particularly his native district of Midnapur, is justly proud.

We may be excused for mentioning in this connection that when some years ago it was proposed to elect Mr. James Ramsay Macdonald to the presidential chair of the Indian National Congress, ours was the solitary voice opposed to this proposal. Mr. Macdonald, it will be noted, has signed the majority report of the commission. Had he filled the presidential chair of the Congress, his acceptance of the majority report, as an *ex-President of the Congress*, would certainly have done our cause some additional injury. The lesson is, do not shout "A deliverer has come," until and unless you thoroughly know your man.

The report of the Commission ought to stimulate our efforts to obtain Home Rule.

**Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji on Commissions.**

The following is the opinion of Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji on Commissions, which was quoted in this Review, November, 1912 (p. 503) :—

"In India when the authorities are decided upon certain views which are not likely to be readily accepted by the public, a commission or committee comes into existence. The members are mostly officials or ex-officials—English or Indian. Some non-officials, English or Indian or both, are sometimes thrown in, selected by the Government itself. It is a well understood thing that in all matters officials are bound always to take and support

views. The ex officials are understood to be bound by gratitude to do the same. If any one takes an independent line, either in a commission or committee, or in his own official capacity, and displaces the Government, I cannot undertake to say with instances what happens.

### European Officials and the Round Table Propaganda.

We learn from the *Leader* of January 31, that Sir James Meston and Mr. Marris made statements regarding their connection with the Round Table propaganda, at a meeting of the U. P. Legislative Council held at Lucknow on the 29th January last. Both gave very good certificates to Mr Curtis and the propaganda, which is said to be non-political in character. Sir James assured the council that "There was no case of any conspiracy against Indian interests, as has been alleged." About this opinions will differ. What is satisfactory to learn is that "in view of the misunderstanding which has arisen over this matter, the Government of India consider, an opinion which I [Sir James] accept, that officials should not in future be members of Round Table groups in India."

### The Late Mr. Ali Mahomed Bhimji

By the death of Mr. Ali Mahomed Bhimji, India loses one of her oldest patriotic sons. He breathed his last at Bandra at the age of about 80. He was a Congress veteran. *The Message* says, "he was one of the first Indian Muslims to realise that the welfare of India lay in the co-operation and union of the two great Indian communities—Hindus and Muslims. He had travelled extensively—almost over the whole world. He had gone on several missions to England, the last of which was to preach against cow-killing. He was a peace-loving man, and had his own ideas as to how to maintain world-peace. He had lately been in political retirement. In his days of vigour he was a well known figure on the Congress platform and among the Khoja Mahomedans. He was an effective and popular platform speaker. He leaves behind him a large family of children, grand-children and great-grand-children to bemoan his loss."

### Fiji-born Indians for the War.

From a brief article contributed to the *Western Pacific Herald* by Mr. D. M. Mam-

lal, we are interested to learn that some Indian young men, born in Fiji, have volunteered for the war at their own expense and risk. Mr. Mamlal wrote the article on the eve of their departure for the front.

### Volunteering for Indians.

It is pleasant to find the *Englishman* writing thus about Indian Volunteer regiments, led to do so by the steps which Government have taken to raise double companies in Bengal, Burma, and the Punjab:—

We do not know whether it is likely that the Government of India will ever consider seriously the raising of Indian Volunteer regiments, not merely for the purposes of war, but also for peace time. If ever it does there could be no more suitable nucleus for such regiments than the double companies recruited for service in the war and possessing the prestige and tradition of active service under the Raj.

### Mr. Datar's Record Run.

Mr. Sachindra Mazumdar writes to us from Allahabad:—

"My friend Mr. K. N. Dikshit informs me that Mr. Datar made an unique attempt at 25 miles in December last at Sangli. He ran 25 miles in 2 hrs 40 secs, thus constituting an Asiatic record. He is only 7 mts. behind the great McArthur, the Marathon Champion. This was only a test that we had arranged for Mr. Datar. We wanted to see whether he was in proper condition to run for the world's record. Needless to say we are thoroughly satisfied and I now entertain hopes that Datar will beat McArthur in his final attempt.

"Mr. Datar will put himself under training early this year and we are arranging that the final run should take place, just at the end of this cold season let us hope, by the middle of March, 1917. As we have received no encouragement from the Calcutta public, the run will necessarily be arranged in Allahabad."

"We have received a handsome donation from the Maharajah of Pithapuram (Madras) and are receiving small donations from all directions of India, excepting Bengal, from which province not a copper pie has been forthcoming in this great affair.

"I appeal again to the innate love of sport of every individual in India to help us in this affair. I have given you an idea of Datar's condition and I again let you know, Datar would not be able to get

Since the outbreak of the war up to June last India exported wheat to the United Kingdom to the value of £7,891,100

The effects of export of wheat on the constitution of the people of India will be understood from the following extracts from *The Dietetic Treatment of Diabetes* by Major B D Basu I M S (retired) —

'As regards wheat, we have the high authority of Sir William Crookes, who, in his Presidential Address at the British Association for the Advancement of Science in 1898, said that no other grain can take the place of wheat in the preparation of bread—the staff of life for man\*. But with the export of wheat, the people of India, for the most part, have to depend on inferior food grains for their bread. Regarding Indian wheat, Messrs McDougall Brothers, at the request of the Government of India, in 1880, prepared a report, from which the following passages are taken —

Glancing at all the facts here elaborated it is evident that these wheats afford a larger margin of profit both to the miller and baker than any other.

We venture to record a conviction that we have long held strongly emphasized by the results of these experimental work, of the measureless importance of the great resources of the Indian Empire being developed to the utmost in producing wheat for this country. Farmers here are finding that to live they must produce beef and mutton rather than grain hence the greater need of resources of supply under our own control. There is no doubt an outlet in this country and the Continent for unlimited quantities of Indian wheats.'

'Accordingly, Indian wheats are being exported in larger and larger quantities year after year. As a consequence, the Indian population, for the most part, have to live on inferior food grains. Sir George Watt, the compiler of the Dictionary of Economic Products of India, does not try to traverse this statement, but thinks that he has proved his case, by writing in the following strain —

\* Sir William Crookes said —

'We are born wheat-eaters. Other races vastly superior to us in numbers, but differing widely in material and intellectual progress are eaters of Indian corn, rice, millet and other grains, but none of these grains have the food value, the concentrated health-sustaining power of wheat and it is on this account that the accumulated experience of civilized mankind has set wheat apart as the fit and proper food for the development of muscle and brain.'

Indian wheat has for some years continued undersell the produce of the old and established supplies and is gradually assuming a recognized position in the grain markets of Europe. The outcry has accordingly in certain quarters, been raised against the objections to this new traffic. A theory that much abused ally of a weak cause has been called to the rescue. The natural food surplus stocks of the people we have been told were being drained away from them. For greed of the means to satisfy exotic desires of modern civilization the people were being induced to part with their ordinary food and were in consequence taking to the use of inferior and unwholesome grains.

'The injurious effects due to the export of wheat obliging people to maintain themselves on inferior and unwholesome food grains, cannot be disproved by sophisticated arguments. Steps should, therefore, be taken to reduce, if not actually to stop, the export of wheat.'

In 1914-15 the yield of wheat in India was ten million tons in round numbers. Supposing that to be also the yield of the latest crop to which the *Review of Reviews* refers, and of which it is said 1,500,000 tons are ready for export, the quantity exported would form more than 15 per cent of the total produce. According to the authority quoted by Sir William Crookes, in 1891 or thereabouts less than 9 per cent of the total yield was exported. So that the proportion of the total produce exported appears to have increased.

\* Sir William Crookes gave the following as appendix to the address above referred to —

So long ago as April 16 1891 the following statement by a leading Indian economist appeared in the *Daily Englishman* of Calcutta.

People do not realize the fact that all the wheat India produces is required for home consumption and that this fact is not likely to be realised until a serious disaster occurs and that even now less than 9 per cent is exported. It is a self-evident fact that a small expansion of consumption or a partial failure of crops of other food grains will be sufficient to absorb the small proportion now exported. Besides we have a steady increase of consumption in consequence the natural growth of the population as well as in the gradual improvement in the condition of a considerable part of the people in the cities. I believe that comparatively speaking, India will in a few years cease to export wheat and soon thereafter become an importing country.

Even after the lapse of nearly a quarter of a century, the above still holds true and it shows the increased folly of exporting wheat from India.



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দুইখানি পাঠাই। দ্বিতীয় ভাগ পাঁচ পরসার; সাত  
পরসার টিকিট পাঠাইলে একখানি পাঠাই।

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# The United States of America : A Hindu's Impressions and a Study. By Lala Lajpat Rai.

## New Opinions.

We are late in reviewing the extraordinarily interesting book "The United States of America" by Lajpat Rai kindly forwarded to us by Mr. Ramaswami Chatterjee, Calcutta. The book is teeming with information and it is very difficult to review this book as in every chapter, some whole pages, are worth reproduction. To review the book in a small space which can be allotted in a weekly is not to do justice to it fully. However we hope the publishers will excuse us for our inability to provide a deserving space for it.

Mr. Lajpat Rai in the first chapter, has given an outline of the history of that land of Democracy where freedom plays and frolics like a child and can be seen in its nativity.

The British and the American competers in America never agreed and the tension became so great that it ultimately led to revolution. The history of this period should be well remembered by our rulers and the ruled as in it we find all the stages short of revolution which India is passing through in these times. Swadeshi and Boycott of English goods were started there as a protest to the ignoring of the rights of Women engaged themselves in hand weaving industries to supply 'Native' or 'Swadeshi' clothes to their male relations and such was the enthusiasm and strength of the movement that the British Government had to yield.

After securing independence, calm was restored after much internecine struggle and riots. Those who revile us for not being amenable to discipline and who therefore say that we are unfit for Self Government should read this carefully and see whether Americans were more fit than ourselves.

The constitution now smoothly working, has secured complete freedom of speech and act and on this has also been given to the Filipinos and we Indians are demanding the same from our rulers with perhaps better claim and propriety.

The chapter on education in general and of Negroes in particular is full of information and must put our Government to shame. Students have a Self Government in schools and thus they are trained in it—a boon yet denied to India.

The education of Negroes was positively prohibited by law, first, and imprisonment, whipping fine were the punishments inflicted on the teachers. Now law encourages it but race prejudice yet hampers it. Still Negroes have made a rapid and splendid progress in education. Their women are also educated. The Tuskegee institution is a wonder of modern America

and a living example to Indian educationists. To throttle the political aspirations of the Negro "industrial education" is suggested as a counter irritant and therefore Negroes do not readily take to it. The lines on which work in Tuskegee is carried on compare well with those in the D. A. V. (Panjab).

In politics the Negro fares very badly now a-days in America, as badly as do the Indians in the Colonies. The exclusion movement is as rampant there as in South Africa and the chapter must be studied by every well wisher of our migrating labourers.

When we turn our attention to charity organisation we are everywhere surprised by the charity foundations and their labours in diverse departments. The Russell Sage foundation is an exemplary institution well worth the study of our philanthropists.

The chapter on 'Philippine Islands' must be read and re-read by every Indian. It deserves a careful study and especially our rulers have much to learn from it.

The succeeding chapters also are very illuminating and Caste in America and India in America must command the attention of every Indian student. We cannot, we are sorry, deal with the book fully but we are sure that this work will occupy a very high rank in the modern political literature and the Lal of India has rendered meritorious services to his country by writing a work which will stand as a monument to his sterling patriotism and wide expanse of knowledge.

—The Mahratta.

Mr. Lajpat Rai has produced a capital description of the various educational and social phases of the United States of America in his book of that name. The author is a traveller of the stamp of Arthur Young and not that of Lawrence Sterne as a result of which his book abounds in valuable information well selected facts and carefully compiled figures—bearing upon especially such features of American life as should appeal to educated Indians interested in the progress of their country. We have much pleasure in commending Mr. Lajpat Rai's *United States of America* (R. Chatterjee, 210-3-1 Cornwallis Street, Calcutta) to our readers as an informing and instructive work for it is truly an excellent short study of a great subject. It should have a value for Americans also as presenting to them the impressions of a cultured Indian.

—The Hindustan Review.

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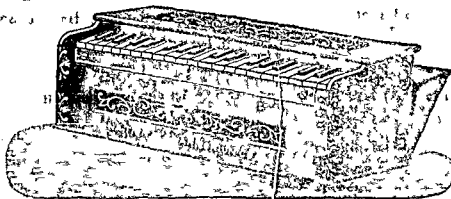
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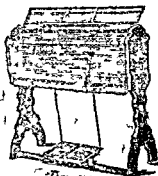
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*What the Times of India, of 8th April 1913 says*

STATUE OF MR JUSTICE RANADE  
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The above is a reproduction of a photograph of the statue of the late Mr Justice Ranade Bombay High Court Judge eminent social reformer, and educationist which has been placed on the north eastern corner of the Cooperage and is to be unveiled on Wednesday by the Hon Mr C H A Hill Mr Ranade died in 1900 and his friends and admirers have long been anxious that his memory should be perpetuated but there have been numerous difficulties to be contended with

The statue is seven feet in height, and is mounted on a six foot pedestal. It is the work of Mr G K Mhatre, the well known Bombay sculptor. Mr Mhatre has been considerably handicapped by the fact that there was only one photograph of the late Mr Ranade, who had a strong dislike for the camera, but those who knew him declare that the likeness is extraordinarily good. Mr Ranade is shown standing in a characteristic attitude. He is wearing his judicial robes and is carrying in his right hand a legal scroll, and the reproduction is so faithful that even the defect which Mr Ranade had in the right eye is clearly shown. Mr Mhatre found the folds of the robes presented special difficulties and he had to place a cushion in marble at the back as a support.

The arrangements for the raising of subscriptions and the erection of the statue have been carried out by a committee which had the Chief Justice (Sir Lawrence Jenkins) as the president, and Mr Narottam Morari Goculdas as Secretary.



7 ft high (By G K Mhatre)  
The late Justice M G Ranade  
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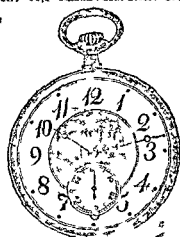
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# THE MODERN REVIEW

VOL. XXI

MARCH, 1917

WHOLE

No. 3

No. 123

## LETTERS

EXTRACTS FROM OLD LETTERS OF RABINDRANATH TAGORE

(Specially Translated for the Modern Review).

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19.

Nearing Shazadpur,  
January : 1891.

WE are still on the way, and have been floating along from early last morning till seven or eight in the evening.

There is an attraction in motion by itself. The banks were continuously slipping behind on either side, and unable to tear my eyes away, I could not fix my mind on a book or go on with any writing; so, with nothing else to do, I have been simply looking on the whole day. This was not wholly due to variety in the scenery—sometimes the banks were bare, treeless outlines merely—but the fascination was in the ceaseless, untiring movement which, without thought or effort of mine, kept my mind fully occupied, in a state neither of restraint, nor strain, like absently swinging one's legs sitting in a chair; the monotonous action pacifying the superfluous energy which refuses to be still, and so allowing the system to repose in comfort.

We left the little river of Kaligram, its course sluggish like the circulation of a dying man, and dropped thence into the current of a briskly flowing stream which in turn, led into a region where land and water seemed to merge into each other, bereft of distinction between river and bank, as with brother and sister in infancy.

The river lost its aspect of slowness, scattered its current in many directions, and spread out, finally, into a marshy lake, with here a patch of grassy land and there a stretch of transparent water; reminding me of the earth in its youth, when through

the limitless waters, land had just begun to raise its head, the separate provinces of solid and fluid as yet not well defined.

Round about where we were moored, are planted the bamboo poles of the fishermen. Kites are hovering about ready to snatch up fish from the nets. On the ooze at the water's edge stand the meek-looking white paddy-birds. All kinds of waterfowl abound. Patches of weeds float on the water. Here and there rice-fields, untilled and uncared for, rise from the moist clay soil. Mosquitoes swarm over the still waters.

We start again at dawn this morning and pass through Kachikata where the waters of the lake find an outlet in a winding channel only six or seven yards wide, through which they swiftly rush. To get our unwieldy house-boat over this is indeed an adventure. The current hurries it along at lightning speed keeping the crew busy using their oars as poles to prevent the boat being dashed against the banks. We thus come out again into the open river.

The sky was heavily clouded, a damp wind blowing, with occasional showers of rain. They were all shivering with cold. Such wet and gloomy days in the cold weather are eminently disagreeable, and I spent a miserable, lifeless morning. At two in the afternoon, the sun came out and since then it has been delightful. The banks are now high and covered with peaceful groves and the dwellings of men, secluded and full of beauty.

The river winds in and out, an unknown

\* On the rich river-side silt, rice-seed is simply scattered and the harvest reaped when ripe; nothing else had to be done. Tr.

little stream in the inmost *zanana* of Bengal neither lazy nor fussy so tenderly, so sweetly loving, as it lavishes the wealth of its affection on either side and prattles of common joys and sorrows and house hold news with the village maidens who come to take its water and sit there by its side assiduously rubbing their bodies into a glowing freshness with their moistened towels

This evening we have moored our boat in a lonely bend. The sky is clear. The moon is at its full. There is not another boat to be seen. The moonlight glimmers on the ripples. Solitude reigns on the banks. The distant village sleeps nestling within its thick fringe of trees. The shrill sustained chirp of the *cicadas* is the only sound.

20

Shazadpur  
February 1891

I do enjoy the village scenes before me. I just in front of my window on the other side of the stream a band of gypsies have ensconced themselves putting up bamboo frameworks covered over with split bamboo mats and pieces of cloth. There are only three of these little structures so low that a person cannot stand upright inside. Their daily life is lived out in the open and they only creep into these shelters at night to sleep there huddled up together.

That is always the way with gypsies no home anywhere no landlord to pay rent to wandering about as it pleases them with their children, their pigs and a dog or two and on them the police keep a vigilant eye.

I frequently watch the doings of the family nearest me. They are dark but good looking, with fine strongly built bodies like north west country folk. Their women are also brunet and have tall slim well knit figures, and with their free and easy movements and natural independent air they look to me like dark Englishwomen.

The man has just put the cooking pot on the fire, and is now splitting up bamboos and weaving baskets. The woman first holds up a little mirror to her face taking a deal of pains in wiping and rubbing it over and over again with a moist piece of cloth and then the folds of her upper garment adjusted and tied.

she goes all spick and span up to the man and sits beside him helping him now and then in his work.

These are truly children of the soil born on it somewhere, bred on the way here there and everywhere. Dying anywhere I should so like to know exactly how they live and feel. Night and day under the open sky in the open air on the bare ground a unique kind of life they lead and yet work and love children and house hold duties everything is there.

They are not idle for a moment but always occupied in doing something. Her own particular task over one woman stops down behind another unties the knot of her hair and cleans and arranges it for her and whether at the same time they fall to talking over the domestic affairs of the three little mat covered households I cannot say for certain from this distance but shrewdly guess it.

This morning a great disturbance invaded this peaceful gypsy settlement. It was about half past eight or nine. They were spreading out tattered quilts and sundry other rags which served them for beds over the mat roofs to sun and air them. The pigs with their litters lying in a hollow all of a heap and looking like a dab of mud were routed out by the two canine members of the family who fell upon them and sent them roaming in search of their breakfasts squealing their annoyance at being interrupted in their enjoyment of the rays of the sun after the cold of the night. I was writing my diary and absently looking out now and then when the hubbub suddenly commenced.

I rose and went up to the window and found a crowd gathered round the gypsy hermitage. A superior looking person was flourishing a stick and indulging in the strongest of language. The headman of the gypsies cowed and nervous was apparently trying to offer explanations. I gathered that some suspicious happenings in the locality had led to this visitation by a police officer.

The woman so far, had remained sitting busily scraping lengths of split bamboo as serenely as if she had been all alone and no sort of row had been going on. Suddenly however she sprang to her feet advanced on the police officer, gesticulated violently with her arms in his face and gave him in strident tones, a piece of her mind. In the twinkling of an

eye three-quarters of the officer's excitement had subsided; he tried to put in a word or two of mild protest, but did not get a chance; and so departed crestfallen, a different man.

After he had retreated to a safe distance he turned and shouted back: "All I say is, you'll have to clear out of here!"

I thought my neighbours opposite would forthwith pick up their mats and bamboos and make a move with their bundles, their pigs and their children. But there is no sign yet of their intending to do so. They are still nonchalantly engaged in splitting their bamboos, cooking their food and getting through their toilet.

21.

Shazadpur,  
February: 1891.

The Post Office is in a part of our estate office building,—which is very convenient, for we get our letters as soon as they arrive. Some evenings the Postmaster comes up to have a chat with me about postal affairs and other things. I enjoy listening to his yarns. He talks of the most impossible things in the gravest possible manner.

Yesterday he was telling me in what great reverence people of this locality hold the sanctity of the river Ganges. If one of their relatives dies, he said, and they have not the means of taking the ashes to the Ganges, they powder a piece of bone from his funeral pyre and keep it till they come across some one who, some time or other, has drunk of Ganges water. To him they administer some of this powder, hidden in the usual offering of *pan\**, and thus are content to imagine that a portion of the remains of their deceased relative has gained the purifying contact of the sacred water.

I smiled as I remarked:—"This surely must be a story!"

He pondered deeply before he admitted after a pause: "Yes, it may be so."

22.

Shelidah,  
February: 1891.

It is a relief once more to have the boat against the secluded sandbank on the other side. I cannot tell you how beautiful is the day and all around. After a long interval I meet again the great big

earth. Hullo! says she. Hullo! say I. And then we sit beside each other in silence. The current laps against the boat, the sunshine glitters on the ripples, the expanse of the sandbank lies gleaming, fringed with wild casuarina-like bushes.

The gurgling of the water, the glare of the noonday, the faint cries of the birds from the bushes on the sand, combine to bring about a dreamy state of mind. I feel I want to write away for ever, not of anything else, but just this sound of the water, this sunny day, this stretch of sand. These I want to go on writing about, day after day, time after time, for they have obsessed me and I can talk of nothing else.

23.

On the way,  
February: 1891.

We have got past the big rivers and just turned into a little one.

The village women are standing in the water, bathing or washing clothes; and some, in their dripping *saris* with their veils pulled well over their faces, are taking home the water vessels filled after their bath, clasped against their waists on the left, their right arms swinging free. Children, covered all over with clay, are sporting boisterously, splashing water on each other, while one of them shouts a song, leaving out the tune.

Over the high banks the cottage roofs and the tops of the bamboo clumps are visible. The sky has cleared and the sun is shining. The remnants of the clouds cling to the horizon like fluffs of cotton-wool. The breeze is warmer.

There are not many boats in this little river, only a few *dingis*, laden with dry branches and twigs, are moving leisurely along to the tired plash! plash! of their oars. At the river's edge the fishermen's nets are hung out to dry between bamboo poles. And the morning's work everywhere seems to be over for the day.

24.

Chuhali,  
June: 1891.

I had been sitting out on the deck for more than a quarter of an hour, when heavy clouds rose in the West. They came up black, tumbled and tattered, with streaks of lurid light showing through here and there. The little boats scurried

\* Spices wrapped in betel leaf.

there does throw its spell over that bit of the *maidan*, the cathedral behind, and those silent groves of trees in front. But there, other things are also present; while here, I have only my silent nights. And I cannot tell the ineffable peace and beauty which I, in my loneliness, find in them.

Some are worried because they cannot know all that is to be known of the world; others worry themselves to death because they cannot express all they feel in their minds; meanwhile the mystery of the world remains in the world, and the thoughts of the inner self remain within the self.

I rest my head on the window ledge, and the breezes, like Nature's loving fingers, gently pass through my hair; the water sighs and sobs past; the moon shines on; and at times tears start unbidden to my eyes. The constant hidden sorrow—of life unfulfilled—which the mind inwardly nurses, thus expresses itself in silent tears, whenever the least affectionate overture is made by Nature; and thereupon she comforts us with more and more caresses; and with all the greater poignancy of loving reproach we hide our faces in her breast.

27.

Shazadpur,  
June: 1891

I love these summer noondays. The world all round slumbers in the sun, and my mind wants to take fanciful flights; so though I take up a book, I cannot read it. From the bank to which the boat is tied, a kind of scent rises from the grass, and the heat of the ground, given off in gasps, comes and touches my body. I feel that the warm, living Earth is breathing upon me, and that she, also, must be feeling my breath.

The young shoots of rice are waving in the breeze, and the ducks are in turn thrusting their heads beneath the water and preening their feathers. There is no sound save the faint, mournful creaking of the gangway against the boat, as she imperceptibly swings to and fro in the current.

Not far off there is a ferry. A motley crowd has assembled under the banyan tree awaiting the return of the ferry boat; and as soon as it arrives, they eagerly scramble in. I enjoy watching this for hours together. It is market day in the village on the other bank; that is why the ferry boat is so busy. Some carry bundles

of hay, some baskets, some sacks; some are going to the market, others coming from it. Thus, in this silent noonday, slowly flows this little stream of human activity across the little river, between the little villages on either side.

I was wondering as I sat there: Why is there always this deep shade of melancholy over the fields and river banks, the sky and the sunshine, of our country? I came to the conclusion that it is because, with us, Nature is obviously the more important thing. The sky is free, the fields limitless; and the sun makes them merge into one blazing whole. In the midst of this, man seems so trivial. He comes and goes, like the ferryboat, from this shore to the other; the babbling hum of his talk, the fitful echo of his song, is heard; the slight movement of his pursuit of his petty desires is seen in the world's market places; but how feeble, how temporary, how tragically meaningless it all seems amidst the immense aloofness of the Universe.

The contrast between the beautiful, broad, unalloyed peace of Nature, calm, passive, silent, unfathomable, and our own everyday worries, paltry, sorrow-laden, strifetormented, makes me beside myself as I keep staring at the hazy distant blue line of trees which fringe the fields across the river.

Where Nature is ever hidden, and cowers under mist and cloud, snow and darkness, there man feels himself master; his desires, his works, he thinks to be permanent, he wants to perpetuate them, he looks towards posterity, he raises monuments, he writes biographies; he even goes the length of erecting tombstones over the dead. He is so busy, he has not the time to consider how many monuments crumble, how often names are forgotten!

28.

Shazadpur,  
June: 1891.

There was a great big mast lying on the river bank, and some little village urchins, with not a scrap of clothing on them, decided after a long consultation, that if it could be rolled along to the accompaniment of a sufficient amount of vociferous clamour, it would be a new and altogether satisfactory kind of a game. The decision was no sooner come to than acted upon, with a *Shabash* brothers! All together

## CHAPTER XII.

been wandering boy? But I don't mind telling over again."

When he had finished speaking Gobindalal said, "What do you intend to do with her, uncle? You are not going to hand her over to the police, of course?"

"Police!" said Krishnakanta. "What have I to do with the police? I am the police, I am the magistrate, I am the judge. What I will do is this: I will see her head shaven in the presence of all my men, and then have her sent out of my jurisdiction."

"Rohini," said Gobindalal, turning to her, "where did you get the forged will?"

"I found it in the drawer," said Rohini.

"Mark her rascality!" said Krishnakanta.

"Who put it there? You know of course, else what business had you to meddle with the drawer?"

"She won't tell you that," said Krishnakanta. "But I can see perfectly well what is really the matter. It is as clear as noon day. The forged will was of Haralal's preparing. She was bribed by him to steal my will and put the false will in its place. But as she couldn't do that, being found out, she burned up the forged will. That's the fact I tell you, though she won't confess to it."

"Rohini," said Gobindalal, "you have heard what your punishment will be. But if you will tell the truth without mincing any part of it, I will try and obtain pardon for you."

"I will not sue for pardon if the punishment is deserved by me," said Rohini.

"How defiant!" cried Krishnakanta.

"Will you let me alone with her, uncle, say for an hour?" asked Gobindalal.

"What for?" said his uncle.

"I want to get the truth out of her," said he. "Maybe she has her reasons for not wishing to tell it here."

"Well, I have no objection," said his uncle. "You may take her to your room and see if you can get the whole truth out of her."

Krishnakanta ordered a servant maid to take Rohini to Gobindalal's wife and keep guard over her.

When Gobindalal had gone, "Bad boy!" said Krishnakanta to himself. "I am fully mistaken if he has not taken a y to that girl."

A little after Rohini had left, Gobindalal walked into the inner parts of the house, ascended the stairs and entered his bedroom. His wife was there. She was seated at a little distance from Rohini, and was silent. She had wished to speak a word of comfort to her, but she abstained lest it might move her so as to make her burst into tears. As her husband entered she walked up and winked to him as a hint that she wished to have a word with him. He stepped out with her, and she took him aside and said, "What is Rohini here for? What's your business with her?"

"I have something to ask her in private," said Gobindalal.

"Why in private? What is it you wish to ask her?" said his wife.

"You are jealous, my dear," he said with a smile, giving her a quick glance. "There is no fear of my falling in love with Rohini."

The words uttered pointblank struck her with sudden shame. She left him abruptly, and, running downstairs, strolled into the kitchen.

"Tell me a story," she said to the female cook who was busied in preparing the meal, as she gave her in fun a pull by the hair. "I want an amusing story, one that will make me laugh, for I feel rather dull. You can tell it cooking."

"Why, my lady, a nice good time it is for story telling," she said. "But at night when I have leisure I will tell you a story that will make your sides split with laughter."

Meanwhile Gobindalal seated himself at a little distance before Rohini and said, "Now, girl, I hope you will tell me the honest truth and not try to keep anything back."

Rohini wanted to make a clean breast of everything to Gobindalal.

"Uncle says," continued he, "you stole into his room to secure his will and put a forged will in its place. Is it true?"

"No," said Rohini.

"What is true then?"

"It is useless to tell it, I fear," she said after a pause.

"Why?" asked Gobindalal.

"Because you will not believe my words."

"How do you know that?" said Gobin-

dalal. I know what to accept as true and what not. I sometimes believe what other people will not like to believe."

Rohini blessed him in her heart. "His inside," she said to herself, "is as good as his outside."

"Come, let me know the truth," continued Gobindalal, "and I may do you a kindness."

"How?"

"I may intercede with my uncle for you."

"If you do not . . . ?"

"You know what your punishment will be."

"Yes, I shall be disgraced and turned out of the village. But I do not care. I have lost my good name, and that is what makes me feel very miserable."

"Poor girl," thought Gobindalal, "she repents now for what she has done."

"I understand, Rohini," said he, "that the reproaches of your conscience is punishment enough for your guilt."

"Oh, I am very very unhappy," she said. "How I wish I had never done anything to lose my good name. But it can be restored, I know it can, if you would be kind to me."

"I do not know what I can do for you," said Gobindalal, "until I have had the whole truth."

"What do you want to know?"

"What was it you destroyed?"

"A forged will," said Rohini.

"Where was it?"

"In the drawer."

"You put it there, of course?"

"Yes."

"Why?"

"I was persuaded by Haralal Babu to steal your uncle's will and put the false will of his making in its place."

"When did you steal it?"

"On the night of the very day it was written."

"Why did you steal again into his room last night?"

"To take away the false will and put your uncle's again where it was."

"What was in the false will?"

"In it your cousin's share was three-fourths of the whole property, and yours . . . one sixteenth."

"What made you think of replacing my uncle's will in the drawer?" said Gobindalal, fixing his eyes on Rohini.

She was silent.

"Come, I must have an answer to this," he said again.

Rohini knew not what answer to make. She loved him secretly; and now she thought of the gulf between them. Could he care to love her? It seemed to her he could not. And the thought so distressed her that she burst into tears.

"Why, what makes you weep, girl?" said Gobindalal in some surprise. "I am sure I said nothing that could hurt you."

"Oh, no, you never can, you are so very kind," she said. "But don't ask me, oh, don't, I pray. I cannot tell you. It is a secret which I must carry in my bosom to the end of my life. It is a great happiness, yet a great pain. I wish I had been dead. I wish I could die. It is a disease, a weakness for which there is no remedy."

He understood her. He saw her heart as in a mirror, and he very much pitied her.

"Don't talk of dying, Rohini," he said. "We all have our duties to perform for which we have come into the world. You sin to wish to go off before your time, and death never comes for courting, you know."

He paused for a moment, and then said, "Rohini, I think you will do well to live away."

"Why?" she said, looking at him.

"I wish we might never meet again," he said, speaking very seriously.

Rohini saw that he had her secret, and she hung down her head for shame. She was, however, happy that Gobindalal understood she loved him.

"You must leave this place, Rohini," he said again after a while, and in a rather decided tone of voice.

"If I must," said she, "I can be ready to leave at a moment's notice. I think I should like this change after all I have undergone here."

"I think," said he, "I will buy you a house in Calcutta. You can get your uncle to live with you as your guardian, and I will see that he has a place under a good master there."

"It is very kind of you to say that, sir, very; but I fear your uncle will not spare me."

"Well, I will see to that," he said. And he rose and left the room, bidding Rohini go to his wife.

#### CHAPTER XIII.

Krishnakanta was very indulgent towards his nephew. Gobindalal remembered

his promise to Rohini, and he thought that anyhow he must free her from the clutches of his uncle. He believed that his uncle loved him too well to refuse to pardon Rohini if he chose to make the request. With this belief he went and entered Krishnakanta's room when the old man had withdrawn to it to take his usual nap after meal.

Krishnakanta was reposing on his couch. He was in a recumbent posture and dozing pipe in hand, his legs crossed and his back resting on a bolster. Gobindalal stood before the couch, thinking whether to rouse his uncle or not, and he concluded that he should not disturb his rest. He had just turned to leave the room when making a movement the old man knocked the spittoon at his head, which rolled and dropped to the floor with a noise, making him wake up with a start. Gobindalal hastened to pick up the spittoon and put it again in its former place.

"Gobindalal?" said Krishnakanta, looking at him. "What do you want, my boy? Have you anything to say to me?"

"Oh, nothing particular, uncle," he said. "You may go to sleep. I mustn't disturb you now."

"I am sufficiently refreshed," said the old man. "I won't sleep any longer. Take your seat there, my lad."

Gobindalal sat down, as directed, on an armless cushioned chair near by, expecting his uncle would open a conversation by talking about Rohini, which would give him an opportunity of requesting him to pardon her, but he made no mention of her at all. Krishnakanta having cunningly guessed his business with him, talked only of business matters until the young man who could find no very great interest in them, began to exhibit signs of impatience, and the old man, who could well see that, laughed in his sleeve and enjoyed his disappointment and vexation very much.

"The case pending in the judge's court will be taken up again on Monday next," said Krishnakanta.

"Yes, uncle," said Gobindalal rather abstractedly.

"My boy, you seem absent to-day. What's the matter with you?"

"Oh, nothing. May I go now?"

"Yes, if you want to," said his uncle, who could see that his mind was full of the thought of Rohini.

Gobindalal rose to leave, and he had

just walked up to the door when Krishnakanta called to him, saying, "Stop. I quite forgot to ask what success you had with Rohini."

Gobindalal resumed his seat, and told him all she had confessed, adding how very repentant she was, and expressing the hope that his uncle would be kind enough to forgive her.

"Well," said Krishnakanta after a little reflection, "if you are not for punishment of any kind you may let her off with a warning."

When he came out of the room Gobindalal felt happy, for he had never expected that his uncle would comply with his request so easily.

#### CHAPTER XIV.

Rohini loved Gobindalal. She felt it was very hard that she should be sent away from Haridragram. This so distressed her heart that when she came home she shut herself up in her room and sat down to weep.

"I will not go to Calcutta," she said to herself. "If I cannot see him I shall pine away and die. This Haridragram is my heaven. I will not go from here. If Gobindalal compels me to go, I will come back again. He will be angry with me? What do I care? I will not go. I had much rather die."

Her mind made up she rose, opened the door and set off to see Gobindalal. "O God," she sighed, "thou knowest my trouble, and how weak and helpless I am. Do thou quench my passion. Leave me not, O merciful father, to be consumed in its flame. He, whom I am going to see, is the source of intense pleasure—the source of extreme pain. But thou canst, O father, quiet my rebellious thoughts. Do thou in mercy give me sufficient strength of mind not to turn aside from the path of virtue. Have pity on me, O God, for unless thou help me I am undone."

The words she uttered in supplication brought no comfort to her troubled heart. Her passion, too strong in her, overruled her conscience, and she felt as weak and powerless as ever. In her agony she thought she would take poison or drown herself to give her sorrows the ship. In this very painful state of mind she went and appeared before Gobindalal.

"I am glad you are going to Calcutta,



Rohini," said Gobindalal. "And your uncle is going with you, is he not?"

"I did not speak to him about it," said Rohini, hanging her head.

"But you are sure you are going?" he said again.

"I am afraid I am not," she said without looking up.

"How is it? You told me you were going."

"I cannot go," she murmured.

"Well, I cannot compel you to, but I think you would do very well if you could make up your mind to live away for a time at least."

"May I ask what good can come of my living away?"

Gobindalal made no answer. He could never find it in his heart to tell pointblank that he had found out her secret. But he looked very serious and only said, "You can go, Rohini. I have nothing more to say to you."

Rohini came away. Tears flowed from her eyes as she thought that Gobindalal could not love her. She brushed them away quickly lest they should be noticed by any one.

Soon after Rohini had left, Bhramar entered the room. She wore, as usual, a cheerful look. Finding her husband very grave and thoughtful so that he did not at all seem to notice her presence, she stepped up lightly and touched him on the shoulder as she said, "Who is it you are thinking of?"

Gobindalal looked up with a slight start. "Who do you think it is, dear?" he said with a smile.

"You have been thinking of me, I know," she said gayly.

"No, indeed. It is some other person," he said giving her a sly look.

Bhramar fondly put her arms round his neck, and kissed him, saying, "Who is this person, dear? Will you not tell me?"

"What's the good?" said Gobindalal. "Go, see, dear, if the house have finished their meal."

"No; you must tell me first what I want to know."

"You will be angry if I tell you," he said, smiling.

"What do you care?" she said. "You must tell me, come."

"Well, since you insist on knowing," said Gobindalal, "I may tell you that the person I have been thinking of is Rohini."

"Why were you thinking of her?"

"I do not know."

"Fiddlesticks! You must tell me. It is not like you to hide anything from me."

"A man may think of a woman and not be to blame," said Gobindalal. "There is nothing very bad or improper in that, I suppose."

"One thinks of one he loves," said Bhramar. "I think of you because I love you."

"Well, if that be your argument, then I love Rohini," said her husband with a smile.

"It is false," she said. "You cannot love her. You love me, and I am your wedded and lawful wife."

"Well," said Gobindalal, "widows are to eat no animal food. The shastras prohibit them from eating it. But are there no widows who disregard this edict of the shastras?"

"If there be any," she said, "they are a bad and unfortunate set and should be condemned and pitied by all."

"Well, there are bad men as well as bad women. And I am unfortunately one of a bad and immoral set of men, because being a married man I love Rohini."

"You naughty man, how can you talk like this?" she said rather indignantly. "Oh, I am ashamed of you." And she turned to leave the room.

Gobindalal rose, caught her in his arms and kissed her over and over again. "No, Bhramar," he said, "it is not true I love Rohini, but Rohini loves me."

She made a sudden backward movement as if she felt the smart of the sting of a hornet. "The poor pitiful girl!" she exclaimed. "I hate her, I do hate her from the very core of my heart."

"Why, how you storm, my dear," said Gobindalal with a smile. "Poor girl! she has done no harm to you."

"She is angling after you, I can see. I cannot bear to hear that she loves you. The poor pitiful thing! I wish she were dead. And I should repeat the wish a thousand times. But I think I will give her a piece of advice."

"What's that, my dear?"

She paid no heed to her husband's question, and walking up to the door, cried, "Khiroda, Khiroda."

Khiroda was the name of her own servant-maid. As she put in an appearance, Bhramar said, "Go, tell Rohini that I wish her to die. Do you understand?"

On the maid servant's coming back to tell her that Rohini wished to know the means she would have her employ to kill herself, 'Go back,' said Bhramar, "and tell her that she might drown herself by tying a pitcher round her neck."

"I saw that's bad, my dear," said Gobindalal.

"Oh, never fear. She is not going to kill herself, you may depend on me. And I believe," she added, smiling, "she loves you too well to think of that."

## CHAPTER XV

The garden on the embankment of the Baruni tank was Gobindalal's favourite resort. It was a delightful place, and every day he went regularly to spend the time of evening there. In it were several kinds of fruit trees and varieties of sweet-smelling flowers, the roses being the most prominent among them, which shed a sweet odour all round. Gobindalal loved to rove about among the flowers, stopping near a plant here and a plant there as his fancy led him. In one part of the garden there was a fine one-storied house furnished with pictures and other movables. Gobindalal loved to sit in a grove of variegated leaves where it was very cool in the time of summer. Near by on a pedestal was a stooping marble figure, in a sort of undress, of a lovely young woman pouring water over its feet out of a pot. Bhramar often used to come out to the garden with her husband, and she sometimes chose to dress the figure in a fine piece of cloth or in a merry vein made a mock attempt to take the pot out of its hands at which her husband laughed.

This evening taking his accustomed

round Gobindalal went and sat down at the foot of the marble figure near by and looked listlessly below on the crystal waters of the Baruni tank. As he sat there he happened to look up and see a woman slowly descending the stairs of the ghat at the farther end of the tank. Though it was near dark, Gobindalal had no difficulty in finding out who it was. It was Rohini. In spite of her feeling very miserable she had come for water—a thing one cannot do without—her left hand encircling a pot, which she was holding on her waist. As she entered the water to wash herself Gobindalal out of decency, rose and moved away.

He strolled for about half an hour and then returned to his former place at the foot of the marble figure. The moon was up in the sky, which glittered on the clear waters of the tank. He looked toward the ghat. Not a soul was stirring. But he caught sight of a pot floating on the water. Whose pot was that? Could it be Rohini's? Could she be drowned in the tank? Then what Bhramar had said to tell Rohini suddenly flashed into his mind. His heart misgave him. He ran down to the ghat. He looked about him into the water which was so clear that one could see to the bottom even in the moonlight. A little ahead of the ghat his eye detected what looked something like a human figure. He descended to the very last stair, and bending down peered into the water. He started. It was Rohini. There she was, her beauty lighting up, as it seemed to him, the gloomy bed on which she lay.

(To be continued.)

TRANSLATED BY D. C. ROY.

## WOODED IN ERROR

By CHARLES E. TURNER,

AUTHOR OF "CUPID—POLITICAL AGENT," "LOVE INTERVENES," &c.

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"**B**Y JOY! It's like coming to life again to be listening once more to an opera. Ten years in the bush give one a power of appreciation which indifferent singing cannot destroy."

"Hullo! What's the applause for? The prima donna, I believe. Yes—Miss L. Randal. Gad! I believe I know that face!"

So ran the thoughts of the big bronzed

follow who was so obviously ill at ease in his evening dress but who was nevertheless the target at which half the opera glasses in the house were aimed. For though he had only landed yesterday, yet London Society was already agog with the news that the wild young Dick Errol who had gone out to Australia ten years ago under the heavy displeasure of the old baronet, his father, and had returned to succeed to the title and estates.

But all unconscious of the fact that he was being pointed out by scheming mothers to ambitious daughters the young man was enjoying the opera to the full. Just now, however, he was cudgelling his brains to recollect whom the prima donna—Miss Esma Randal—so closely resembled. Away in the back of his memory there was someone—by Jove! he had it! It was Ursula—Ursula Maldon, the vicar's daughter—his old sweet heart.

Anxious to gratify his curiosity, and forgetting for the moment the conventionalities of the mother country, he turned to his neighbour, and said

I wonder if you can tell me the real name of the singer—Esma Randal is an assumed name, of course.

The man turned on him a stony stare which made Dick Errol of Ballarat almost forget that he was in civilised England.

But the lady beyond had leaned forward, and disregarding the frowns of her companion, she smiled on the young baronet as she said

She is a Miss Maldon—of Oxfordshire, I believe.

Dick thanked her and with a scowl at the unaccommodating gentleman at his side he turned again to watch the object of his interest.

What a superb voice she has he thought, and, by Jove! she is a beautiful woman, too. I wonder if she remembers those old days when we imagined we loved each other, and her promise to wait till I came back. Probably not, since I had almost forgotten it myself. Gad! fancy a man forgetting a woman like that.

He fancied that her eyes strayed sometimes in his direction and once he imagined she smiled but on mature consideration he realised how next to impossible it was that she should recognise him. Through out the piece, however, he had eyes for nothing else and when she was not on the stage he found himself wondering if he dare

presume on the girl's promise of ten years ago. It seemed mean, but why not? At any rate, he thought, he could renew the acquaintance.

Accordingly at the end of the performance he made his way to the stage-door, but in reply to his query the commissionaire informed him pompously that 'Miss Randal did not receive visitors in her dressing room.'

Dick was nonplussed, but only for a moment. Here was an opportunity to test his future chances. He tore a leaf from his pocket book, and scribbled the old familiar name upon it—'Dick Errol.' Then by an impulse he could not himself understand, he added underneath 'You promised.'

Handing it to the commissionaire, together with a coin which seemed to startle the official into sudden animation, he requested him to take it to Miss Randal's room at once, and to wait for a reply. In a few minutes the man returned, and informed him that Miss Randal would be coming out almost immediately—would he wait?

'Not eminently satisfactory,' thought Dick, but I shall see her, at all events, and that's something.

He whiled away the time by conversing with the now communicative commissionaire.

'Yes, that gentleman informed him, in reply to somewhat guarded inquiries, Miss Randal had been a good deal bothered by gents, but it was pretty well understood now that she never received anyone. No, he didn't know her real name—always thought Randal was her real name—never heard of anything else. Lived in Hampstead—somewhere. Didn't think she was married, but you could never tell with stage ladies—they was all misses.'

The last statement seemed to afford him considerable amusement, and he was still in the throes of levity when Dick saw the object of his inquiries emerge from the stage-door.

The commissionaire recovered his gravity as if by magic, and signalled to a waiting carriage a little distance off.

So dainty did the lady appear in her furry cloak and wraps that Dick felt his courage oozing away. He could never hope to hold this queenly creature to a promise made in a moment of

impulse and wounded self will ten years ago

But she came towards him with out stretched hands and greeted him with a warmth which made the young man's heart leap

I am so glad to see you—Dick, she said hesitating a little over the name I heard you were returning and—you won't believe it I know—but I recognised you in the theatre

In his confusion Dick could not for his life think of a word to say, but he did what perhaps was more eloquent than words—he took her hand and raised it to his lips

When he looked up he saw that her face had paled a little but almost immediately it was suffused with red and he wondered if he had blundered But at that moment the carriage drew up beside them and the commissionaire held open the door

We can talk as we go along said Esma as she moved towards the vehicle You'll come won't you?

Almost doubting his senses Dick handed her into the carriage and stepped in after her

Now said she as they drove away tell me about yourself I am so pleased to—see you again

Dick was fast recovering his self possession and he could not help noticing in the light of the carriage lamp that she was strangely pale and that her lips quivered nervously What did it all mean! Could it be that she had kept that hasty promise all these years while he had scarcely regarded it at all! He felt strangely moved as the thought flashed through his mind

I scarcely thought you would remember me he said in a low voice leaning towards her so that her breath fanned his cheek It all seems so very long ago and you have grown so—so beautiful

Her face seemed to grow still paler and her voice was scarcely audible as she murmured

Do you think I could forget you?

For a moment Dick could not speak—he wondered if he were dreaming Then suddenly a great wave of emotion swept over him—everything swam before his eyes and crushing her in his arms he kissed her blindly—madly

It is strange how such moments as this affect us They are moments when nature forces the locks and bolts of conventional

civilisation and finds its outlet by the shortest way

Her head lay on his shoulder he felt that she was sobbing convulsively and his own heart beat so madly that he felt as though he must swoon But he did not move—he let her rest as she was He knew that the pent up emotion of the long weary waiting had broken its bounds at last and must have its way

For some inexplicable reason it did not seem strange to him that he should be holding in his arms the girl who less than a quarter of an hour ago had seemed far beyond his reach It appeared to him now as though he had known that this would happen Perhaps he had dreamt it long ago How many have passed through some such crisis and felt surprise only at their own matter of fact acceptance of it Dick did not seek to analyse his feelings He was quite willing to be content with the fact—seeing that the fact appeared to be itself content

Gradually the sobs grew less but the fair head still lay on his shoulder Only a little hand came softly straying to where his big rough one lay and being impressioned remained there passively

And so the carriage rumbled on over the prosaic old London stones and these two who after all knew so little of each other seemed quite content to lose themselves in silent communion

But the longest drawn out period of the sublime must eventually give place to the prosaic and the blissful dreams in which they had been reveling came to an abrupt termination with the stopping of the carriage

Good bye Dick said, as he held her hand at parting I am going to walk now, to think of the wonderful joy that has come to me

The woman merely bowed her head and, withdrawing her hand, ascended the steps

It was only when Dick unexpectedly found himself outside Baker Street Station that he realised with some annoyance that he had not the faintest notion in what locality lay the house at which they had parted

Dick's waking thoughts next morning were a little confused and he could not at first feel convinced that it was not all a dream

Indeed his mind was not entirely com-

as to the reality of his happiness until he had gone over as soberly as possible the whole sequence of events of the previous evening. Even then the only things of which he could be certain were that he was madly in love, and that he had succeeded beyond his wildest hopes in obtaining his heart's desire. The fact that he had no idea where the house lay he thought of little moment. It would not be difficult to find Miss Esma Randal, especially as he remembered that she lived "in Hampstead—somewhere."

What troubled him most was that this morning he had to take a journey into Oxfordshire with his solicitor in order to settle a few details with regard to the tenants on the estate. He felt that he did not want to leave London even for a few hours. The grave old manager of the dead baronet's affairs, however, assured him when he came that it was an absolute necessity, and midday found him tramping over country roads, and struggling, with his mind far away, to listen to the complaints and suggestions of his tenants.

It was three o'clock in the afternoon when he found himself once more seated in a first-class compartment to return to town. The solicitor was remaining in the locality, but he accompanied Dick to the station, and stood talking of improvements while the young man was fuming with impatience to be on his way.

At last he could stand it no longer. He must say something of what was on his mind, and stop this chatter of leases and rents.

"By the way," he remarked, trying to speak in as casual a tone as possible, "I met an old friend in town last night—Ursula Maldon."

It was in accordance with the inscrutable workings of fate that the guard should at that moment sound his whistle and the train begin to move. But the solicitor walked with him along the platform.

"Ah, yes," he said with a nod. "But she's not Miss Maldon now. Married Sir Frederick Forbes—the artist, you know. Got a place at Hampstead. Good-bye!"

The train glided out of the station, and Dick lay back in his seat, trying to bring his brain to bear upon the words which had seemed to paralyse it.

"Married Sir Frederick Forbes—the artist, you know."

He repeated them over and over, but be-

yond feeling that they meant some calamity to him, his mind failed to grasp their import. He was miles on his journey before he began to realise that they had hurled him in one moment from the fool's paradise in which he had thought himself firmly established.

Fool! Ay, and more than a fool he thought. He might have known that it was all too strange to be anything but a phantom. And yet—was it a phantom? No, it was a tangible reality. A joyous reality before—a terrible reality now. For through it all he knew deep down in his soul that the love which had come to them last night would live for all time.

On his arrival at his hotel he found a letter awaiting him, which left him wondering if he were the victim of some mental hallucination.

It was dated from "Beechelm, Belsize Avenue, Hampstead," and read as follows:

"My dear Dick,—I hope you will allow me, for the sake of old times, to be one of the first to welcome you back to home and friends.

"Come and dine with us this evening at seven if you have no other pressing engagement, and then we can discuss the changes comfortably.—Your old friend,

"URSULA FORBES."

"P.S.—You needn't be punctual; we never are.—U."

What did it all mean? Was he mad, or was Ursula playing some cruel joke upon him? His tired brain refused to grapple with the problem; he would go and face the truth, be it good or evil.

He glanced at the clock. It was just six now; he could not be there by seven, but that was immaterial—his only aim was investigation.

He dressed in a whirl of possibilities and conjectures, none of which offered a tenable solution. There was, in his mind, a hazy something—he could not decide whether it was a hope or a fear—that the woman whom he had so strangely wooed and won was not Ursula. But if she were not Ursula, then who was she? Ursula had but one sister, and he had no hesitation in rejecting Marion at once, for very decisive reasons. He could remember her perfectly, for she had never taken the slightest pains to conceal her dislike for him, and as she had been the Vicarage housekeeper in the

272 she had once or twice made a little uncomfortable. She had a little resemblance to the lovely Ursula and as to singing—he smiled even at his perplexity at the thought of the Drudge as Ursula had always termed her doing anything so frivolous.

With this thought came the recollection that Ursula had had a very passable voice and had once expressed her intention of having it trained—a possibility however which the state of the Vicar's finances at that period had rendered rather remote.

There was a sort of grim humour in the situation which only seemed to make it the more maddening. Either Ursula had been wilfully and cruelly torturing him or he had wooed and won a woman who was still entirely unknown to him.

The latter reflection offered endless possibilities and was not the least disturbing of his conjectures.

By the time he had finished dressing he was in a state bordering on distraction and the inquiries he made as to the means of reaching his destination were so confused that the hotel clerk noted the circumstance in his diary.

It was a quarter after seven before he found the house called Beechelm. Then even in his disordered state of mind he recognised it as the house to which he had come the night before and the fact that Ursula and Miss Esma Randal were once seemed established beyond a doubt.

It was with this thought running in his mind that he rang the bell and only when he had been shown into a small morning room and the maid had left him did he realise that he had inquired for Miss Esma Randal.

He had no time however for reflection for almost instantly the door opened and Esma entered. Any resolutions he might have formed were at once swept away by the outstretched arms and the glad light in her eyes. The mental tortures he had undergone that day were for a moment all forgotten as their lips met. But even with the voluptuous touch of her form they returned and almost roughly he drew away from her.

He saw a look of something akin to fear cross her face as she leaned her hand on a table for an instant for support.

He started forward and looked fiercely into her eyes.

Why are you torturing me? I begged

hoarsely. Are you Ursula or a fiend in her shape?

She drew herself up and returned his look proudly and defiantly. Then once again her expression melted into tender *miss* and she laid her hand gently on his arm.

You love me she asked softly, but there was a note of anxiety in her voice.

I love you! said he bitterly turning away. Ay I love you only too well—it is too late to go back now!

She gazed at him fixedly for a moment then in a low tense voice she said:

Listen. Years ago you loved Ursula Maldon. When you went away she—possibly in all sincerity—pledged herself to wait for your return. Last night when you sent me your name with those two words written underneath I knew that you still remembered the girl you had loved and that you had come back to claim the fulfilment of her promise. But Ursula never loved you within six months she had forgotten you and in two years she had married.

But Dick—her voice was very tremulous now—I loved you in those old days, though I would have died rather than you or Ursula should know it. When she married Sir Frederick Forbes my heart bled for you even though I knew it was best. Then my father died and I came to live with them. It was Sir Frederick who discovered that I had one little talent and he undertook the cost of my training. It was then Dick that the thought first came which grew to a hope and then to a purpose. I struggled through all those weary years of waiting to make myself attractive famous anything that I might win you. Am I unreasonably Dick? Can you forgive me for being only Marion?

But Dick had already clasped her in his arms.

My darling he whispered passionately. It was because I thought you were Ursula that I feared I had lost you. But Marion—holding her from him—can it be little Marion then—

The Drudge she interrupted with a happy laugh in which however there was a pathetic little catch. Yes the Drudge. Ah! you never dreamt in those days that I had any soul above the household drudgery. How should you know that I could love—the little Cinderella who knitted her

father's socks while her sister played the coquette. You little thought that I forced myself to be hateful, because I did not dare trust myself to be otherwise. But remember, Dick," she added, with an arch look at him, "that after all you yourself sought me."

"I sought Esma Randal," said Dick with a smile. "It mattered little who she was. But that she is a woman tried and proved in the fire is a double gain."

There was silence for a few moments, which, in view of the proceedings, was unavoidable. At last Dick raised his head and said with mock seriousness:

"Do you know, I believe I came here to dine with Ursula."

"Oh! how thoughtless of me," laughed Marion. "I have been keeping you from your dinner—the main object of your coming. Come along, and renew your acquaintance with Ursula, and make friends with the man to whom I owe everything, even you."

Five minutes later, as they all sat discussing the past, Dick was trying to decide to which he was most indebted for his happiness—Ursula's inconsistency, Sir Frederick's bad taste, Marion's loving strategy, or his own treacherous memory.

## WHEELS WITHIN WHEELS

BY FRANK HOWEL EVANS,

AUTHOR OF "FIVE YEARS," "THE CINEMA GIRL," &c

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[Our readers are informed that all characters in this story are purely imaginary, and if the name of any living person happens to be mentioned no personal reflection is intended.]

### CHAPTER III.

#### A CHAPTER OF ACCIDENTS.

"**B**UT my dear child, you're not talking seriously! What are you going to do, what are you going to live on? I'm not going to allow you to give up seven thousand a year and a house and furniture and the rest."

Old Mr. Cowan, who had seen much of the world in his long life, spoke emphatically to Gladys after he had listened in almost open-mouthed silence to the resolve she had made—to give up everything to old Mr. Raymes.

"Mr. Cowan," replied Gladys steadily, "there are things which a woman can't put up with, which she cannot tell or explain to a man, even to an old friend like you. Just let me put it like this! Mr. Raymes has been to see me this morning, and he intends to fight the will unless—unless—oh, it doesn't matter what, but he means to take the whole thing into court. Oh, can't you see, can't you see,"—Gladys

rose and walked up and down the dingy old office—"can't you see that I have my pride? Let him have it all, all, all. Now please, Mr. Cowan, will you do as I ask? You're the solicitor to the estate, and my instructions are that you write to Mr. Raymes and tell him that I voluntarily relinquish everything. Will you write that, or must I write it myself?"

"No, no, I'll not write a letter like that!" The old lawyer struck his hand on the desk, and as he spoke a touch of colour came into his parchment cheeks. "And I won't let you write yourself. I won't see you—forgive me, dear child—making a fool of yourself."

"But I shall write myself. I'll never go back to that house again. I should choke, I believe, if I went in it. And I should be almost agreeing that I knew under what conditions I was supposed to be keeping the house and the property without a fight for it. No, it shall all go, every stick, every stone, every penny."

"My dear child, you're raving, raving. Supposing this man accepted your offer and took the property from you, what are you going to live on?"

"Oh, I can earn by living the same as other girls! And now, Mr. Cowan," Gladys spoke distinctly, "will you follow my instructions, please, or must I employ another solicitor?"

The old man sighed.

"Very well, I'll write to Mr. Raymes to-night," he said.

"No, no, not to night, now, please, Mr. Cowan, and I'll take the letter myself and post it."

Old Mr. Cowan deliberated for a moment, then he smiled to himself. He would write a letter which would satisfy this determined young lady, but he would take care that he didn't commit himself to any definite statement; he would see that this Raymes man didn't annex her property; he would find out what had made her take such a sudden, such a foolish resolve.

"Very well, then, since you insist, I'll write the letter now," he said. "How will this do?"

He read out a few lines he had hastily written on his office notepaper.

"Dear Sir, I shall be glad if you will call here at your early convenience to discuss the matter of the Tremayne Estate—Yours truly,"

"Yes, that will do nicely, thank you, Mr. Cowan, if you'll just add something to your last sentence," said Gladys. "To discuss the matter of the Tremayne Estate, which Miss Gladys Tremayne instructs me to hand over to you in its entirety."

"Of course, that's neither legal nor binding," said Mr. Cowan, smiling, "but as you've taken the matter into your own hands I'll send it."

And to himself the old man chuckled again. He would deal with this Raymes fellow; he would show him what an old lawyer could do.

So he signed the letter, addressed the envelope, sealed it up and then handed it to Gladys.

"I'll write to you when I've seen Mr. Raymes," he said as Gladys rose to go. "There'll be papers and things to be signed, of course, the lease of the house to be transferred, and so on."

"Very well, Mr. Cowan, I'll send you my address. I'm not going back to Kirton Square."

"You're not going back! But, my dear child, where are you going then? You're

no friends or relations in England. What are you going to do?"

"Oh, I've some money here, I don't quite know how much," Gladys fumbled, with her chain-bag. "Let me see, I've got four pounds in gold, a five-pound note and some silver. Oh, that will keep me till I get something to do! I shall go as a governess. I'll send you my address, Mr. Cowan. Good-bye, and many thanks for all that you've done for me. I shall never forget it."

When Gladys had gone Mr. Cowan went back to his desk and sat there thinking quietly.

"I wonder what that fellow Raymes's game is," ran his thoughts. "He's evidently done something to upset the poor child. Well, I'll soon show him. He won't get much change out of me. And as for that poor child giving up everything, we'll see, we'll see. I wonder who her parents were, though? Strange that old Tremayne never told me. Perhaps this Mr. Raymes knows something, something in the past, some scandal; perhaps he's told the girl, perhaps he's offended, insulted her. Oh no, it couldn't be that! Well, God help him if he's played any low-down game. Poor little thing, how plucky, how determined she was! Ah, well, we shall see, we shall see! Oh—oh, there's that pain again! Oh! Oh! Where are my drops?"

The old man spoke half aloud, with his left hand pressed to his heart, his right fumbling at a drawer in his desk. His face went ashen-white, his lips were purple, his breath came in stertorous, convulsive gasps. And then suddenly his body sagged back in the big office chair, his head drooped horribly on his chest, his hands fell limply to his sides, and there, ten minutes later, his clerk found him—dead.

And almost at that moment Gladys was posting the solicitor's letter to Mr. John Raymes at the Allendale Hotel.

The first white heat of anger, of desperate resolve, having faded away and been replaced by steady determination, Gladys began to think of what her plans should be.

First of all she must obtain accommodation at a small and cheap hotel, then she must send for her boxes and belongings from Kirton Square, and then set out to look for a living. Nothing, she declared to herself, should ever persuade her to go to the house, to even think of compromising in any way whatsoever.



And then her thoughts flew to Lord Guardene, to his proposal, to the boyish, loving letter he had written to her—written to her out of the fullness of his heart and in contradistinction to the brutal, brazen suggestion that Mr. Raymes had put before her. She saw in imagination old Mr. Raymes standing in front of the fireplace, she heard again his raucous voice. Then he faded away, and in his place she saw the muscular figure of his son and heard his stuttering, almost clumsy apologies. "Well he wasn't like his father, at any rate," she thought, and actually the sparkle of a smile crept over her lips as she walked along deep in thought.

But then suddenly there came to her the realisation of her position. She must find somewhere to stay. She looked round, but she did not know where she was, for she had let her footsteps lead her where they would. She stood on the kerb at the corner of the street, looking up and down rather hesitatingly, and in her hand shone the splendid gold chain-bag. It was a mean street in which she found herself, the meanest street in a sordid neighbourhood; she had taken a turning from the main thoroughfare, and her well dressed appearance attracted the attention of two lounging loafers rubbing their greasy backs against the wall of a public-house opposite. One nudged the other, and with the silent, lurching walk that this class of men affect, he sidled across the road, approached close to Gladys, and made a sudden grab at the bag and snatched it out of her hand. She turned quickly, the man darted across the road, and Gladys stepped quickly off the kerb into the street in pursuit. But in the excitement of the moment she stepped off the kerb too hastily, and as she ran across the street she saw bearing down upon her a taxicab which was evidently taking a short cut through the neighbourhood. The road was slippery and greasy, the cab was going fast, and she was running right into it; in order to save herself she tried to turn, her foot slipped, she fell, and in a second the cab was right over her and the man with her handbag made his escape.

The usual crowd was round the cab in a moment. They had to lift it off her, and she was picked up senseless, her pretty blue serge costume smeared and smothered with mud, and a large ugly splash of blood on her white cheek.

"She's dead, poor dear, ain't she?" said

one of the women, a blowsy, slatternly creature, who had rushed out of the public-house opposite. "Quite a girl, too, ain't she?"

The drink-sodden creature was hideous and dirty, but she helped to arrange Gladys decently and straightly on the ominous hand-ambulance which was brought up by the police, and the old hag turned away with tears in her eyes which were not of gin but of woman's nature.

"Pretty she was, too," she said to a companion "I could see that, in spite of the blood. And dead, too! It seems 'ard when the young are taken like that, don't it?"

But Gladys wasn't dead. At the hospital they found that she was stunned, but that otherwise the injury to her head was superficial—a little blood makes a great show. But they found also that her right leg was broken just above the ankle.

When skilful attention had been given to her, when she was safely tucked away in bed in the accident ward, kindly hands searched her clothing for anything that might lead to identification, but she had none on her, not even a card or a letter, not even a halfpenny of money; her bag had contained all the money she possessed. Her clothing was marked only with initials; her dress, her hat, everything she wore, had been bought abroad.

And so she was entered on the accident-sheet as a "woman unknown." And no news of her accident crept into the papers—in London there are so many "women unknown" who meet with accidents daily.

And while Gladys was lying in the hospital still unconscious, Mr. Raymes that evening received the letter from old Mr. Cowan.

"That's a bit more like business," he said, as he read the letter and then passed it over to his wife as they sat with their son in the lounge of the Allendale Hotel. "She's not going to fight, and I'll go and see her solicitor to-morrow. You read the letter, Harry."

Harry took the letter from his mother, read it through and through again, and after a moment's silence spoke,

"But surely you're not going to take it, father—take the girl's money and the house and everything that's hers? You're not going to do that?"

And why not if she likes to give it up? said old Raymes fidgeting a little. I haven't got all the money in the world you know and seven thousand a year isn't to be sneered at and it's a nice house too. And besides she's no right to it—it ought to have come to me. See there's the letter! She says she'll give it all up, she knows she's not entitled to it. What's the good of arguing? She doesn't want to fight the case her lawyer knows it would be no good the letter tells that. Oh here's Lady Dalmayer! She was asking after you Harry and saying she hadn't for gotten the day at the ranch when you roped a steer that no one else could.

Oh bother! muttered Harry under his breath rising as a tall dark haired woman with a classical handsome face and wearing a gown that fitted her perfect figure wonderfully swept up the lounge followed by admiring and curious looks.

Lady Dalmayer was regal in appearance. She was handsome almost beautiful there was no doubt about that. But there was a certain hardness in her voice and her constant smile was never accompanied by that laughter of the eyes so charming in woman. Her hair undeniably her own was of that rare glossy blue-black colour so difficult to print so impossible to describe. And it was not until she stood under a strong electric light that it could be seen that Lady Dalmayer possessed a few wrinkles round those rather hard eyes and that there were lines at the corners of her mouth and nostrils. Forty two years of age was Lady Dalmayer (that could easily be found out from Debrett or Burke) the widow of a man of title who had left her more than handsomely provided for. But she seemed restless unsettled in spite of the beauties of her town house of her country mansion and she spent the greater part of the year in travel. On a Canadian tour she had been entertained at Wemmering ranch while passing through the country and she had never forgotten the handsome muscular young Boss with his curious far of eyebrow who had proved himself to be a man amongst men and with her unerring her unfailing memory for names and faces she had at once recognised old Mr Raymes at the Allendale and told where she also happened to be.

There are no steers for you to rope in now I'm afraid Mr Raymes she

said smiling at Harry as they shook hands but if you'll come down to my place in the country I could find you a horse that wants a little breaking. I want your father and mother to come and I hope you'll come too.

'Oh delighted delighted your lady ship' said old Raymes heartily. 'We'll go won't we mother? And Harry too?'

Mrs Raymes was a self effacing timid inoffensive little woman and she flushed and murmured some incoherent words. She was overwhelmed at the idea of being invited to stay with a real live lady of title and with a smile and a nod Lady Dalmayer passed on.

Oh by the way she said half turning and speaking directly to Harry, 'you ought to ride in the Park in the mornings. It looks rather well just now. I always make a point of having an hour myself from eleven to twelve. Good bye.'

My boy said old Raymes to his son when later on Mrs Raymes having gone upstairs the two men were sitting in a corner of the smoke room. I'm going to have a straight talk to you. You think I've got plenty of money don't you? Well I haven't. I've only just got enough for your mother and me to live on comfortably for the rest of our days. There will of course be enough to keep you from want the ranch didn't sell as well as it ought to have done and I've not been too lucky with my investments.

Well so long as you and mother are all right I can find my way along I daresay. I can always get a living in Canada.

I know my boy I know. But I want you to make more than a living. I want you to make a name. I want you to be some one to do something. That's why we've come to England to give you your chance. I want you to go in for politics. You can speak you're the man who could lead a crowd. Remember how they cheered you when you went and helped to stop that strike at the paper mills? Remember the speech you made then? That showed what you could do with men. I want you to rise, rise rise my boy. Remember that a man rose from a log cabin to be President of America. I want to see you rise. You might be Prime Minister before I die. Who knows? I'll be always do with men, you know and England is the place where a real man can always find a real job.

That's just what I should love father

I should love to be in politics, to try and do things for the under-dog, to try and speak for those who can't help themselves. That's just what I should love."

And Harry's dark brown face lit up with enthusiasm, and he looked as he sat there indeed a born leader of men.

"Well, my boy, that's just what you're fitted for. But you want some one to help you. I can't help you enough. You want to marry a lady, a real lady who could help you on, who could sing your praises for you behind your back, one of those women who could go into the best society, one of the real swells. A real lady with money, that's what you want, Harry, that's who you must marry. She would be a help to you."

The enthusiasm died out of Harry's face and he spoke slowly.

"I shouldn't care to marry for money only, father," he said. "I want to marry for love."

"Love! Oh, shucks! That would come all right after a bit. You get hold of the money first. Now there are two I've got my eye on for you, and you can take your choice which you'll have a try for first."

Harry shivered a little, as if his father's words hurt him.

"There's Lady Dalmayer," went on old Raymes. "She's a real swell if you like. House in the country, house in town, and I don't know how much a year; a widow and still good-looking. D'you know, Harry my boy, she asked after you directly she saw me. 'That good-looking son of yours,' she called you. And see how she spoke to you to-night! She's no chicken, I daresay, but still she's got the stuff, and that counts."

"I don't like to hear you talk like that, father," put in Harry. "She's a woman, you know, and I don't think it's fair to discuss her in that way."

"My boy, I'm older than you are, and I know the world a bit better. It's money that counts. But if you don't like her, there's another one, that little Tremayne girl. She's younger, she's prettier, and she's got the stuff too. You saw that letter from her solicitor in which she offers to give up everything, everything to us? Well, my boy, that would mean money—the money that I want for you—for she's no right to it, you know."

"D'you think I'd take a penny of her money, father? And we ought to be

ashamed of ourselves for talking like this about her."

"Ashamed! Ashamed!" The old man was getting irritated by Harry's constant disagreement with him. "You'll be ashamed of your own father next! I've not been accustomed to have so much argument about everything. You can either fall in with my views or you can go your own way, which you like. You can either marry Lady Dalmayer—or at least ask her, she'd have you after a bit, I know—or you can marry that little Tremayne girl. Yes, marry her, I say, for she'll have you right enough after I've had a talk with her lawyer. I'm going to put it to him this way—he's a man of business, he'll understand and not jump down my throat like she did—"

"What do you mean, father?" asked Harry, quickly. "Jump down your throat! Have you been to see her again?"

"Never mind about that," said old Raymes rather uncomfortably, for he felt that he had made a blunder. "What I am going to tell you is this, that she would keep her money so long as you and she got married. If she won't agree to marry you, well, then I collar the money, that's all."

"Look here, father," said Harry in a low voice, and looking round the empty room, "you don't mean to say you're going to try and make a bargain like that, going to try and make a girl—ah, I believe I know, I believe I can see it! Father, I believe you've told her that yourself. You said she had jumped down your throat. Father, quick, tell me, surely you haven't made such a suggestion to the girl herself, have you?"

"Yes, I have," answered the old man almost sullenly. "And why shouldn't you marry her? You're just about suited to each other, and she's got the money." The old man had hardly ever been thwarted in his life, had ruled men with a rod of iron, and he spoke defiantly. "Look here, my boy, if you don't do as I wish, you'll never get a penny from me—not that I've much to leave, and I suppose you can always earn a living, but after all," his voice softened a little, "I'm your father, and I want to do the best I can for you."

"And you—you made this infamous suggestion to her! Oh, no wonder she wants to—oh, father, how could you, how could you? But you won't touch a penny of her money, really; you'll refuse to take it?"

"No, I won't I'll take every penny I can get."

Old Raymes was angry—angry with his son, angry with himself. He knew he was doing a mean thing, but he was of that obstinate nature which, when once it has made up its mind, will never give in.

"I'll take every penny," he repeated, standing up.

And Harry in his turn stood up and faced his father. It was a battle of the two wills, the young man and the old man, the father and the son, and in both burnt the same rebellious spirit, the same dour determination not to give in, the same strong nature that will never brook defeat, that will fight on for ever.

"Take the money away from that girl," said Harry in a low voice, looking old Raymes straight in the face, "and I shall be ashamed of my father as long as I live. And not a penny of it will I ever touch."

Old Raymes' red face turned a sickly grey, the red veins standing out like a network, and his voice was husky and broken now and again by a little cough, as if he were finding it difficult to speak.

"If you're ashamed of your father you'd better leave him and go your own way," he said. "I've no use for a son like that."

"Tell me you won't take that money and I'll withdraw what I've said. Father, don't let us quarrel. Oh, you won't do a thing like that!"

"I shall take every penny I can get, if I have to fight for it through every court in the land."

The old man's temper and blood was up, and he wouldn't give way an inch.

"Then—I say it to your face—I'm ashamed of you."

"Are you, are you, by God?" The old man's voice seemed thicker and more husky, "Then here, take this!"

And he put his hand in his pocket and flung a shilling on the table.

"That's the last you'll ever get from me. And go anywhere you like where I shan't see you, anywhere out of my sight. If you're ashamed of your father get away from me and never come back."

"Yes, I can do that," said Harry, grimly. "It's the only way to keep my self-respect. I don't need you to tell me twice. Goodbye, father."

And with his head in the air, red-hot passion still burning within him, Harry walked out of the smoke-room and into

the lobby, put on his hat and coat and went out into the street.

"Whew," muttered old Raymes to himself, wiping his forehead, "I never thought he'd take it like that. But I was only thinking of him; it was all for his good, and he couldn't see it."

Then the old temper flared out again, and seizing the shilling he had thrown to Harry he flung it viciously into the fireplace.

"Curse the money, curse the women, curse everything!" he said. "Still, I suppose we shall make it up in the morning."

But the next morning when old Raymes and his wife came down to breakfast Harry did not appear at the table.

"Where's Harry?" asked Mrs. Raymes. "He isn't generally late."

"Oh, perhaps he's had breakfast early and gone out," said old Raymes, with however, a peculiar sinking at his heart.

But after breakfast he ascertained at the office that his son had not slept in the hotel the last night, and his hands trembled as he took up the paper and held it before his face so that his wife could not see his concern and agitation.

"He's taken me at my word," he said to himself. "What an old fool I've been! Ah, but there, he'll come back, he'll come back! It will be all right."

And so, trying to comfort himself with the persuasion that there had only been a tiff between his son and himself, not a quarrel, the old man went off to see Mr. Cowan the solicitor, only to learn of the death of the old lawyer from heart disease on the previous day.

And as Mr. Raymes walked back slowly to the hotel somehow he felt very old. He felt that trouble was closing in on him; he felt, with a curious sense of surprise, that for once in his life he had been in the wrong.

## CHAPTER IV.

### HOMELESS AND HOPELESS.

"Good-bye, dear, and good luck to you. You will come and see us sometimes, won't you?"

"Yes, I shall try to Good-bye, and thank you for all you've done for me."

It was two months before Gladys was well enough to leave the hospital, and even then she felt strangely weak and

Fortunately, the fracture hadn't been a very bad one, and she was able to walk quite well when the time came for her to leave. The doctor, with a few chaffing words, had left a stick by her bedside, advising her to use this for a little, and with it in her hand—she looked at it with rather a wry smile, mentally terming it her only piece of luggage—she stood at the door of the ward saying good-bye to the nurse whose charge she had specially been.

Then down the stairs she walked slowly, carefully, through the wide hall, down the steps, and out into the street.

While lying in bed during her stay at the hospital she had had time thoroughly to think over her position, to decide what she should do. She did not know of the death of old Mr. Cowan of course, and she had decided that when she was well she would go to him, find out what he had been doing concerning her wish to hand over everything to Mr. Raymes, ask him to arrange for her personal belongings to be sent to her, and then she would look out for work. Firmly, resolutely, she made up her mind that she would not touch another penny of that money; it should go to the man who considered it his right; her body and soul were not to be bought or bribed. If she remained in enjoyment of the property he would think that she was giving in, that she was willing to marry his son whom he had thrown at her head. Anyway he had threatened that he would take the case into court unless she gave in one way or the other, and so—oh! let him have the money, let him have everything; it seemed as if it were fated to bring her trouble.

And so on that bright autumn morning Gladys found herself once more in the old square where Mr. Cowan's office was.

But to her surprise she found a new name over the door. She went inside. The inquiry office had been brightened up, the old place had been re-papered and painted; a smart young fellow, so different from the confidential, rather deaf old man who had been Mr. Cowan's clerk, asked her business in a bright, brisk voice.

"Mr. Cowan? Mr. Cowan?" he said. "Oh, yes, the old gentleman who died suddenly about two months ago! Heart disease, you know. Oh, yes, we've been here quite six weeks."

"But his practice?" faltered Gladys, horrified, thunderstruck at the news. "His

clients? Oh, dear, oh, dear, it seems impossible, impossible!"

"But it's very, very true," said the young man, quite sympathetically—for a pretty girl in distress can generally claim sympathy. "He'd hardly any clients left at all, the dear old man—so his old clerk told us—and he'd no relations either. The old clerk came off well, got nearly all his money, quite a nice little bit; so he closed up the business, and I believe he's gone down to spend the rest of his days in the country."

"Oh, thank you, thank you! I'm sorry to have troubled you," faltered Gladys as she walked out, feeling as if the ground were giving way beneath her.

For she was still weak and frail, of course, though certainly convalescent, and she felt that she wanted some strong arm near her, someone to guide and comfort her. In this great city she seemed so lonely, so helpless. Mr. Cowan was dead! His business was closed up and there was no one to whom she could appeal. She was alone, quite alone in London. The house in Kirton Square, what had become of that? Who would be there? What was she to do? Gladys sat on the old wooden bench in the little garden in the square trying to make up her mind what she ought to do.

But her brain seemed a blank; she could formulate no plan of action. All that she could realise was that she was alone, terribly alone.

And then it came home to her with a sudden shock that she had not a penny in her possession. Her gold-chain bag, of course, had been taken by the thief, and with it all her money. Why, she thought shivering, she would want for her next meal unless she got money from somewhere.

Then she made up her mind and rose to her feet. She would go back to Kirton Square and see Blayre, the old butler, and borrow money from him; she would repay him when she got work. She would remove her belongings. Yes, that was the first thing to do.

And so, pulling herself together, she made her way slowly and rather painfully back to the house which once had been hers, which really was hers now if she cared to claim it again.

The blinds were down, the steps were dirty, the house bore a deserted and untidy

little side court. She knew, of course, the use of pawnbrokers, though she had never been into one of their shops before. She found herself in a long, dark passage, flanked on one side by four or five little cupboards or cubicles, running down the length of a counter, behind which were two assistants. The faint, musty smell of clothes, the stuffy atmosphere, the two strange, ragged-looking women with bundles in the cubicle she entered, all helped to offend Gladys' natural fastidiousness, to make her feel nauseated, as if she must get out of the place as quickly as possible. But she had to wait while the two women handed over their bundles, argued, almost quarrelled, with the assistant who attended to them, and then came her turn.

"Would you please—please give me something for this?" she said, timidly offering the little brooch.

"We don't give here," said the assistant, a fair-haired, rather pimply-faced young man with a cheery manner. "We'll let you have a bob on this. Got a halfpenny? No? Well, never mind. Your name and address? Jane Smith, 62, High Street. That'll do. There you are!"

Writing quickly on a piece of cardboard without waiting for an answer from Gladys, the young man filled in a ticket and slipped it down in front of her with elevenpence-halfpenny, and then turned his attention to the next client.

Gladys clutched the money almost greedily, though feeling at the same time ashamed to her very soul, and sneaked out of the door, feeling as if the passers-by were ready to shout out the fact that they knew she had been in a pawnshop.

But she had money! She had elevenpence-halfpenny! What a fortune it seemed! Elevenpence-halfpenny!

And slipping the ticket into her pocket she went into a neighbouring teashop and ordered a cup of tea, for her throat was parched and dry, and she felt a yearning for something refreshing. And as she sipped the tea she began to feel a little brighter, a little better. Then she ordered a poached egg on toast, and she was surprised to find after she had eaten it that she was still hungry, so she ordered another one. And when she came to pay her little bill she found that her meal had cost her eight pence; all then that she had left was threepence halfpenny.

But she had had food, she was comforted;

that was something. The sun was shining now, the world seemed a little brighter to her; walking was not so painful. It was just food and rest that she needed, that was all.

So she tried to comfort herself as she walked along the sunny side of the big shopping thoroughfare, trying to persuade herself that things would come all right.

But the sky was soon overcast, and a sharp shower of rain compelled her to take shelter in the central hall of a tube railway station. The shadows of afternoon began to be lengthened, the street lamp began to be lit, and the shower soon turned into a pitiless torrent. People hurried by with gleaming umbrellas and mackintoshes; the 'buses were full inside, cabs were at a premium; happy people with homes to go to hurried in to the sheltering transport of the tube. In the street the roar and bustle of the traffic, of the business that must go on, though rains may drench and winds may blow, still hummed on in its never-ceasing volume, while Gladys watched, waiting within the shelter of the entrance, wondering sadly why it was that in this great city she should be just a girl alone, absolutely alone. And again her prayer went up, "God help me and tell me what to do."

Further standing, further walking about, was impossible, and so once more a tea shop was visited, the last precious coppers—all but a halfpenny—were spent, twopenny for a cup of tea and a penny for a bun.

Wildly and with seared brow Gladys tried to think of some one, some friend, some acquaintance, to whom she could apply for help, but not a soul did she know. All her acquaintances had been made abroad, and she had not been very long in England. Friends? Well, yes, she had friends, but she hardly knew where they were; they were scattered, travelling maybe. There was no one—no one.

She lingered as long as possible over the scanty meal, and then there came a gentle reminder from the attendant:

"We're closing now, Miss."

And out into the pitiless, merciless street she went again.

The rain had, fortunately, now stopped, but the wind was blowing coldly. Autumn was now well advanced—it had been summer when she was taken to the hospital—and she shivered as she drew the

coat of her thin costume closer round her summer blouse. Instinct led her to turn her steps towards the Free Library again, and it was as a haven of comfort to her; for here was light, here was warmth, and she seated herself once more at the table with a paper in front of her.

She was too tired, too dispirited to notice the frequenters of the reading-room, now of a different class; she just simply sat there, her eyes closing involuntarily, her head nodding, until at length she felt herself touched on the shoulder and heard a voice saying:

"You mustn't go to sleep here, please."

By a great effort she kept herself awake, sitting bolt upright, trying not to think that the hours were slipping by, that she had nowhere to rest that night, until she noticed the young librarian at his desk begin to gather his papers and books together; two or three of the lights were switched off, and she saw that it was ten

o'clock, the hour when the library was closed, when all must leave.

"Come along, let's get back home quickly," she heard one girl say to another as they went down the steps. "I shouldn't be surprised if it rained again."

Home! Home! How the sound of the word hurt Gladys! Home! That sacred word seemed to din, to ring through her head as she stood hesitatingly on the broad steps wondering what she should do. Behind her the caretaker locked the big doors.

"Now then, Missy, pop along please," he said, not unkindly. "I want to lock the gates too."

There was a gate at the bottom of the steps which had to be locked nightly, and Gladys moved out of his way, feeling that her last refuge had gone.

Ten o'clock! Ten o'clock at night, and she was homeless and hopeless.

*(To be continued)*

## THE MOST AMERICAN THING IN AMERICA

By DR. SUDHINDRA BOSE, M.A., Ph.D.

**P**ERHAPS the most unique institution in unique America is the Chautauqua: it is distinctively an American product. Chautauqua is the nation's free forum: it is the people's popular university. It is "a feast of helpfulness, a carnival of inspiration, a season of pleasure and relaxation." This social and educational institution costs America fifteen million rupees, and is attended by eight million people a year.

The Chautauqua movement began half a century ago in a summer camp on the shores of Lake Chautauqua in the State of New York. Here the people who had missed in early life college opportunities came together on the lake side for education through lectures, reading courses, and entertainments. The name of the lake became the name of the summer community. In a short time other communities in other parts of the country organized Chautauquas, and carried out more or less the ideas of the mother Chautauqua.

Fifty years ago Chautauqua was a geographical expression, an American-Indian name of a lake in southwestern New York. Now it has become a common noun in the English language. It stands for a new institution, a dynamic civic and social force. To day Chautauquas are found all over the United States bringing local communities in touch with the great intellectual currents of the world.

The modern Chautauqua had abandoned the reading courses, and has also ceased to emphasize the personal educational features. The Chautauqua program is, however, quite "meaty". It consists of addresses, concerts, and dramatic performances. The Chautauqua runs from five to ten days with three sessions a day. The forenoon is devoted to literary or religious lectures, and the work of a playground instructor who teaches the children games, the afternoon to music and addresses; and the evening to humorous readings, music, Shakespearean plays or other forms of

amusement. In many of these programs from fifty to seventy people take part. Building a well-balanced Chautauqua program is a difficult undertaking. Chautauqua must quicken the civic spirit of the community, so there are lectures on political, social, and educational problems. Chautauqua must broaden the mind, and so there are addresses on travel, literature and science. Again, the aesthetic side of life must not be overlooked; hence there is music, chalk-talks, and art. There is something for all. The program is religious, educational, entertaining, amusing. People lay aside the burdens and duties of every-day life to attend Chautauqua—to think, to visit, to smile, and thus give the mind and body a week of rest and recreation.

Those who appear on the Chautauqua program are known as "talents" or "attractions". Men and women of recognized ability as experts in civic, educational, and social work, famous authors, artists, and orators, congressmen, senators, governors, and cabinet ministers are all in great demand on the Chautauqua platform.

The average lecturer receives from 100 to 350 rupees a week. Thus the wonderful development of the Chautauqua movement has opened up a large field of opportunity to qualified talents. In the early days the lecturers in this country had no stated fees; all they received was the proceeds of a collection which barely paid their expenses. One of the most eloquent orators of America, Henry Ward Beecher, was once paid with a contribution of twelve bushels of potatoes, and John B. Gough, another eminent speaker of the early fifties, received a piece of ham as his fee. It was Emerson who first discovered the profession of paid lectures. His remuneration was very modest in the beginning. Once he wrote a letter to a lecture committee stating that he would "come for the five dollars [fifteen rupees] offered, but must have in addition four quarts of oats for his horse." It is quite a relief to know that the sage of Concord received his oats, though only after much discussion! In his later years Emerson's fees advanced materially. He got from 450 to 1,500 rupees for a single lecture.

At the time of his return from the depths of Africa after his search for David Livingstone in 1871, the great explorer Henry M.

Stanley received the sum of 300,000 rupees for one hundred lectures. The gross receipts for Stanley's first lecture, it may be added, were 53,400 rupees. Mark Twain was another high-priced lecturer. In 1874 he refused 90,000 rupees for fifty lectures. The present Vice-President of the United States, Hon. Thomas R. Marshall, a well-known Chautauqua luminary, gets 900 rupees for each lecture. None can, however, compare in the long run with Mr. William Jennings Bryan, the prince of the American chautauqua platform. When he was Secretary of State he received a salary of 36,000 rupees a year. The papers now report that as a Chautauqua talent Mr. Bryan is making 414,000 rupees annually. It seems to be much better for him to be a Bhautanguan than a cabinet minister. His drawing power is so great that he can swell the gate receipts far more than any other living American orator. On account of his commanding platform ability he is able to dictate his own terms. His minimum fee is 750 rupees. The next 750 rupees of the gate-receipts go to Chautauqua. Above that, the money is divided equally between Mr. Bryan and Chautauqua.

A story is told at Yale University that a famous preacher was invited to address the Yale students in the chapel. Before commencing his lecture, the noted divine asked the president of the university if the time for his address would be limited. "Oh, no," replied the president, "speak as long as you like, but there is a tradition here at Yale chapel that no souls are saved after twenty minutes." Now there is no fixed limit as to the length of the Chautauqua address; but the unwritten tradition is that no Chautauqua lecture should fall below fifty minutes nor exceed ninety.

The American orator speaks slowly and distinctly. His articulation is clear, his tone is conversational, his gestures are sparing, and his style is forceful yet simple and clear-cut rather than flowery and ornate. In short, he speaks to a purpose; he speaks to be understood. Since the summer Chautauqua meetings are always held out-doors in huge open tents, the speakers must have a voice that will carry over the cries of the babies, the patter of the rain, and the roar of the prairie wind. A strong resonant voice is one of the prime requisites of American public speakers. In 1898 Matthew Arnold came to the United States



as a popular lecturer. His lecture tickets sold sometimes as high as fifteen rupees a piece. To one of his lectures came General Grant and his wife. Arnold spoke so low that few could hear what he was saying. Grant became very restless in his seat. At last, turning to his wife Grant said, "We have seen the lion, but we cannot hear him roar. Let us go home."

It is very fortunate that the American lecturers are singularly free from those affected mannerisms which are so often associated with Englishmen. For one thing, your English speakers blaze away too fast. Indeed, they speak much more rapidly in England than they do in America. When John Bright, the greatest English orator of the last half a century, began to speak in public, his utterance was so swift that few could follow him intelligently. On one occasion a newspaper gave the following report of an important political address by Mr. Bright: "The next speech was made by our young townsman, Mr. John Bright, but he spoke so fast that our reporter was quite unable to follow him."

The Chautauqua lecturer is a mediator between the layman and the specialist. The successful forward-looking talent aims to lift American life by giving in popular language to the masses the current results of modern scholarship and scientific research. The Chautauqua management wants a show of courage on the part of the lecturer, a forceful statement of facts, a fling at John D. Rockefeller and his Standard Oil Trust, and occasionally an extra twist of the tail of the British lion. The chautauquan must always have a message. The man who simply lectures on "How are the Biscuits?" or "A Bushel of Soap Suds" cannot hope for a career in the Chautauqua field. He must show a bold, a creative mind. The mission of the lecturer, as Macaulay said of John Milton, is to "bear the torch of truth into those dark and infected recesses in which no light has ever shone."

In a modest way I have sometimes lectured on the Chautauqua platform. One summer, I vividly recall, some of the methodist preachers objected to my appearance in their town because—well, it was said I was not a Christian. The bureau I represented took a firm stand. Even at the risk of losing business, it made its town hear my address. The moral: ideas cannot be put on the muzzle.

The ancient Athenian general and statesman, Phocion, when interrupted by the loud cheers of his audience, would ask his friends standing near by, "Have I made a mistake and said something stupid?" In America the applause of the audience is often considered as the chief proof of a successful lecture. There is really no use blinking the fact that the constant temptation of the Chautauqua platformist is to say the thing that takes, that tickles the fancy, that flatters the prejudice of the crowd. His mind is in danger of becoming a weather cock. Indeed, many a promising career has been eaten away by the acid of applause. The lecturer need not, however, be condemned too severely. For, has not every politician on the stump told us that the sovereign American public has a right to get what it wants when it wants it? And is it not the duty of the lecturer, the servant of the public, to give it what it wants? Those who have studied the American audience long and close at hand know too well that it has a voracious appetite for funny stories, breezy anecdotes, emotions, and epigrams rather than serious analysis, complex reasoning, and sober disquisition of hard facts. Hence the motto of the professional spell-binders is, "Get them laughing and keep them laughing."

All the Chautauqua orators use stock lectures. The "starriest" of Chautauqua stars, William Jennings Bryan, has delivered his two favorite lectures, "The Making of a Man" and "The Prince of Peace," times without number. I know a popular lecturer who has given his address, "Sour Grapes," over two thousand times. The man who holds the record for having delivered a single lecture the largest number of times is Dr. Russell H. Conwell, the President of the Temple University. He has given the same lecture, "Acres of Diamond," more than five thousand times. A touching thing about his lecture is that all the proceeds from it have been devoted for the past thirty years to the education of needy young men; and the number of those helped by Dr. Conwell exceed 1,600.

The Chautauqua course, as has already been indicated, does not consist only of six or seven numbers of straight lectures. It includes also two or three evenings of concerts and music, and entertainments by readers who recite, impersonate, joke, and tell stories. The lecture is, however,

the foundation upon which the Chautauqua is built. If for any reason the lecture should be crowded out the Chautauqua will become a thing of the past.

In the beginning, Chautauquas were entirely independent concerns, each community organized and ran its own Chautauqua to suit itself. A few years ago the "traveling tent" or "circuit" Chautauqua was introduced. This innovation in the Chautauqua movement has been described as 'the last word in popular education'. Under this system, a bureau or company will operate a hundred or more Chautauquas on a single circuit. It is done in this wise: the bureau will run seven Chautauquas in seven towns simultaneously, provided the program is to continue seven days. The first day's program in the first town of the circuit moves to the second town on the following day, and so on. At the end of the week there would be seven assemblies going, and the first tent would be on its way to the eighth town. Thus, with only enough talent to serve one town for a week, the bureau is able to serve seven towns for a solid week.

America has reduced advertising to an exact science, and its full resources are perhaps nowhere pressed into service more relentlessly than in exploiting the Chautauqua workers. For months before the arrival of the Chautauqua, hundreds of advance circulars, folders, posters, and window hangers are poured upon the community in an unceasing stream. The Chautauqua 'literature' is an anthology of laudatory lullabys, giving life sketches, anecdotes, records of past achievements or even failures of the performers. When nothing else can be said, the people are gravely assured that the speaker "is a man of splendid physique, of superb health," that the cornet player "has hair enough for six ordinary men. If possible, get a look at his face, and that the leader of the orchestra "is certain to be given an ovation everywhere. Oh, how he will bow and smile."

Most of the up-to-date bureaus employ trained journalists, well equipped 'publicity men' to prepare attractive program announcements. They furnish the local newspapers with the cuts of the talents, and all the necessary information about the Chautauqua. The editors are not

required to go to the trouble of setting this in type. It comes to them in zinc plate by parcel post, prepaid, ready to print. What an exhibition of gush advertising!

Here are a few sentences culled from Chautauqua advertisements: "The most popular lecturer upon the platform to-day", "He is the greatest speaker the State of Indiana has ever produced", "I am as well known in Canada as Roosevelt is in America", "I am America's greatest lady reader", "I am the world's greatest magician". These are only a few of the Chautauqua masterpieces of fiction. Romancing in Chautauqua seems to be a thorough going respectable American habit, and the sophisticated people sooner or later get used to this habit as they get used to measles. Be that as it may, the publicity man works and works hard to make the people get the Chautauqua fever. He says that every talent is a front page head liner, every Chautauquan in the program is 'the best ever'. The man who is to play the piano is greater than Paderewski, the artist who is to sing "can knock Caruso into a cocked hat with one hand tied behind him", and the speaker who is to talk is positively greater than Cicero or Demosthenes. In a word, the coming Chautauqua is going to be the eighth wonder of the world. Can anyone afford to miss such an extraordinary treat?

A few days before the arrival of the big tent the city is in a buzz of excitement. The whole town is dressed in gala attire, and made to "look as though there was something doing". Houses are draped with the Stars and Stripes. Shop windows are adorned with huge posters of Chautauqua attractions. Every available telephone and telegraph post is gay with fluttering red and yellow cards. Banners and streamers and colored electric bulbs arch the principal streets. Cloth and paper pennants are posted on huggies and automobiles. Flags are tacked on gates and tumble-down fences. Even cats and dogs are made to wear the Chautauqua colors. Men stand on the street corners and women lean over the fence in their back yards and talk about "our Chautauqua program". Enthusiastic citizens form themselves into a booster's club, and they parade and motor round about the country boosting 'our Chautauqua'.

The large tent arrives, and there is much stir. The Chautauqua manager and his lieutenants set up the tent. Ere long the white canvas top is flapping, tent flags are flying, and the stage is already for the great performance. The long-expected opening day dawns. The mayor makes an eloquent address of welcome, and assures the Chautauqua people of the freedom of the city. The button is pressed; the week of fun, frolic, education, and glad time is on.

When the program starts, shops, banks, and even post offices are frequently closed. Everybody goes to the Chautauqua grounds. Everywhere there is Sabbath stillness. For the time being the town presents the appearance of Goldsmith's "Deserted Village". "What a fine opportunity for a big haul this offers the robber," said I to a Chautauqua devotee. "Yes," quietly replied the man, "but the robber—he, too, would be at the Chautauqua."

The financial side of the Chautauqua is interesting. A local organization or committee guarantees the bureau the sale of a minimum number of tickets. A Chautauqua program costs all the way from 600 rupees in a small village to 12,000 to 15,000 in a large city. If a person is to attend a week's program by single admissions it would cost him from twenty-four to thirty rupees, but by purchasing a season ticket he can take in the entire Chautauqua for the sum of from four to seven rupees.

An important outgrowth of the Chautauqua movement is University Extension—a school for people who are out of school. The American leaders of education have come to the conclusion that "it is not sufficient to maintain at some one place in the state a great school of learning and research, with libraries, laboratories, class rooms and faculties of experts, since only a small proportion of the people can reside at the university, even for a few months. If knowledge is to

become a vital force in the State it must touch the lives of all people; it must be within the reach of those who can use it in the interest of human welfare. It is the purpose of University Extension to provide a channel through which all the people may avail themselves of the knowledge accumulated at the university." In accordance with this democratic ideal nearly all the important American universities have a special staff of lecturers who can interest the masses in discussions on natural science, history, art, physiology, social science, and matters of civic welfare. University extension work is, however, a little different form than that of the Chautauqua. The former has little to do with entertainments. Extension courses consist chiefly of lectures, and they are more academical than the Chautauqua. One may even go further and say that the extension lectures are always educational; they are humorous only by accident or mistake. At all events, University Extension has made the boundaries of the country the walls of the university and the homes of the people its class rooms. Indeed, the dictum of the late editor, William T. Stead, "university extension is the university on wheels," is now fully justified.

It is difficult to estimate in dollars and cents the definite effects which the Chautauqua leaves upon the community life. The Chautauqua is both instructive and entertaining. The *New York Herald* says, "the Chautauqua Assembly is the visible centre of the greatest university in the world." Ex-President Roosevelt in speaking of the Chautauqua idea remarks, "I know of nothing in the whole country which is so filled with blessings for the nation." Indeed, the Chautauqua movement is performing wonderful work for the elevation of national ideas, the diffusion of culture, and the promotion of human betterment.

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## A PLEA FOR A NATIONAL ART MUSEUM

**I** DO NOT know of any civilised country at the present day where it is necessary to explain the utility or value of museums and galleries least of all to its educational experts. Unfortunately this has been one's lot in Modern India with our great pretensions of progress learning and enlightenment. It is notorious that our official museums are only patronised by our illiterate womenfolks and pilgrims who spend a curious half an hour among the medley of what is to them almost unintelligible, archaeological, geological and zoological objects of our *ayabghars*. We have a vague sort of an idea that museums have great educational value,—but for all practical purposes our University students and the so-called educated section of our community take no serious interest in, nor cultivate any apology for a study of our museum exhibits. We are led to make only a few stray or solitary visits when we are in a holiday mood or are asked to accompany our mossfussil friends and relatives on a day's visit to the cities for sight seeing. To some extent this lack of interest in the existing official museums is due to our present system of education which is not co-related to and is not affiliated with any course of study of our museum collections—in other words the museums and the subject matter of their collections have no relation either vital or academic to our educational curriculum. They are quite independent of each other and have grown and worked on lines which were never destined to meet. The more important reason has however to be found in our carefully cultivated apathy to seek education and culture through the medium of anything else but literary scripts. By confining our attention to books and literary records we have deprived ourselves of the benefits and values to be derived from the study of culture contained in forms other than literary. One of the most deplorable results of this has been the total lack of the development of the national consciousness as regards the value of the most priceless assets of Indian civilization. The disruption which followed the fall of the

old Mogul Empire found us stripped of all pride in the assets of our indigenous civilization and the value of our artistic monuments itself has ever since been supremely discounted and we have grown grey in a habit to regard all forms of our artistic activity, ancient or modern, as inferior by reason of the fact that they are merely *desi*, that is to say the products of this country and therefore must necessarily be unworthy of any notice attention or study. By the time that the various official collections of archaeological objects were formed (it must be acknowledged with a serious appreciation of their values) the capacity of the native student to understand or to take a pride in them had utterly vanished. So that the only persons who had 'eyes' to see and to cultivate a study of the ancient artistic monuments of India were those who did not belong to the soil and had no interest in securing facilities for their study in India. There was a natural desire on their part to take away with them as many objects of artistic values as possible, when they retired from their duties and official career in India. In this way a steady stream of exodus of the artistic treasures of our country has flowed and is still flowing from India to England and other European countries. This is true not only of such easily portable objects as pictures, illuminated books and manuscripts but also of other *objects d'art* such as metal images, pieces of ancient sculptures, fine old brasses and bronzes, many examples of which have gone out of India never to come back again. Many of these have found their places in the British Museum, South Kensington Museum and the India Office collections and also in the various official Museums in the European continent. These *objects d'art* have principally been collected in India by Europeans of good taste and connoisseurship in art, and the many private collections formed by retired officials from India contain many fine examples of the old arts and crafts of India, good specimens of many of which have

now become rare in India itself. This is principally true in respect of old Indian pictures and illuminated manuscripts. Thus the fine collection of old Indian and Indo-Persian miniature paintings formed by the late Colonel Hannah has been acquired by an American Museum. The growth of an ardent group of scholars in Europe during the last fifty years who have devoted themselves to the study of Indian civilization and the records of its past has engendered the belief to some extent rightly, that the 'scientific' study of the relics of ancient India can be carried out by these students outside India in a more competent manner than any *native students* living in India. In this way the centre of gravity of Oriental studies has more and more shifted from India to London, Paris or Berlin. There is therefore an inevitable desire to arrange for facilities and conveniences for such study for the benefit of these few European scholars at the expense of depleting the country of many of its treasures. A majority of the materials for such study chiefly in the shape of manuscripts and other similar records have found their permanent home abroad and a student of any department of Indian culture will find better facilities for such study in London, Berlin or Paris than in any cities of India. This could not be a healthy state of things so far as India is concerned, and this state of things has arisen from the neglect that we have meted out to the records of our past civilization.

To return to our subject under discussion here, we find that for the last few decades the demand of foreign 'Indianists' and 'Oriental Scholars' and of private European collectors of good taste have helped to transfer from India some of its finest art treasures to Europe and other distant countries. To this must also be added the depredations of the globe trotters and cold weather tourists who have been visiting India year after year hunting after old examples of Indian arts and curios and ready to pay any price to secure the best available examples. This has called forth an army of traders in *purana cheez* who have ransacked all the nook and corner of India for the purpose of securing all manner of examples of Indian fine and applied art to meet the demands of the tourists who have thus carried away some of the finest examples

of Indian miniature paintings. Recently this trade in old Indian art and curios has grown at such enormous proportions that in some class of objects the available old examples have been completely exhausted and no really good specimen can be had at any price. I know of two such Indian traders who went on 'business visits' to London, Paris, Brussels and Berlin laden with an enormous quantity of Indian pictures and artworks the pick of which was sold in Berlin and Paris at very high prices. For while this trade has helped to deplete the available amount of old 'things Indian' it has also run up the market value of really fine examples to most fabulous prices. Very few Indians—I had almost said none—cared to cultivate any acquaintance with these treasures so as to be capable of appreciating their value—and those who did understand the importance of retaining them in our country could ill afford the price with which the owners of the objects have been seduced to part with them. The state of things was far worse than prevailing in Italy before the promulgation of the edict of Cardinal Piacca in 1820 which was the first legislation designed to prevent the exodus of art treasures from Italy. But before that, Napoleon's expropriations had already denuded Italy of many of its finest masterpieces. Preventive legislations have been undertaken in all European countries and also in Japan. But such laws could hardly be carried into effect successfully without the co-operation of those primarily concerned, viz., private owners of works of art. It was the growth of the idea of nationality rather than preventive legislation in Italy that ultimately succeeded in checking the drain of the country's artistic treasures. England is, as all nations should be, very jealous of parting with examples of her old masters and other objects of art and the committee of the National Gallery and of the National Art Collection Fund gird up their loins whenever any American Collector threatens to seduce any old masterpiece from its home in England. As I have just stated, in all countries, including France, Italy, Germany, Holland and even Spain, students and amateurs assisted by legislative

\* The Treasure Trove Act and the Ancient Monuments Act of India have been unable to meet the situation in this country.

measures of the state have combined to mitigate and if possible to prevent the emigration of ancient works of art. Europe has ever been alert in the matter of preserving its precious artistic possessions. In India our national consciousness in the matter has yet to develop. We are supremely indifferent to this drain of the art-treasures of our country which has been going on systematically and has assumed a dangerous magnitude during the last few years. Educated Indians have never cared and very few do now care for the value of art and its place in our education and they have naturally suffered from no anxiety to preserve the artistic relics of our historic past or to prevent the dispersion of our artistic heritages which are in many cases quite irreplaceable and unique. And if our conscience in the matter ever wakes up—we will find (so far as some class of old relics is concerned and, that too very valuable) that it has been too late. In fact so far as the best specimens of old Rajput painting are concerned—it has already been too late. For, barring a few stray examples in private collections the country has been absolutely depleted of them. Since Mr. Havell started to sing their praise the copper gilt images of the Tibeto-Nepalese School of many unique qualities have been lost to India. But the drain has been comparatively less in respect of heavy and less portable objects. None the less many fine examples of heavy copper images and other class of sculptures have emigrated from India destined never to return\*. We are not concerned with the enormous amount of artistic nick nacks, curios and tawdry rubbish which in the name of Indian art are palmed off by dealers to the cold weather tourists—but only with those really good examples and unique masterpieces which should take their place in our historic sequence of art history—in short the irreplaceable specimens of craftsmanship and inspiration—many of which have already found their homes outside India. It is sometimes contended on behalf of this exodus and it must be admitted with some justice that having regard to the utter neglect with which many objects of arts are treated by their owners igno-

rant of their value the foreign collector, by acquiring them secure them from oblivion and preserve them from sure loss and decay which would otherwise have been their lot if the owner had not parted with them. But all the same such objects when transferred from India necessarily become lost to India.

A great deal has been done by the departmental efforts of the provincial Governments to collect fine examples of Indian Arts in the various museums of the principal cities of India, and annual grants have been provided from local funds for acquisitions of objects of art. In this way many collections of art have been formed which though not exhaustive or entirely representative of each class of objects are still in many ways unique, such for instance the collection of Tibeto-Nepalese sculpture in the Calcutta Museum, the collection of Rajput Paintings in the Lahore Museum and the Hindu mediæval copper images in the Government Central Museum Madras. But the very fact that they are situated in widely different centres of the country each inaccessible from the other, considerably discounts the value of the collections and are seldom availed of by any students many of whom have no knowledge of the existence or the value of such collections. On the other hand as the existing universities have accorded no place to the study of art and have developed no living relationship with the art collections of the Museums conditions have tended to banish our present official collections from the ken of our University students and from the narrow circle of what is vaguely called our general culture. Another flagrant, and almost unavoidable defect in these provincial collections arises from the fact that they are primarily designed to form a repository of local exhibits and these collections are exclusively limited to exhibits representative of each province. In fact no adequate museum exists anywhere which illustrates the comprehensive range and the entire history of Indian Art in a continuous narrative or even in all its important or distinctive aspects. But while the facilities for the study of Indian Art are growing day by day outside India no effort whatsoever has been made to initiate the study of Indian Art the Indians themselves.

The Indian Section of the Society

\* The XII century bronze Bodhi sattuva from the Hissar District recently acquired by the Ashmolean Museum may be cited as a glaring example.

sington Museum has greatly enriched its collections during recent years and has formed a common repository to which objects from private collections have very often found its way either by loan or by quests and the rate at which it has been acquiring in this manner unique examples of Indian Art it promises to be an adequately representative collection in the near future. The *Museum für Ostasiatische Kunst* founded at Cologne a few years ago for the study of Asiatic Art has promised to eclipse all previous efforts on the same line. Monsieur Gollubien a connoisseur and a collector of Oriental Art has started a series of monographs to illustrate the claims of Asiatic Art and to cultivate an acquaintance of their values. Mr Havells very useful and enthusiastic defence of Indian Art has helped to recruit and attract more European students to the subject \* while his efforts have practically failed to move any Indians to understand and study Indian Art. While the art of any nation can only be best understood and interpreted by persons for whom and by whom such art has been created we are faced with the absurd position of being instructed and educated by Europeans in a subject which ought to be our special privilege to teach and preach. But in the present state of things the centre of study of Indian Art is also of various other departments of Indian culture tends to shift from India to Europe and other Western countries.

We have rejoiced to learn that the New Hindu University at Benares has created a chair for the study of Ancient Indian History and Culture. But so far we have patiently waited for the authorities to make a move for a provision for an adequate equipment for the study of Hindu culture as recorded in its ancient artistic monuments. When is our National Gallery of Indian Art to find its place in the new University for the collective preservation and study of our artistic patrimony? What provision is going to be made for cultivating in our new generation of students a real love and respect for our noble artistic heritage secured by right

of birth race and descent. The site of the Hindu University located as it is in a place sacred in national memory furnishes an unique place for building a National Museum of Fine Art to be affiliated to a scheme of studies in the University curriculum. For the collection must be organically related to the syllabus of the University and it could serve no practical purpose if delegated to the limbo of an optional branch of study. The general student must be brought face to face with the history of the nation's past culture and the part it has played in its political, economical and spiritual life. The future of New India cannot be founded on a past admitted to be a failure—it must be created on the strength of the past—and that strength is nowhere better illustrated than in the history of Indian Arts and crafts. The history of the nation's mind is indelibly recorded and pictured, as it were in the old examples of the graphic arts of India and an adequate collection of the best examples of these treasures in the form of a national museum having its place in the ordinary course of the studies at the University is one of the most practical methods of inspiring, controlling and educating our national imagination and of equipping our young men with loftier ideals for the future because of a truer conception of the past. Apart from the almost invaluable training that such a collection is sure to provide for resuscitating, guiding and controlling the growth of our coming industrial life it is impossible to exaggerate the value of such a museum as an aid indispensable for the development of the higher side of culture and spirituality without which life—however comfortable—economically as mere existence—is not worth living.

In order to initiate a scheme for such a National Museum a special fund should be allocated by the Hindu University as a nucleus to which private donors should be invited to contribute. But in the meantime a suitable accommodation for housing such a collection should be immediately started. Already the price of old Indian works of Art have greatly risen in consequence of the greater and growing appreciation of their value (*outs de l'Inde*!) and there is no doubt that the rise will continue particularly having regard to the fact that the American Universities and Museums are fast devel-

\* The Oxford University Press has projected the publication of a series of handbooks dealing with the various branches of Indian Art to be contributed entirely by European writers.

collecting works of Indian Art the exodus of which shows no signs of abatement\*. As regards good specimens of pictures and illuminated manuscripts the formation of an adequate and representative collection is not so much a matter of money as one of concerted action and a benevolent mood. For the existing private collections of our Indian Princes—yet untouched by the drain—are quite sufficient to start a very promising nucleus. Only about two years ago H. H. The Gaekwar of Baroda gave his collection of old Indian miniatures (which included some fine examples of Rajput painting) as a permanent loan to the South Kensington Museum. In the private collections of the Maharaja of Jaipur Bikaner Benares and others there still exist very fine examples of old Indian Painting which are rotting uncared for in their *toshah khana*s and could be easily lent to the Hindu University Museum—if only to rescue the treasures from the oblivion of their present fate. Once such a Museum is established it is sure to attract gifts and loans and will form a future repository to which all objects of art will naturally gravitate. In the branch of sculpture the finds of the archaeological department are too numerous and an adequate number of a carefully selected specimens to illustrate the history of Indian Sculpture will not be hard to procure with the assistance of the Director General of Archaeology who is ever ready to help in such matters. In fact the matter of housing examples of old sculptures in the different sites explored by the archaeological department has been a problem with its officers. For we have a bewildering variety of Indian sculpture still surviving more perhaps in stone than in metal—many fine examples of the latter having already migrated to Europe. Even in the case of metal sculptures and bronzes the existing official collections in India may be moved to contribute a few good specimens each from their collection in order to enrich the Hindu University. For instance the Calcutta Government Art Gallery, very rich in Nepalese sculpture could easily afford to lend one or two good specimens just as the Madras Central

Museum having quite an adequate number of South Indian specimens will not miss a few of them to help the Museum at Benares. The Sarnath Museum in Benares itself could make one or two contributions to illustrate Mayurian and Gupta Sculptures. The Lahore Museum so rich in Rajput painting could be called upon to assist by a dozen fine specimens. In the provincial museums (in some cases they are no more than mere sheds) established by the Archaeological Department many fine examples of Hindu and Buddhist sculptures have found place but are almost unknown by reason of their inaccessibility. They would invite study and appreciation if placed in a niche in our proposed museum connected with the Hindu University. The most flagrant example of this class of sculpture is perhaps the remarkably fine stone image of Ganga which is decaying in the rain and sea air at Konarak. A series of copies of the frescoes of Ajanta (the drawings for which are still available) might be procured through the co-operation of our artists e.g. Nandalal Bose and others who have specially qualified themselves for the task having already executed such copies now reproduced by the India Society. The great school of Cambodian and Indo-Javanese sculptures may have to be represented by casts and copies but it will not be difficult to procure a few really fine originals in stone or metal. For dearth of specimens to illustrate the rise and development of Indian Colonial Art must necessarily leave serious gaps in the historical study of the art of the main continent.

Art is a language of ideas and some of the idealistic utterances of Hinduism of the finest quality are enshrined—not entombed as many people think—in the various forms of Indian Art Painting Sculpture Architecture etc. The achievements of India in the past have to be interpreted assimilated and translated into dynamic thought for making the future of India greater than its past. And unless young India is taught to learn to think in terms of Indian thought so graphically embodied in the masterpieces of Indian Art, it is not qualified to take part in the evolution of India's future.

\* The latest report of the Director General of Archaeology calls attention to the fact that many of the wooden facades of some houses at Ahmedabad have been sent to the United States where collectors are appreciative of their artistic value.



# REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF BOOKS

## ENGLISH

**INDENTURED LABOUR IN FIJI.** *An Independent enquiry* February, 1916 Price four annas

This is a reprint of the very valuable joint report on indentured labour in Fiji which Messrs Andrews and Pearson presented to the public on their return from Fiji. It has been published by the Allahabad League for the Abolition of Indentured Labour and can be had at the *Leader* office Allahabad. It is well got up. Every English knowing Indian ought to read it to convince himself how culpably callous we have been to the sufferings and degradation of our sisters and brethren in far off place—and not only to convince himself but to do his best to put an end to such a state of things.

This report ought to be translated into all the principal Indian vernaculars and published in a cheap form.

**SELF GOVERNMENT IN ANCIENT INDIA VEDIC AND POST VEDIC.** By Rao Sahib N B Patge. *The Carlton Press Branch, Fort, Bangalore City*

This pamphlet shows by quotations from the Vedas that in the Vedic age kings were elected and there were representative assemblies. R. C.

**THE BIBLE IN INDIA** *Hindoo origin of Hebrew and Christian Revelation* Translated from 'La Bible Dans L'Inde' of M Louis Jaillot. Reprinted and published by the *Pravasi Office, Allahabad* 1916 pp 376

This book, first published in 1868, seems to be a most remarkable production. Though it was translated into English the very year after its publication few Indians of the present generation have even heard the name of the author. The dedication 'Voices of India dated Chandernagore breathes a passionate love of India and pays a most eloquent homage to her ancient greatness. It begins as follows: 'Soil of Ancient India cradle of humanity, hail! Hail venerable and efficient nurse whom centuries of brutal invasions have not yet buried under the dust of oblivion! Hail fatherland of faith of love, of poetry and of science!'

The main object of the book is to prove that the revelations of both the Old and the New Testaments were derived from India. A variety of similitudes resemblances and analogies is referred to as pointing to this conclusion. Cow worship is compared with the worship of the bull Apis the Levirate with the doctrine of Niyoga the rules of ceremonial purification both among Jews and Hindus are examined the deluge furnishes an analogy for the Pralaya the Devadasis of the Hindu temples are compared with vestal virgins and pythonesses the massacre of the innocents with a similar incident in the history of King Kamsa and lastly Christ is compared with Krishna 'the greatest of philosophers we venture to say not only of India but of the entire world, whose lessons are so sublime and so pure that later, the founder of Christianity in Europe perceived that he

could not do better than imitate them. Incidentally, the author treats of Hindu law and philosophy, and tries to show that they inspired the law philosophy, ethics and traditions of Egypt Palestine, Greece and Rome. In restoring Biblical revelations to India it became necessary loudly to demonstrate that this adoption from India was not isolated, and that all peoples ancient and modern derive from that country their language their historic traditions, their philosophy and their legislation. Some of the philosophical proofs advanced by the author are as follows: Pythagoras—Sanskrit 'Pitha guru' (school master) Perseus—Sanskrit Para Saha (timely succour), Scandinavians—Sanskrit 'b'kanda nava' (worshippers of Skanda). Much learning in regard to the laws and institutions of the various countries concerned has been displayed by the author in his search for proofs, but it must be said that many of the analogies drawn by him are of a somewhat fanciful character and will not bear strict examination. Nor are we by any means sure that he has succeeded in gaining many converts on behalf of the main thesis which he started to prove.

But there is another part of the book which is full of brilliant suggestions. The author is a rationalist and a freethinker and is never tired of repeating that ancient India 'the matrix of all the civilisations of antiquity' in the epoch of her greatness, under the regime of reason, is now in utter decrepitude and decay, leading a semi-brutal existence of dreaming impotence' owing to the curse of sacerdotalism. 'To religious despotism, imposing speculative delusions, and class legislation may be attributed the decay of nations'—these are the words with which the Preface begins. The book is replete with sentences revealing the author's admiration for all that was great in ancient India. Quoting Cousin he says 'the history of Indian philosophy is the abridged history of the philosophy of the world.' 'To study India is to trace humanity to its sources.' It was a grand and beautiful epoch which modern India has somewhat forgotten. India of the Vedas entertained a respect for women amounting to worship. The first result of the baneful domination of priests in India was the abasement and moral degradation of the woman.

Manu [to whom the author awards a very high meed of praise in other respects] as the convenient instrument of priests and Brahmins became the starting point of the ruin and abasement of his country, stifled under a corrupt and egotistical theocracy.

The observations on the caste system and the degradation of the priesthood deserve to be quoted at length. Alas! What fearful sufferings has it been my fate to witness! A people smiling in apathy under the iron hand that destroys them and with their own hand joyously digging the grave of their ancient glories of their recollections and of their independence... And I saw with sadness that these people had fostered the spirit of their sublime beliefs for a verbal fanaticism freedom of thought and the free will of free men for the blind and stolid submission of the slave. Then it was that I sought to lift the obscuring veil from the past and backwards trace the origin of this dying people, who without energy for either hatred or

affection, and without enthusiasm for either virtue or vice, seem to personate an actor doomed to act out his past before an audience of statues. And then did India appear to me in all the living power of her originality—I traced her progress in the expansion of her enlightenment over the world—I saw her giving her laws her customs her *morale* and her religion to Egypt to Persia to Greece and to Rome. This was the epoch of greatness under the regime of reason. And then I followed the footsteps of decay, old age approached this people who had instructed the world, and impressed upon it their *morale* and their doctrines with a seal so ineffaceable, that time, which has entombed Babylon and Nineveh Athens and Rome, has not yet been able to obliterate it."

Whence came those Brahmins who spoke a language the most beautiful and the most perfect—who so penetrated analysed, investigated in every form the problem of life, as to leave nothing for innovation, either to antiquity or modern times, in the domain of literary moral or philosophic sciences? Whence came these men who, after having studied all, obscured all, reversed all and reconstructed all, had come in final solution of the problem to refer all to God, with a faith the most vital and thereon to build up a theocratic society which has had no equal and which, after more than five thousand years still resist all innovation, all progress; proud of its institutions, of its beliefs, and of its immobility? Unquestionably, the Brahmins thus prepared for themselves a nation easy to govern, powerless to shake off the yoke, and even without energy to complain, they long enjoyed honours and devotion, riches and respect. But from the day when northern populations cast a jealous eye upon the riches and splendour of Hindoostan, from the day when Mongol invasion led its flying hordes against them, in vain they tried to defend themselves, all their efforts were powerless to inspire for the struggle those people of whom they had made a herd of slaves, whom they had enserfed to assure their domination. The Kshatriyas alone marched to death, but without power to retard the fatal hour of common wreck. And the Brahmins, while in their pagodas imploring a God, powerless to save them, saw the prestige of their name and their political power crumble away, thanks to the very precautions they had adopted to preserve them. India has since been the classic ground of invasions, and its people have submitted without murmur to each newly imposed yoke, perhaps even they may have gladly assisted the overthrow of those high castes which had so long ruled them. From this moment the brilliant civilisation of India is arrested. Ignorance takes possession of the masses."

The Brahmin priests of the present day are but the shadow of themselves, crushed in their poverty, their weakness, their vices, and their actual decrepitude, under memories of the past, with some very rare exceptions they but divide amongst them an inheritance of immense pride, which harmonises but sadly with their degradation and their insubility. These people have no longer either dignity or self-respect, and long ago would this Brahmin caste have disappeared under public contempt, had not India been India, that is, the country, *par excellence*, of immobility. From contact with Europeans (see reformed Hinduism) have discovered that their stagnant inertia and inferiority resulted wholly from their stagnant inertia and their divisions of caste, and anxious to shake off the yoke, they endeavour to revive the enervated blood that flows in the veins of their compatriots, and to unite them against the common enemy—

potent efforts—which may perhaps bear fruit in the future, for the present they have but resulted in placing their authors under the national index, expelled from the bosom of their families and repudiated even by their own children. Such is the semi-brutified condition into which priests have plunged this unhappy country, that the entire population would, if left to itself contribute its whole force to any movement that would replace it under Brahminical authority."

The book is neatly printed and well bound, and is sure to find an welcome in every patriotic Indian's library.

Pol.

THE JAINA LAW (*Bhadrabahu Samhita*)—Text with translation and Appendix containing full text of an important judgment in a Jaina case by the Original side of the High Court of Judicature, Indore—by J. L. Jaini, M.A., Bar at-Law, Publishers—The Central Jaina Publishing House, Arrah and Butterworth & Co., Calcutta, (Paper cover) Price Rs 1-4

The writer is well known to the readers of this Review as the author of the "Outlines of Jainism." In this volume the author has presented a translation of the "Bhadrabahu Samhita" a chapter of the Upasakadhyaya Anga, of the Jains and one of the four principal authorities on Jaina Law.

This work, apart from its literary value, is the result of the new awakening, which has breathed new life into all minor sects and creeds in India. They have been stirred to activity in all matters concerning their self respect and wellbeing as the result of which we find many of the minor castes and sects claiming a history and tradition different from their accepted status. As the result of which again we find the profession of Sectarian Conferences in this country busy devising means for accelerating progress.

However commendable these endeavours may be, they are not without their disadvantages. They tend to accentuate the minor difference among the various sects of the one great community and often embitter their relations with one another. This is an obstacle to the national solidarity and unity of purpose which is so necessary at the present moment.

The ambition of the Jains therefore to establish themselves as a separate entity, having nothing to do with the Hindus historically or otherwise, is to my mind not a worthy ambition. It is now common knowledge that uniformity of laws tend to national solidarity and the absence thereof has the contrary result. Why then this desire of the Jains to be governed by a separate system of law apart from Hindu Law. The learned author sums up his objection thus: "The Jaina and Hindu conceptions of the Universe and of man's life here below are essentially distinct and a body of law which governs the external human conduct of a man as an individual and as a member of an organized society, necessarily takes its colour from the religious belief and the philosophical depth and intensity and clearness of the Theology and Metaphysics to which the society subscribes." The learned author forgets that there is no one set of tenets which could be styled the Hindu Conception of the Universe but that there are diverse opinions among Hindu Theologians widely different from each other—as different as Hinduism is from Jainism according to the learned author. But they are all governed by the same law generally speaking though there are different schools to suit local conditions. This amply proves that the Jains also could be governed by Hindu law generally with variations.

author has tried to ascribe reasons as to why Jains has so long submitted to Hindu Law but has nowhere attempted to show how Jains have been adversely affected by this submission. He has also not attempted to show whether Jaina Law or Hindu Law is more suited to us from a juristic point of view simply to claim that the Jains have a separate origin and then to say that they should not be governed by Hindu Law is not enough.

Besides it is a moot question whether a man's theological conceptions should decide what temporal laws he should be subject to. If this were so the Mahammadan Girasias Khojas and Sanis Borahs in the Bombay Presidency could seldom continue to be governed by Hindu Law in some respects. It is a confusion of mind which identifies a man's theological tenets with his secular laws.

Then again the accepted theory about the Jains is that they are a sect of the Hindus and that they are a body of dissenters. The learned author contests this position and advances the tradition of the 24 *Tirthankaras* to prove that Jainism must have existed side by side with Hinduism in Our Arctic Home in the Vedas 8000 years ago. Here is the historical and scientific spirit with a vengeance! What would the author say about the Avatars of the Hindus? Did the Jains exist in those days also?

I shall close with a few quotations from M. Barth's "The Religions of India" (Trübner's Oriental Series) regarding the antiquity of Jainism. Speaking of them M. Barth says: "In general they appear to have separated themselves less from Hinduism than Buddhists did and in fact they profess to be Hindus. Further on the learned writer commenting on the respective antiquity of Jainism and Buddhism says: 'When we reflect further that the chief sacred language of the Buddhists, the Pali is almost as ancient as the edicts, while that of the Jains the *'Ardha Magadhi'* is a prakrit dialect obviously more recent we feel no hesitation in admitting that of the two Buddhism is the one which is best entitled to the claim to originality.'

I fear whether these arguments would still weigh with authorities on Jainism and Orientalists.

The book maintains the reputation of the Indian Press of Allahabad for get up and general accuracy.

B C

LITTLE BOY'S OWN PRIMER PARTS I & II, by  
Swami Animanando At 4 each part

We are not at all satisfied with the result of teaching English to the Indian students as is in vogue in schools generally. There the boys are taught English on the principle of teaching a dead language. Great deal of energy is wasted by following the wrong method of learning a modern living language through grammar. Grammar must follow the speech. Mothers never teach their languages to their babies by means of grammar and translation. They teach them directly. Our teachers also should teach the Indian students by following the same method. The boys should get into the spirit of the language only by speaking. After that, they will learn grammar and begin to write.

The direct method is the most natural method of teaching a living foreign language to the boys. We should talk to them at first about the things which they always see and which will create keen interest in them. They will hear about things, meanings of which they understand and by repeating what

they have heard they will begin to learn speaking. Teachers will easily be able to create interest of the infants in a language by following this natural method. But in our Indian schools infants are taught through the means of translation. They learn rules and try to find out examples from the book for illustration from the very beginning. The unhappy result of following this unnatural method is that, they find no interest in the language. The burden is too much for them. So they begin to cram. They go through the earliest period with lifeless drudgery. Mr. Wren who studied this problem thoroughly has thus remarked on this point— "The great fundamental error made hitherto has been the teaching of a living language as though it were a dead one. We must cease to treat the living and growing body as a corpse—as if we wish to have spoken language spoken by our pupils we must make them speak it—not sit and learn its rules and industriously turn what are idioms in their own tongue into what is nonsense in a foreign one."

Very few in this country interested themselves in finding out the best method in educating our infants. Long ago the great poet Rabindranath, who is a great educationist also wrote a small book 'Engreji Bruti Shiksha' to guide the teachers of his Santiniketan institution. I fear that book is not much known to the public.

We are glad to see that Swami Animanando has brought up a nice series of two little volumes on this subject. He has gained a reputation as a successful teacher and he has studied this problem for a considerable period of time. These books are the results of his experience in his class rooms. So he writes with confidence.

We can assure that these excellent books will be of great help to the teachers who want to follow the direct method in teaching English and undoubtedly they will help in saving the energies of our infants who are rotting under the present cruel method prevalent in this country.

KALIMOHAN GHOSE

## SANSKRIT.

MADHURAVIJAYAM OR VIRAKAMPARAYACHRITAM  
by Gangadevi edited by Pandit G. Harishara  
Shastri and Pandit V. Shrinivas Shastri Smriti-  
visharad Pp 36 and 83 Price Rs 12 Cobes  
can be had of Pandit Shrinivas Shastri, Office of  
the Superintendent of Archaeology, Travandram

In the extant Sanskrit anthologies the names of female poets and their selected verses are found not to a small extent but we could not come across any complete work written by a poetess. We are however extremely glad to note and our sincere thanks are due to Pandits Harishara Shastri and Shrinivas Shastri that they have been now able to bring to light a volume which may be regarded complete, though in fact not so owing to the gaps left out by the scribe in the manuscript—the only manuscript from which it has been printed.

Its authoress Gangadevi, was the queen of Kampa or Kampana one of the kings of Vijayanagara (1357 A.D.). The subject of her present work is the life of her Royal consort with special reference to the conquest of Madhura (Madura) then under the flag of Mahammadan rule. Hence the *Kavya* is termed *Madhuravijaya* or *Virakampacharita*. The

thus throws a flood of light upon the history of that time in the Deccan. The historical importance of it has been shown in an ably written introduction by Mr T A Gopinath Rao, MA (Superintendent of Archaeology, Trivandrum State) who is not unknown to the readers of the Modern Review.

As to the poetical merit of the book the poetess has exhibited here so much poetic talents in every direction that it deserves to be classified among the writings of our mahakavyas (great poets) in Sanskrit literature.

It is written in strict conformity to the rules of a mahakavya laid down in Sanskrit Rhetoric and as the learned editors have pointed out our poetess writes in Vaidarbhi style and her thoughts flow with ease and simplicity. Her diction is beautiful and charming and her similes are grand and drawn direct from nature. Indeed a new chapter will be added to the History of Sanskrit literature by the discovery of this work, and India may be proud not only of her one Gangadevi, the sacred river Ganges, but also of another Gangadevi, the poetess of the Madhuravijayam.

**SUBODHA RAMA CHARITAM** by Sister V. Balammal (Balambika) Daughter of Late Dr A R Vaidyanath Sastriyar MA, MB & CM. Pp 56. Price Rs 6. For copies apply to V Sri Raja Aiyar, Sreekantha Vilas, Nanakkal, Lalgudy Post (Trichinopoly).

The volume before us is a little *kavya* in simple Sanskrit verses and concisely narrates the life of Rama in six chapters according to the first six *kandas* of the Ramayana. It is highly gratifying to see that the book is from the pen of a female poet and specially in the present time when Sanskrit learning is very rarely seen among our mothers and sisters. Before this we knew only one living Sanskrit poetess, viz., Shrimati Janasundari who has been dubbed with the title of *kavitram* by the Maharaja of Mysore. We were also glad to publish some of her *slokas* in our *Mitragosthi-Patrika*, a Sanskrit monthly in Benares now discontinued. And now Sister V. Balammal is the second living Sanskrit poetess known to us. Her Sanskrit is good and undoubtedly deserves to be appreciated by every lover of that lore.

VISHVESHKHARA BHATTACHARYA.

### MARATHI

**AI BAPAS CHAR SHABDA** (A few words to parents) by Vinayak Sitaram Sarawate B.A., LL.B., Dewas C.I. Price 5 annas.

'Child is the father of man' so said Wordsworth. It is hard to imagine if his contemporaries had fully realised the soundness of this poetic dictum then they probably took it more or less for a poetic hyperbole. Science, more especially sociology and pedagogy, have made an immense stride since the Poet's time and the truth of that dictum has been fully borne out in the light of new experience gained by the society which go to prove that what was said by Wordsworth was not only a poetical truth but a philosophic or practical truth as well.

As we all know, while other civilised nations like the United States, France and Germany are vigilant and progressive in their ideas, England, owing to its conservative temperament is apprehensive of any fresh innovation in matters educational, scientific, or

industrial. The best minds in the country have not been unmindful of this drawback in their countrymen and eminent persons like Matthew Arnold, Roscoe, Halliday have sounded a note of warning to their countrymen in this respect. The result is savants and educationists in America and other countries tackle these problems seriously, in all their bearings and the Reformers take up the result arrived at by these savants and educationists in hand and do their best to see them in concrete shape thereby adding an advanced status to their society. But when England—our preceptor—lags behind India—her disciple—must still linger back at a distance groping out in the dark and may eagerly seize any idea as novel when it has become quite obsolete and out of date in the land of its origin. Our educational method is an instance in point.

The potentialities of the future of a society as embedded or incubating in the child of today have been readily recognised by the Americans and others except Englishmen and as India seeks for its inspiration for all matters from England, she has no adequate idea of the various movements now afoot in America and elsewhere.

There has, however, been a decided change for the better during the past few years since the emigration of our students to foreign countries who, on their return come with fresh ideas which they try to infuse among their countrymen. So far as we are not wanting to show that the whole nation is awakening slowly but surely. With a sense of self-consciousness she is trying to do her duty for the future generation, of which recent growth in the field of juvenile literature is a clear instance. We find men devoting their lives to the cause of the young generation like V. G. Apte of Poona who has written a number of books for young boys. We have now monthlies specially devoted to the cause of the young generation in different vernaculars like *Anand* of Poona in Marathi, *Sandesh* in Bengali and *Ud Sakha* in Hindi.

The real education of a child begins with its cradle and home is the first and foremost place of its education. People have now begun to think that they cannot solely depend upon the teacher for the education of their children as the child claims their first attention by way of ties and its relation to them. Besides by the time the child attends the school it has received certain impressions for good or evil which accompany it throughout its life. It is therefore of utmost importance that the preceptors of the plastic minds are well equipped for the task which they intend to under take.

From this point of view the present Marathi book is quite welcome indeed. People have not far improved since Herbert Spencer delivered his tirade against the melancholy ignorance of the parents of their duties and we have to congratulate Shrimat Khase Sahab Pawar heartily for bringing out the book like the present. That a man of Khase Sahab's position (who is the younger brother of the Rajk Sahab of Dewas and the Minister of that State) should so keenly feel the importance of this subject and should moreover extend his sympathy in a practical manner augurs well for the future of our country. We therefore anxiously await further instalments of popular books on this and other vital subjects under his patronage.

The author has rendered his task conscientiously and the book is a good specimen of his having been saturated with the best ideas in Marathi literature, a feature utterly lacking in our young generation. Mr Sarawate has rightly insisted on the sympathy

and sense of justice as the keystone of the building of child mind. The parents will find for themselves on perusal of this book, some of the common fallacies current on this most vital subject. Evidently the author loves his own subject and he has dispersed his personal observations in the course of the book. In spite of so much care bestowed on the book by the author, marks of its having been translated from English are visible in places. For our part we should have liked the book to have been written quite independently on the lines laid down by the English author. This would have given the book a freshness and ease which seem to be lacking. The style is heavy and cumbersome in places—but surely that this is the first attempt of the author to appear before the public is a sound excuse. On the whole the book is worth perusal and we recommend it heartily to every parent who has the well-being of the future progeny at heart.

N. K. VAIDYA

**BODHAK PATRA** (or curriculum) of the *Summa Dada Jayanmalala, Baroda* by Prof. Manikrao

This is a little pamphlet giving a detailed account of the course of studies taught at the abovenamed Gymnastic Institute. It is to be noted that all training given here is purely Indian and Prof. Manikrao deserves all praise for the high level of excellence to which he has brought the Institute in a short time.

**BADODYATIL MALI VADIA or the art of wrestling in India in the time of the late H. H. Maharaja** by Prof. Manikrao

This is a little pamphlet containing a very interesting account of the various ways in which the said Maharaja kept alive the old Indian form of wrestling.

V. G. ARTE

## GUJARATI

**BAL RIMWANA** by Prabhakar Jayshankar Pathak, printed at the *Jnan Mandir Printing Press, Ahmedabad*, paper cover, pp. 128. Price Re. 0-6-0 (1916)

As its name signifies this book is meant for children. It is the Ramayana versified. We think that it will prove of interest to those for whom it is written.

**HATYASRAT VANI**, by Rinchhodlal M. Lalit

printed at the *Atre Press, paper cover* pp. 64. Price Re. 0-4-0 (1916)

This little book contains verses on everyday and ordinary topics.

**SWAMI VIVEKANANDA PART II**, published by the *Society for the Encouragement of Cheap Literature and printed at the Diamond Jubilee Printing Press, Allahabad*, cloth cover, pp. 33. Price As. 8 (1915)

Mr. Vasanti Dayalji Ganatra has based this work on the English book of the Swami called *From Colombo to Almora*, an English Bengali version of it *Bharate Vivekananda*. It contains the stirring addresses of the Swami delivered en route to Almora while travelling thereto from Colombo.

**SURI DAS** is published by the *above Society* and printed at the *Atre Press*, pp. 351. Cloth cover. Price Re. 1-4-0 (1917)

Dasabodh is dubbed the Gita in Marathi. It is written by the celebrated Swami Ramdas the guru of Shriji. It is a marvel of cheapness to publish this work at the advertised price of Re. 1-4-0. It is a very good translation by Ratnasinh Parmar into Gujarati. It is preceded by a detailed biography of the Swami, which is illustrated by means of pictures. There is also a critical introduction. Altogether it is a very useful production.

**SACHIN SWAPNA** (सच, स्वप्न) by Keshavlal Harshadrai Dhruva B.A. printed at the *Union Printing Press* and the *Satyaprakash Press, Ahmedabad*, cloth bound, pp. 102. Price Re. 1-3-0 (1916)

This translation of the celebrated play written by Kavi Bhas and called the *सुतगतादय*, fully justifies the great expectations that would be raised by the name of the translator Mr. Keshavlal Dhruva, whose scholarship has been reviewed over and over again in these columns. The introduction which fixes the time where Bhas flourished is sure to repay perusal. We need not say anything beyond this that we simply found it fascinating. It has handled the historical materials at the disposal of scholars in a masterly way.

K. M. J.

## COMMENT AND CRITICISM

## Shambhaji's widow.

In the *Modern Review* for July 1916 Prof. Sarkar mentions that the fate of Shambhaji's widow Yesubai was very sad. She was confined in a fortress and the Muslim Governor of it took advantage of her helpless condition. When her shame could no longer be concealed the emperor learned of the scandal and punished the licentious qiladar.

He has quoted no authority for this statement which has pained the hearts of so many Marathas by

casting aspersions on the character of a lady who has been universally held in high estimation as much for her pure and saintly character as for her shrewd common sense in the midst of cruel trials. He has given us no means to judge how far the story is correct. Persons in high position are even now not infrequently maligned by intriguing courtiers and one must be cautious before accepting as true any report of this kind unless it is proved by unimpeachable evidence.

So far as Maratha accounts go the fate of Yesubai

was neither inglorious nor sad. During the period of captivity with the Emperor from 1699 to 1707 she behaved most discreetly towards her mistress and served the Maratha cause so dear to her heart. When Shahu was freed by Azim Shah in April 1707 at Dohra (near Bhopal) and allowed to return to the Deccan, Yeshu was taken by him as a hostage towards Delhi along with Madan Singh (Sambhaji's illegitimate son), Ambakabai and Savitribai (Shahu's two wives) and two other ladies (Bargha and Jaokabai (probably Madan Singh's wives) and a staff of servants. (See Parasuram's *Bharatwarsha*—historical letters and papers, No. 40) which contains Shahu's instructions to his first Peshwa Balaji Vishwanath when the latter proceeded to Delhi to help the Sayyids. Grant Duff says (p. 191 edition 1912) Shahu's wife Savitribai (Sonia's daughter) died in captivity at Delhi and Shahu's mother and family were given over to Balaji (p. 368) who returned with them to Satara in July 1710. *Chitnis's* life of Shahu (p. 38-42 second edition) is full of references showing how anxious Shahu was to get his mother back from Delhi how delighted he was when she returned, and in what reverence he all along held her.

Mr. Y. R. Gupte, a critical student of Maratha history, has kindly lent me an autograph letter of condolence written to Shahu by his cousin Sambhaji of Kolhapur upon learning the news of Yeshu's death. This sweet and short letter evinces a remarkably respectful feeling for the deceased lady. Unfortunately it bears no date but may be presumed to

refer to a time after 1731 when a complete reconciliation had been effected between the two cousins.

Taking Yeshu to be ten years old at her marriage with Sambhaji about the year 1663 she lived to a good old age of 70 and upwards. At the time of her capture at Raigad in 1633 she was a mother over 30 years of age, living, with her son Shahu then nearly ten.

This account will show that if Shahu and his other associates with their scrupulous regard for caste had the least suspicion that Yeshu had not remained pure they would never have cared to get her back from Delhi and show her the respect she received at their hands. The statement of Prof. Sarkar therefore looks like an aspersion fabricated by some vainglorious and bitter enemy of the Marathas.

I cannot conclude without referring in this connection to a similar case in Maratha history. The famous Nana Fadnis who had accompanied the Maratha armies on the field of Panipat, with his widow mother whose fate was not known in the general confusion that followed the fatal rout of the Marathas, wrote a letter which is extant in which he has requested a friend in the north to find trace of his mother and send her back if she be undebilitated, but not to recover her if her person be not pure. Hindu sentiment has all along been so strong in such matters that if Yeshu had an unfortunate fate as Prof. Sarkar suggests she would not have been recovered and cared for.

GOTIND SAKHARAM SANDESHAI B.A.  
Baroda.

## ORIENTAL MONARCHIES

THE Madras University is to be congratulated on its first Sir Subrahmanya Aiyar Lecturer and the volume that he has produced. Professor K. V. Rangaswami Aiyangar has created a high tradition for his chair, which no ordinary successor will be able to keep up. His *Considerations on Some Aspects of Ancient Indian Polity* (Madras University Press 1916), is a fresh study of the general political ideas of our ancestors as embodied in the *Arthashastra* and several other works on polity (*nitis*) and canon law (*dharma shastra*). In the course of his lectures he combats the prevailing western belief as to "the unchanging East," or "the mental stagnancy of India," the European habit of "lumping together all forms of Government in the East under the head of *Oriental despotism*" and the notion that "in India political conditions have ever been uniform and homogeneous."

With regard to the first point, the

learned Professor takes the word *progress* in a non ethical and purely scientific sense, and asserts that "there was continual progress in political conceptions down to the time of Kautilya." After the days of Kautilya the conditions were, in a sense, unfavourable to the advance of political speculation' (p. 35).

With reference to the fitness of the term 'oriental despotism' as applied to the ancient Hindu kingship, the professor's reply is

"The significance of the relations of *dharma* and kingship is well brought out in the *Bṛihad aranyaka Upanishad*, I 4, 11-14 in the statement that this higher law (*dharma*) stands even above an autocrat. The idea is the same as contained in the celebrated words of Pindar,—*"Law is king of All, both mortals and immortals"* (G 65).

It is only by a deep and specialised study like these lectures that the truth

about the ancient Hindu state can be established and the airy general remarks of European critics (too often misled by taking metaphors in a literal sense) can be refuted. We have a fine example of such analysis on page 71.

"Again, the king was frequently exhorted to act like a father to his subjects, and from this it has been assumed that *paternalism* would fittingly describe the relation of the ancient Indian State to its subjects. Paternalism implies not merely benevolence, but the tendency to regard the people as unable to manage their own affairs. Was this the conception in ancient India?.....The more this point is investigated the more apparent will it become that the *paternal attitude* of the State we hear of is only an expression in picturesque form of the wish that benevolence should characterise the relations of the State to the subject....."

The author's ultimate finding is:—"The aim of the ancient Hindu State was less to introduce an improved social order, than to act in conformity with the established moral order of the universe. The root principle of our ancient polity was that every function of the State had to be conditioned by and to be subordinated to the need to preserve both society and the State." (72-73.)

Professor Rangaswami is very successful in dealing with the *statics* of the ancient Hindu State; as for its *dynamics*,—the laws of its motion and the history of the growth and decay of its theory,—the subject is too difficult and too little explored by spade-workers as yet, to be even touched in the course of a couple of lectures. His own remarks on this matter cannot be expected to carry conviction and he himself very modestly disclaims any such intention.

We venture to think that it was a tactical mistake on the part of our author to have dissipated so much useful and accurate information about the *Arthashastra* over scores of detached notes in an appendix, which no reader will have the patience or wisdom to piece together. By bringing them together in the proper order of their contents, eliminating extraneous matter and supplying the connecting tissue here and there, the Professor could most easily have produced a connected scholarly and exhaustive essay

on Kautilya, which students all over India sorely need.

Our countrymen too often think that the mere study of Indian history with reference to original sources is enough to make a man a competent historian of our past. We are apt to forget that such a writer's mental equipment is defective unless he has studied *foreign history*, especially the history of Europe, and thus acquired a broader outlook and the power of comparing and criticising the facts of Indian history and viewing them from the right standpoint. Above all, a thorough knowledge of political philosophy—that quintessence of history—is necessary to enable us to interpret our country's history in the light of the eternal principles and to perceive the why and how of events.

In Professor Rangaswami, on the other hand, we have a rare combination of familiarity with the highways and byways of Sanskrit literature and mastery of foreign history and political philosophy. His deep and varied reading and exact accuracy of scholarship are balanced by sanity of judgment and the fearless spirit of investigating truth. Hence his success in carrying the reader with himself in most of his conclusions.

The lecturer modestly concludes his work with the remark, "It has not been my intention to attempt a general survey of the vast field of our polity, or even a study of all its most conspicuous features. My aim has been humbler,.....to show the numerous openings and prospects for reflection and research that are now offered by the historical study of ancient Indian polity." (P. 73.)

No such apology was needed, for the real aim of these University lectures is to stimulate thought in the cultured reader and not to yield a solemn treatise. This object Prof. Rangaswami has succeeded in attaining in an eminent degree; and I can not think of any better way to pay my debt as a reader of his lectures than to set down here one of the lines on which his book has set me thinking.

What is the essential difference between the ancient and the modern State (no matter on which side of the Ural mountain)? Between the Athenian democracy and an ancient Indian tribal republic (*Gana*)? Or between an old Hindu empire

and say, the French monarchy under Louis XIV?

When our new "national" school of writers on *Hindu polity* say that in ancient India there were republics, the king regarded himself as merely exercising a trust, a cabinet of ministers was held to be necessary, or that the people enjoyed self-government,—they may be literally correct; but we feel that this is not the whole truth, that there are certain qualifications which have been withheld from us. In the mind of a twentieth century reader, the above statements imply the direct influence of the people on the foreign policy of the State, the responsibility of the executive to the governed, the reign of a law which emanates from a legislature representing the citizens,—in short the control of the administrative machinery not by one man's will but by the will of Society. And yet every one of these latter connotations is untrue and should have been expressly contradicted by the writer in order to guard against a misconception of ancient Indian polity as it really was. The comparative method is of supreme necessity here, if we want to reach the truth.

A modern State is a compact thing in which the central authority and the individuals are organically connected. The ancient Indian State (leaving out of our consideration petty principalities and tribal groups)—was very loosely knit; in it the "sovereign" had no means of making his will effective on the governed; his resources were poorer, his instruments could touch but a few, and the agents, mechanical appliances, and social organisation at his disposal were very much more limited and imperfect. He could crush an individual enemy or elevate an individual favourite, but he could neither grind down nor uplift the mass of his subjects by a fiat of his will or any action of his government. A vast State of the ancient type, like the present Chinese empire, was held together only by granting the fullest local self-government to the village communes and even to the provinces; and letting the people alone, so long as they paid their revenue and supplied their quota of soldiers. Any attempt at general oppression or general reform would fail through the Sovereign's impotence and the lack of a nexus between him and his subjects.

But local autonomy in parochial mat-

ters did not mean the possession of representative government or popular control over the executive and national diplomacy. We may elect our "presidents of village panchayets" and even chairmen of local boards; but that would not take us nearer to making the Viceroy accept a popular education bill or boycott of anti-Asiatic colonies, or the organisation of an Indian national militia, or war with any foreign State at the bidding of the representatives of the Indian people. The ancient Hindu king was similarly absolute, so long as the people chose to obey him.

The modern State, on the other hand, is omnipotent for good and evil alike. It can reach its hand out to every citizen and to every corner of the realm; it crushes the individual under its excessive organisation and socialistic regulation. A single decree of the National Assembly swept away every trace of Feudalism from France and established social equality. A single ukase of Tsar Alexander I, emancipated the serfs throughout the continent called Russia, while another of Nicholas II, abolished vodka drinking throughout his boundless empire. A vote in the British Parliament introduced compulsory primary education for a population of more than 30 millions. A telegram from Wilhelm II, hurled a nation in arms into Russian Poland or neutral Belgium. A word from Catherine de Medici organised the massacre of Huguenots throughout the realm of France in a single day.

But in the ancient State the case was different. No edict of Asoka or Samudragupta could have abolished caste distinctions or introduced compulsory mass education, just as they could not have successfully carried out a general massacre or spoliation of their people. No rescript of the Dowager Empress could have sed the cultivation of opium in China; no fiat of Yuan-shi-Kai could create a truly national army of even 50,000 men.

In the antique world, not the State, but Society was omnipotent. And from the tyranny of Society the only refuge was the freedom of the homeless man, the *sannyasi*. An ancient Greek would have preferred ten years' rigorous imprisonment in his own city to five years' exile among non-Hellens, even when civilised.

But at the same time that the Hindu "Sovereign" was impotent, the people were equally powerless and devoid of any



paratus, for enforcing their will on the government. They could frustrate the royal mandate by passive disobedience; but the will of the people could no more compel the king to adopt any desired line of policy than an unanimous resolution of the Congress can compel the Anglo-Indian government. The ancient State was weak,—both people and king, the king more than the people,—because the population was not homogeneous, there was no organic connection between the king and his subjects and between the subjects in one province and another, between one caste or clan and another. A “hero as king” like Samudragupta could sweep with his victorious legions from one end of India to another; but it was a temporary raid, not the normal condition of any Hindu empire. For deliberate national improvement or sustained struggle with foreign invaders the State under himself and his successors was extremely weak, because unorganised, loosely knit,—a chance combination of provinces and tribes, in short, a mere “geographical expression.”

Within a small tribal republic or principality, however, the dominant populace were the rulers and the State had homogeneity (if we shut our eyes to the depressed indigenous races, like the Minas in Jaipur, the Parihars in Jodhpur and the Bhils in Udaipur). But it was the homogeneity of a Highland clan, as graphically described by Macaulay in his History of England, ch. XIII. Its efficiency was social, not political. Here too, as I have pointed out already, Society and not the State was omnipotent, and in organic touch with the individual.

The people had no control over the state, except as a matter of fear or favour on the part of the “Sovereign” now and then. A licentious Baji Rao II., or an imbecile Daulat Rao Sindhia could wreck his army and State by his individual caprice. There was no internal check on him, no means of preventing such action on his part except the dagger or the poison cup. But these things are not matters of *polity*. In this sense the term “oriental despotism” is as applicable to the ancient Hindu State as to the empire of the Cæsars. In the ancient East and West alike, the people accepted the rule of the *Imperator*, the victorious general who had repelled foreign foes, who had saved

them from *matsya-nyaya*,—or who led them on to a career of lucrative conquest, and they gave him a *carte blanche*. In monarchies of this type polity had pretty nearly the same efficacy as a Parliament during “a state of siege.” But disregard of the popular sentiment for ever cannot, in the nature of things, but be fatal to the military type of State in the end. That is the reason why so many ancient Hindu thinkers were busy devising rules for the guidance of kings and the organisation of the administration on some basis broader than one man’s will. Their failure to achieve this end is proved by the rapid changes of dynasties and par amount States in the East.

When a Bengali writer tells us that as early as the 9th century A. D., the Bengali people elected their king, we are apt to exult and cry ‘Hurrah for Popular Self-government in Ancient India!’ We only forget that from the moment when Gopal, the son of a successful soldier of fortune, was crowned by the people of Gaur to save them from the anarchy of the smaller fry—being eaten up by the bigger (*matsya-nyaya*), he became as absolute and as independent of any normal constitutional control on his actions by the people, as the Roman general who had saved Italy from the fear of an African invasion on the waters of Actium, who had freed the Eastern Mediterranean from the pirate galleys of Pompey, and whose victorious brows his devoted soldiery had crowned with laurel amidst shouts of *Ave imperator*! Nay, Gopal became even more absolute than Augustus, as the latter had to go through the form of consulting the Roman Senate and the Roman populace, while the former’s authority was unlimited in theory as much as in practice.

The Vedic kingship was, no doubt, responsible to the popular assembly of freemen, like the kingship of the ancient Gothic Mark. But such kingdoms were exceedingly small and primitive. When our kingdoms grew into large states, *i.e.*, throughout our recorded history, the royal power was unlimited by any constitutional machinery of popular or ministerial control—because there was no constitution but plenty of pious wishes and counsels embodied in *Niti-Shastras*.

JADUNATH SARKAR.

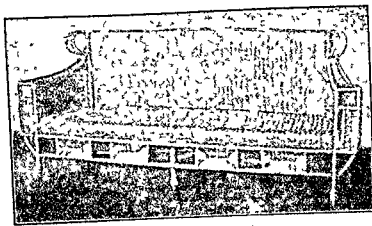
## CLEANINGS

## Spun Paper

There has been a large and rapid increase in the demand for products made of paper. This opens a promising field for manufacture especially in articles made from spun paper also called 'paper cord' or 'paper yarn'. This is made in various ways but generally of long strips of paper twisted or crushed until they have become round or nearly so. The use of this material is not new. Paper cord was used during the American Civil War, but circumstances have recently combined to promote the use of spun paper products.

Probably the most common method of making paper yarn in the United States consists in cutting rolls of paper into long ribbons or strips and subsequently passing these strips through spinning machines, which are adapted to make the particular

rugs. These rugs have become popular recently, and may be purchased in almost any department-store throughout the country. There are probably at least twenty-five fiber rug factories in the United States, and altho the total output is not known, it is stated that one of them alone is turning out twenty-five tons of rugs daily. Most of the rugs are made entirely of paper but there are several concerns that are putting out rugs that have an admixture of cotton or wool. There are several ways of obtaining the patterns in rugs. Probably the two commonest are by means of different colored yarns and by stenciling. Both of these methods are comparatively simple and yield good results. When colored yarns are used, the colors are added to the pulp before it is made into paper and when the design is stenciled on, this operation is performed after the rug has been woven.



A RUG MADE OF SPUN PAPER

The paper reeds are woven over a wood and rattan frame

kind of yarn which is desired. One kind of yarn is made from paper which has been coated with a thin layer of cotton fleece and subsequently cut into strips. In another process the sheet of pulp is cut into strips of the required width by means of jets of water which play upon it and the paper is then ready for the spinning heads as soon as it leaves the paper machine, subsequent splitting not being necessary.

In still another process the pulp is not first made into a sheet, as is done in most cases, but is passed through a centrifugal spinning head which spins it into yarn at one operation. So far as is known this kind of paper yarn is little used in the United States tho it is true that some very promising samples have been exhibited. The main drawback to its use at present seems to be lack of strength.

Probably the largest single use of spun paper in the United States lies in the manufacture of fiber

is especially suited are receiving attention from the manufacturers. One of the most inviting uses and one which has appealed to paper twine makers is as binder twine. Unfortunately, a suitable paper twine has not as yet been developed but much time and effort have been devoted to experiment with it.

Seaming cord is for standing seams on upholstery and for similar purposes are made of paper in many cases and it is reported that the paper cords are preferred on account of their smoothness and freedom from loose fibers. Certain brands of electrical insulating tubing known in the trade as 'loom' have one or more layers of paper cord disposed between the inner and outer coverings, and this cord is number of other uses in the electrical field.

The manufacture of bags from woven paper fabrics offers very many interesting possibilities and

There are several firms which make a specialty of woven paper furniture, and there seems every reason to suppose that as it becomes better known the demand for it will increase. Most of the furniture of this type is made by weaving spun paper reeds over a frame of wood.

Paper cord and rope are made in a variety of sizes and styles and find many different uses. There are two types of paper cord, namely, cord which is all paper, and cord with a core of hemp, Manila, or sisal. Both are used in the United States but the former in larger quantities.

The most obvious use for paper cord is the tying of packages and it is made in a number of weights and styles for this purpose. Special twines are made for the tying of raw wool, and other special uses for which paper twine

manufacturers are already exploring the new fields assiduously. In the United States less attention has been paid to the development of the heavier bagging, efforts having been confined to specialties such as woven onion bags, coffee bags, tobacco-clipping bags, and so on. An interesting development in the cotton flour sack has recently occurred and tho not strictly in the field of paper fabrics may be mentioned since the same idea has been applied to woven paper bags. In brief, the improvement consists in lining the cotton or woven paper fabric with a sheet of pulp on one side. This sheet of pulp appears on the inside of the finished sack and makes a perfectly tight and sanitary package preventing the flour from coming out and dirt and moisture from entering. It is reported that numerous flour millers are now shipping part of their output in this type of package.

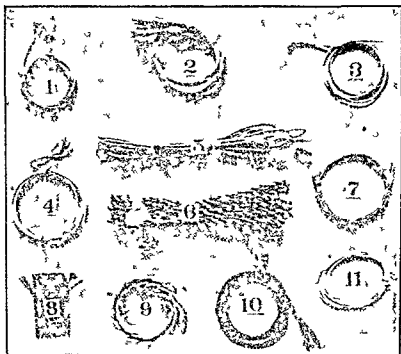
The sudden popularity of paper matting values and bags is truly wonderful. This matting is made with paper warp and cotton filling and was originally intended to imitate the grass and reed mattings. The popularity of these matting cases is well illustrated by the fact that imitations made from solid sheets of cardboard stamped to represent paper matting are now on the market.

Besides the uses which have been mentioned there are a number of others for which twisted paper and its products are adapted. Thus paper matting is used in making cases for carrying thermos bottles, fancy paper rope is used for decorations, paper ropes are used for towing and other heavy duties, seaming cords are used for a multitude of purposes that have not been stated, paper fabrics of many different kinds, both mixed with other textile materials and made of paper alone are used in making clothing of various sorts, linoleum backing and the backing for artificial leather are sometimes made of paper fabric and there are now under development several new uses which are kept more or less secret but which give promise of success.

It can be seen, even from this more or less superficial description of the uses and possibilities of twisted paper yarn and its products, that there is an important field ahead of them and experts are giving the subject special study and consideration.—*The Literary Digest*

#### A House Built in Steps

A firm of architects in Paris has completed a somewhat fantastic seven-story apartment house which is claimed to embody all the advantages of hillside



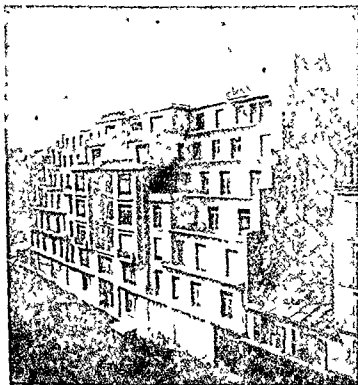
A VARIETY OF SPUN PAPER PRODUCTS

- 1 Seaming cord, two strips of paper twisted into a single strand
  - 2 Lath yarn, 16 strips of paper twisted into a single strand
  - 3 Four-strand fleece twine
  - 4 Babay carriage reed, two strips of paper around a solid wire core
  - 5 Spun paper cords and braids used in fiber furniture
  - 6 Variegated two-strand crepe paper rope used in basketry
  - 7 Single strand fleece twine
  - 8 Sample of fiber rug showing individual single strand yarns
  - 9 Heavy braid used in fiber furniture
  - 10 Handle cord used as filing for leather luggage handles
  - 11 Single strand seaming cord used in fiber furniture
- Paper ropes are also used for towing and other heavy purposes.

dwelling—light air and a good view—even on a comparatively narrow street. This maison a gradins or house of steps stands on the Rue Vavin. Each floor is set back several feet from the one below, thereby giving the front of the apartment a decided slope. This plan has been suggested for office buildings in crowded cities where light and air are at a premium; here it is seen as a successful reality.

Paris in spite of its many wide streets and its splendid system of boulevards and frequent squares and parks has a large number of ancient narrow streets and it is in these that the architects expect their scheme of building to be of great use.

Each floor above the third is set back some eight feet and the space thus left open is converted into a balcony or terrace. By means of an ingenious arrangement of the overhang the privacy of the occupant below is secured for altho an unobstructed view of the street is given the terrace below cannot be seen. In the finished house the terrace has a row of plants along the edge and the green viewed from the street has a most pleasing effect. An ornamental iron railing protects the edge of the terrace and provides an open air playground.



4 HOUSE OF STEPS IN PARIS

This method of apartment house building gives the occupants all the advantages of a hill dwelling—light, air, and view—and a balcony as fine as the suburban's porch. Each family, moreover, owns its own apartment. Perhaps builders in our own cities will take a hint from this modern cliff dwelling in Paris.

This style of building if constructed on both sides of a street will give almost as much light to the lower stories as to the top ones. Actually the apartment on the Rue Vatin gains an hour more of sunlight a day than do houses of ordinary construction situated on the same side of the same street.

Altho the building covers more ground than an ordinary one, the increased cost of land is made up by the increased height to which the building can be raised without interfering with the light of the lower floors or of those across the street. This is especially advantageous in Paris where the building code does

not permit a building on a street, any 27 feet wide to be more than 50 feet high on the building line. Above this height it must recede. By the plan of Sauvage and Sarazin the architects of this innovation ten stories may be built conforming to the spirit and the letter of the law where only six main and two inferior floors could be constructed under the usual design.

All rooms in the model apartment have direct light either from the street, or from the court at the rear. Central heat does away with the innumerable chimneys common to Paris—one for each fireplace in each room—and the architects claim a substantial saving from this one item.

The facade of the building is finished in white-glazed brick with a simple and pleasing decorative motive in bright blue bricks, which will set off the green flower gardens on the terraces. The rooms are painted in quiet colors and unlike many French houses, are devoid of plaster decoration having only a picture-molding. This, of course, has reduced the cost of the building as has also the simple exterior treatment.

Another point of interest is the ownership of the building. The house has been constructed by a company formed of persons who were willing to live together and each shareholder owns his own apartment. This co-operative plan insures each member of the corporation the full or partial ownership of his home according to the amount invested. For example if a man has subscribed \$10,000 he will have a reduction in his rent of say \$500 a year. He will in reality have his apartment rent free and also receive a dividend on his investment if the venture proves as profitable as is anticipated. By having an owner-tenant for every apartment, the vacancy income is greatly increased as the architects calculate that the loss through empty apartments in ordinary houses reaches 20 per cent. —The Literary Digest

# APPLES OF SODOM

THE majority of the Indian Public Services Commission recommend,—

"It will be possible to classify the bulk of the services into three main groups. In the first we place the Indian Civil Service and the police department, in both of which the nature of British responsibility for the good governance of India requires the employment in the higher ranks of a *preponderating proportion of British officers*. To the second group belong services, such as the education, medical (and some other) departments, in which it is desirable that there should be an admixture of both western and eastern elements (p. 22)

And, again, on p. 97,

"In the education department, in the initial stages the *European element should be substantial*"

This way of putting the matter is disingenuous, because it naturally suggests that the proportion of Europeans to Indians in the "higher ranks" of the education department has been recommended to be less than in the Indian Civil Service. But a reference to the actual recommendations shows that the *European preponderance* in both the services is to be exactly the same, namely 3 to 1. No doubt, there is a proviso that when Government, after consenting to the proposed increase of educational expenditure by 9½ lakhs a year, should undertake a further financial burden by increasing the cadre of the I.E.S., Europeans and Indians should be recruited for these *additional* posts in equal proportions. But that contingency is so remote and Utopian,—especially in view of the present war of mutual bankruptcy and the known tendency of the Anglo-Indian government to delegate Education to the lowest place in its Budget,—that by the time that happy day of educational expansion arrives, a generation will have passed away and another Public Services Commission will be sitting. It is, therefore, clear that Lord Islington and his friends want to make the higher ranks of the education service as strongly a *European monopoly* as the Civil Service, but they have not the candour to say so directly.

Indeed, a closer examination of the Report on the education department (Annexure IV.) shows that for some years to come

there is no chance of any "native" being appointed to the I.E.S. either by direct recruitment or promotion from the P.E.S. At present there are 199 posts in the I.E.S., of which 196 are held by Europeans. (pp. 116 and 97). The majority hold,

"We do not think that the number of Europeans now employed is excessive, and we would keep the present proportions in the future for the existing number of posts taken as a whole" (p. 97)

They, however, recommend that 65 posts should be immediately added to the I.E.S., at a cost of over 9½ lakhs of Rupees a year, and that some of these new posts should go to Indians. So long, therefore, as the Government of India are not prepared to take up the responsibility of increasing their normal annual expenditure on education by 9½ lakhs of Rupees, *all vacancies in the I.E.S. as they occur* will continue to be filled by Europeans, and the commission has definitely forbidden the recruitment of any Indian for the I.E.S. either directly or by promotion from the P.E.S., till the Indian tax-payer is prepared to spend 9½ lakhs more. Our readers can decide for themselves whether Government can possibly find this additional sum of 9½ lakhs "immediately" as the Commissioners suggest or even for a generation after the war.\* Till that time Indians will be excluded from the I.E.S. even more rigidly than they were before the appointment of the Commission, for in those days there was no fixed racial minimum for Europeans like that established by the Commission on page 97, and it was theoretically possible for *all* the I.E.S. men being Indians if the Secretary of State was so inclined.

The entire majority report on the education department is a tissue of special pleading for the glorification of the European members of the I.E.S., extenuation of their failure in original research, and justification of the official degradation of Indian graduates in the past and in the future.

\* London, Feb. 15.—"In the House of Commons Mr Chamberlain stated that... whether action on the report of the Public Services Commission should be delayed until after the war was a matter on which he expressed no opinion."

Nothing has been more telling in recent years than the exposure by the press of the injustice of the white monopoly of the superior educational posts, as demonstrated by the glaring contrast between the original work done by "junior Indian professors and the intellectual barrenness of the European professors officially placed above their heads. Lord Islington and his friends thus come to the rescue of the I E S men.

Many of the witnesses pointed out that a large part of the work of the (Indian) colleges is of the nature of that performed in the upper forms of a secondary school in England. To call such teachers professors was it was asserted to put them in a false position and to expose them to the charge of not reaching a professorial standard of distinction as understood in Europe. To this they made no claim. They also thought that qualifications of this high order were not required for the efficient performance of the bulk of the work of college instruction" (p. 95).

So, we are to understand that our highly paid I E S professors have not produced any original work only because it is rendered unnecessary by the nature of their duties in India to do so, or (is that the implication?) because it would have led to the neglect of their legitimate work of college instruction. But the Commissioners do not explain how several Indian P E S men who have been grinding at "the bulk of the work of college instruction" with longer time tables and far less liberal furlough rules than their I E S 'seniors' have found time to 'do striking original work.' What facilities for research did Government or the European I E S Principals of Government Colleges give to these "provincial" officers,—say, to Dr P C Ray, or Prof. Jadu Nath Sircar or Dr Ganes Prasad? Both races have done their day's work in the class room (the Indian more than his I E S "Senior"), but the "natives" have, in addition, shown greater intellectual alertness and scholarly passion for 'the pursuit of knowledge under difficulties.'

The Commissioners have, as might have been expected, believed the pleasing myth which was invented by Mr Sharp to account for the exclusion of Indians from the I E S.

'At present in theory there is only one service over and above the Subordinate (Educational) service. This higher service is divided into an imperial and a provincial branch, theoretically equal and parallel in status but the first recruited in Europe and the 1 in India' (p. 94).

The P E S contains a number of officers who are doing work of no less importance and value

than that done by members of the imperial service. The two services are regarded officially as being of equal status and provincial officers are [therefore] not admitted to the imperial service (p. 19).

But the Commissioners do not explain why no "provincial" professor or inspector has ever been promoted to the imperial service, while "provincial" deputy collectors have been made magistrates, "provincial" sub-judges have been appointed District Judges, "provincial" assistant surgeons have been promoted to I M S civil surgeonships, and "provincial" assistant Engineers have been appointed Executive and even Superintending Engineers. The theory of "parallel services and equality of status" (between the imperial and provincial services) which is ascribed to the Aitchison Public Services Commission of 1886-87, and which is, alleged to have acted as the only bar to the elevation of provincials to the ranks of the imperials, seems to have gone to sleep in the case of all other departments, and to have operated only when it was proposed to promote a deserving Indian professor or inspector to the European preserve of the I E S.

The Commission have, however, had the fairness to admit that this alleged "equality of status" (between I E S and P E S) vanished in practice. "The result has been that the provincial section has in practice drifted into a definitely inferior position (p. 94). An inferiority in status and social [i.e., official] position has always attached to the provincial services (p. 11). And we are expected to believe that it was only this inexorable "equality of status" which made it legally impossible for an impartial Government to promote a P E S man to I E S, though this delusive equality was never attained in practice!

And what reasons do Lord Islington and his friends give for this unexpected degradation of the provincials? It is not any failure by the State to appreciate the merits of its provincial servants nor any secret policy of race aggrandisement followed by I E S Directors of Public Instruction—but the worthlessness of the "provincial" professors.

The higher service is divided into an imperial and a provincial branch theoretically equal and parallel in status. This device might have proved workable had the provincial been kept as much a *corps d'élite* as the imperial section. But it broke down completely when the provincial ranks were opened to officers

# H H THE MAHARAJA-GAEKWAR'S ADMINISTRATIVE RECORD\*

## I INTRODUCTION

BY ST NIHAL SINGH

**I** DOUBT that there lives an intelligent Indian who is not proud of the administration of Baroda by His Highness the Maharaja Gaekwar. But how many of his greatest admirers know just what he has accomplished in various directions and what his difficulties have been? Not until one has taken a correct measure of the task that confronted His Highness when at the end of 1881, he began to govern his State and examined the efforts that he has made during the intervening 35 years to perform that task, does one know how great he really is, or realise what it means for India to possess such a capable son as His Highness Sayaji Rao III Gaekwar.

The Maharaja Sahib went to Baroda in 1875. He was then in his twelfth year. Born in Kavliana—a little village in the Bombay Presidency, off the beaten track—he had not been taught to read or to write. He was short of stature, though his leanness made him appear to be much taller than he actually was. He looked delicate for a boy who had lived all his years in the country, and who had spent nearly all his waking hours out of doors in fun and frolic.

With him had come his brothers, Anand Rao and Sampat Rao, the former three or four years older and the latter three years younger than he. A cousin of theirs was also a member of the party. It was known that any one of the four boys might become the Maharaja Gaekwar of Baroda, whose *gadai* (throne) was at that time vacant. His Highness Maharaja Malhar Rao having been deposed by the British for causes that do not concern this narrative.

There was something irresistibly attractive about the lean, pale-faced youth

that caught the fancy of the Maharani Jammabai, whom the British had empowered to select any one of the four boys presented to her. It may have been the intelligence that shone in his gleaming eyes, or his quick wit, or his soft voice, or his gentle manner, or all four combined—who can tell? Certain it is that she adopted him as her son and the leader of the Gaekwar clan.

A few days after His Highness had been installed on the *gadai*, a pretty little ceremony was performed dedicating him to our Goddess of Learning, and his education began. He was initiated by a young Brahman in Her Highness's entourage into the mysteries of Marathi caligraphy, and began to be instructed in the use of refined expressions of speech, and the rudiments of the three R's.

The arrangements made for the young Maharaja's education were tentative. It was known that the British Government intended to appoint a tutor for him. He arrived in the course of a few months.

Fortunately for Baroda, Mr F. A. H. Elliot, I C S, who was appointed, was not a "sun-dried bureaucrat." On the contrary, he was a young man who would be called a Radical in these days. He was, moreover, youthful in heart as well as young in years. If he had lost interest in playing marbles, he still possessed the ability to simulate it so well that His Highness to this day cherishes the memory of the matches that he played with him. He waxed enthusiastic over the other Indian games to which his young charge had become attached in his village. Mr Elliot gradually interested His Highness in riding, cricket, tennis, billiards and military drill. In an astonishingly short time an intimate relationship sprang up between the two that enabled

\* Copyright and Right of Translation reserved by St Nihal Singh. These articles are abstracted from the author's forthcoming work on the Life and Record of H H Sayaji Rao III Gaekwar.

† The Maharaja Sahib's original name was Gopal Rao which was changed to Sayaji Rao III when he was adopted by Maharani Jammabai.



A view of the Maharaja's School at Baroda showing His Highness the Maharaja Gaekwar, his classmates and teachers. Mr. Elliot His Highness's Tutor is standing in the centre

the pupil unconsciously to absorb much knowledge through close companionship with his tutor

I have purposely described the best side of Mr Elliot first. Now for his shortcomings. To begin with he did not know the mother tongue of his charge—the only language that the Maharaja Sahib could speak at first. His Highness's educational progress would have been far more rapid had this defect not existed in his tutor.

Mr Elliot had certainly a queer notion of teaching languages. He wanted the Maharaja Sahib to begin at once to learn English, Marathi, Gujarati, and Hindustani, not only to speak but to read and write them as well. I have had the privilege of reading the memorandum that he wrote to explain why he thought it necessary for His Highness to master all these languages. He reasoned thus: English was necessary because it was the language employed by the British; Marathi because it was His Highness's mother tongue and was used by many of the officials of the State and also was the Court language in Baroda,

Gujarati because most of the Maharaja Sahib's subjects spoke it, and Hindustani because the Mussalmans owing allegiance to His Highness used it. That the tutor should cherish the ambition for his pupil to be able to talk with members of all these communities in their own language was a worthy enough object, but Mr Elliot ought to have taken into consideration the fact that his pupil had had no schooling whatever until he was set on the throne, and that it was wrong all of a sudden to burden his brain with so many languages. Had the Maharaja Sahib been less patient and had he himself been less sympathetic, there surely would have been a revolt in the schoolhouse that was specially erected at Baroda for the education of His Highness and the few fortunate boys who were chosen to be his companions.

His Highness's recollections of the process through which he was put in order to learn Indian calligraphies are most painful. He who had refused to remain indoors except when eating and sleeping



was made to sit in unnatural postures for hours on end. He would have found it easy enough to bear the discomfort if he could have anticipated any good coming from it. But he could not. He knew that in his after life he would not have to serve as a *munshi* (writer) and that even the orders that he would pass would have to be written by others. In any case he was minded more to stock his mind with useful knowledge than to practice writing characters of so many sorts conscious as he was that many precious years had been lost in his village and that at most he could hope to devote only a pitifully few years to the service of *Sarasvatī*\* before the cares of State would fall heavily upon his shoulders.

The Maharaja's education was further marred by Mr. Elliot's failure to associate with himself capable assistants. None of the masters who worked under him was a teacher by profession or had been trained in pedagogics. Few of them were even fitted for that vocation. None of them was distinguished for knowledge, erudition or liberal mindedness.

It may be urged that Mr. Elliot could not help himself. These men were placed at his disposal and since they were Court favourites he had to accept them with as much grace as he could command. No extenuation can however alter the fact that His Highness did not have competent teachers and consequently did not get as much good out of his school days as he might have done.

Mr. Elliot had made up his mind that the Maharaja Sahib would remain under his charge until his twenty-first year. Fate in the person of the good Lord Ripon decreed otherwise. This enlightened British statesman hated the policy of prolonging as much possible the minority regimes, keeping young Maharajas in leading strings and having their States administered under the supervision of the British Residents often by British administrators. He believed in investing the Maharajas with the responsibilities of State as soon as possible and letting them learn statecraft through actual experience. At his behest arrangements were made to bring the minority regime at Baroda to a close on December 28, 1881 and to invest His Highness with administrative powers.

Mr. Elliot learned of this decision only a few months before the great event was to take place. He in conjunction with Raja Sir T. Madhava Row, then Prime Minister and other high State officials realised that His Highness had not been taught how to govern and was most indifferently prepared to exercise the functions that ere long would be entrusted to him. Amongst them they drew up a scheme of lectures on political economy and all branches of public administration which were to be delivered by the tutor and the Ministers for the exclusive benefit of the Maharaja Sahib.

His Highness had the wisdom to order these lectures to be collected and printed in the form of a book. To read that book is to admire the erudition of its authors and especially that of Raja Sir T. Madhava Row the Prime Minister. But so far as I can make out His Highness was not well enough educated at the time to appreciate this store house of wisdom.

It would have done him far more good if he had been taken to the Divisional and Sub-Divisional headquarters and even to the villages to see how administration was carried on. This idea seems to have occurred to some one—I think to Madhava Row—but for some reason or other it was not carried out. Thus it happened that when Maharaja Sayaji Rao III took into his hands the reins of administration he had not the vaguest notions of how Government was carried on and knew little of any art or science.

The responsibility that His Highness assumed on the day of his investiture was very heavy. The State had never been surveyed but was estimated to contain an area of 8,570 square miles. It consisted of blocks of territory varying in size and shape intercepted by British districts and the territories of other Rajas which made government difficult and gave rise to many disputes and vexatious problems.

The population of Baroda according to the Census of 1881 numbered 2,185,005 persons mostly Hindus. There was a considerable community of Jains and another of Muslims, a few Zoroastrians and a few Buddhists.

To govern such a large territory and so diverse a people would not have been an easy task in the best of circumstances. As it was the administration of Baroda

\* The Goddess of Learning.



H H The Maharaja Gackwar in 1877  
at the time of the first Delh Darbar  
which he attended



Raja S. T. Madhava Rao  
who served as Prime Minister of Baroda  
from 1850 to 1882

was very poorly organised. Most of the officials were not qualified by education and character to fill the positions that they held in the capital and in the districts. Public servants were poorly paid. Their tenure of office was insecure. Their promotion depended upon caprice. Provision in the shape of pensions or gratuities had not been made. Codes defining the duties, powers and privileges of the various officials did not exist.

The Revenue department was all important, every other department of government being subsidiary to it. It was top heavy, cumbersome and autocratic. It was not even subjected to the check of audit by independent authority.

Nearly all the revenue of the State was derived from the land. Large tracts had been allotted to feudal barons, court favourites and shrines and were altogether or practically exempt from taxation, the burden of which fell upon the tenants who held Government (*Khalra*) land. These holdings had never been properly surveyed and the settlements were therefore arbitrary. The exactions of this system had been increased by the change that had recently been introduced in demanding

payment in cash instead of in kind. This innovation was being introduced without any regard as to whether it was suited to the conditions prevailing in various parts of Baroda, which, as I have already explained, was not a compact block of land peopled by a homogeneous community.

Scores of petty imposts (*teris*) were levied. Those exactions were unequal and invidious. Various castes and villages were singled out and made to pay different sums on diverse pretexts. The powerful classes such as nobles, officials and land lords who would not have been inconvenienced by these imposts were left untaxed and the poor alone suffered.

The executive official acted as magistrates throughout the state. This anomaly was not peculiar to Baroda but it is not to be justified on that account.

The State had practically no written laws. Not many of the judges had any legal training.

The police force was largely composed of illiterate men. No effort was made to drill the constables or to teach them the science of the detection of crime.

Baroda at that time was very deficient in public works. The Government offices

jealousy and opposition from influential quarters. The deposition of Maharaja Malhar Rao had created many problems. The empty treasury necessarily hampered his early efforts. He was not entirely his own master, the terms on which he was employed making it obligatory for him to consult the British Agent on all important matters. Besides, Raja Sir T. Madhava Row was administering the State in trust for His Highness, and he did not wish to commit the Maharaja Sahib any more than he could help. As it was, he made concessions that gave rise to much dissatisfaction. Most important of all, he was at the head of the administration for only six years. Even superhuman intelligence and energy could make but small headway in the complicated situation in which he found himself. It is not to be wondered, therefore, that he left so much for the Maharaja Sahib to do. The marvel is that he was able to accomplish all that he did.

Fortunately, His Highness was but 18 years old when he was invested with ruling powers, and he had had no opportunity to make a survey of conditions. He was thus saved from feeling the weight of the great responsibility that had been imposed upon him by Providence.

Being unusually serious-minded for his years, the Maharaja Sahib took up the task in a reverent spirit. It is quite evident from what he said at the time that he meant to dedicate all the talents that he possessed and all his youthful energies to the promotion of the good of his subjects. I quote the Proclamation that His Highness issued on December 28, 1881—the day he was invested with administrative powers:

"Be it known to all concerned, that we have, this day, assumed the Government of Baroda State.

2. It will always be Our earnest desire to preserve and promote the welfare of Our people.

3. In this object, we rely on the sympathy and support of the Imperial Government, and We expect the loyal co-operation of the various Officers and Dignitaries of the State, and of all Our subjects in general.

4. We invoke the blessings of the Almighty on the career we have this day commenced!"

In the articles that follow I propose to show what the Maharaja-Gaekwar has done "to preserve and promote the welfare of" his people,

## THE STATE-COUNCIL IN ANCIENT INDIA

By NARENDRA NATH LAW, M.A., B.L., PREMCHAND ROYCHAND SCHOLAR.

### VII

#### TERMS TO DENOTE THE COUNCIL IN SANSKRIT LITERATURE.

The Council as a part of the administrative machinery had its origin in very early times. The terms indicative of the existence of the institution are abundant in early Sanskrit literature. Among them may be mentioned 'sabhā', 'samiti', 'samgati', 'vidatha', 'parishad', as also the compounds like 'sabhāpati', 'sabhāpāla', 'sabhāchāra', 'sabhāsad', &c. The references to the existence of this institution among the gods also point to its use by men.<sup>1</sup>

1. 'Rig-Veda,' X, 11, 8 mentions Dāivī samitiḥ; Jaiminiya-Upanishad-Brahmana, II, 11, 13, 14 refers to the sabhā of the gods.

#### THEIR EXACT MEANINGS IN VEDIC LITERATURE.

In Vedic literature, 'sabhā' stands for an assembly of the Vedic Indians as well as for the hall where the assembly met.<sup>2</sup> The 'samiti' also signifies an assembly, which according to Hillebrandt is much the same as the 'sabhā' with this distinction that the

1. 'Rig-Veda,' VI, 28, 6; VIII, 4, 9; X, 34, 6; X, 71, 10 mentions sabhā saha, i.e., 'eminent in the assembly.' For other references, see 'Atharva-Veda,' V, 31, 6; VII, 13, 1, 2; VIII, 10, 5; XII, 1, 55; XIX, 55, 6; 'Taittiriya Samhita,' 1, 7, 6, 7; 'Maitrayani-Samhita,' IV, 7, 4; 'Vajasaneyi-Samhita,' III, 45; XVI, 24; XX, 17; 'Taittiriya-Brahmana' I, 1, 10, 6; 'Satapatha-Brahmana' II, 3, 2, 3; V, 3, 1, 10; 'Kāushitaki-Brahmana,' VII, 9, &c.

2. Hillebrandt's 'Vedische Mythologie,' 2, 123, 125.

latter points primarily to the place of assembly 'Samiti' seems to have the same sense as the 'samiti'. Vidatha is a word of obscure sense, which according to Roth primarily means 'order', then the 'body' that issues the order, and next the 'assembly' for secular or religious ends or for war. 'Parishad' has among other senses that of the 'council of ministers of a prince' in later Vedic literature.

The compound 'sabha pāla' denotes the keeper of an assembly hall and 'sabhā-pati' the lord of the assembly.

The 'sabhā chara' and 'sabhā sad' had perhaps more to do with the assembly in its legal capacity, though their connection with it as a general deliberative body cannot be altogether denied.

1. 'Rig Veda,' X, 141, 4.

2. 'Rig Veda,' I 31, 6, II, 25, III, 1, 18, 27, 7, IV, 38, 4, VI, 8, 1, X 85, 25, 92, 2. 'Atharva Veda,' IV, 25, 1, V, 20, 12; XVIII, 3, 70, &c.

3. 'Atharva Veda' II, 1, 4, 27, 12, 17, III, 38, 5, 6, V, 63, 2, VII, 66, 10, VIII, 59, 1, X 12, 7. XVII 1, 15. Witte renders the words as 'council in the 'Atharva-Veda' I, 13, 4, in his Translation of the 'Atharva-Veda' 15.

4. 'Rig Veda,' I, 60, 1, II, 4, 8; 39, 1, III, 1, 1, 56, 8 &c.

5. 'Rig Veda,' I, 166, 2, 167, 6, V, 59, 2, &c.

Ludwig takes the word 'vidatha' to mean primarily an assembly, specially, of the 'Maghavan' (rich patrons) and Brahmanas (see Ludwig's Translation of the 'Rig Veda,' 3 259 and ff.)

Geldner (e.g. in 'Vedische Studien,' 1, 47) and Bloomfield ('J A O S,' XIV, 12 et seq) do not support Roth and Ludwig.

6. Cf. Jolly's 'Recht und Sitte,' 35, 137, die Roy's 'Königliche Gewalt,' 16-19, 33, 37, 65, Bühler, 'Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft' XLVIII, 55-56 where Bühler says that M. Senart's translation of the phrase 'Parishad' or 'Palika' by 'assembly of clergy' in Asoka's Rock Edict VI is too narrow. The word stands also for royal court or 'tribunal,' e.g., in Fausboll's 'Jātaka' (Pali text) vol. III, p. 249, I, 7 and vol. V, p. 238, 1, 6, rendered by 'assembly' in the translation (Cowell's edition). See also Eilander's 'Vedische Mythologie,' 4, 22.

7. 'Taittiriya Brahmana' (III, 7, 4, 8).

8. (In the 'Sitarudriya' in) 'Vajrasaneyi Samhita' XVI, 23. 'Ta tūriya Samhita' IV, 5, 3, 2, 'Kāhaka Samhita' XVII 13 et c.

9. 'Vajrasaneyi-Samhita,' XIV, 6; 'Ta tūriya Brahmana,' III, 4, 2, with Śāyana's note cf. Weber, 'Indische Studien,' I, 77 n. 1.

10. 'Atharva Veda,' III, 29, 1; VII, 12, 3; XIX, 35, 6. 'Kāhaka Samhita,' VIII, 71. 'Maitrayani Samhita,' I, 6, 11. 'Ta tūriya Brahmana' I, 1, 26; 'Aitareya Brahmana,' VIII, 21, 14.

#### COMPOSITION OF THE 'SAMITI' AND 'SABHA'

As to the composition of the 'samiti,' Ludwig holds that it included all the people, primarily the 'visah' or subjects but also the 'Brāhmanas' and 'Maghavan' (rich patrons) if they desired, though the 'sabhā' was their special assembly. This view does not seem to be correct as also that of Zimmer who takes 'sabhā' to be a village assembly presided over by the Grāmanī (the village headman). Hillebrandt seems to be right in holding that the 'sabhā' and the 'samiti' can not be distinguished and they were both attended by the king. The 'sabhā' does not seem to have counted among its members any ladies. The reference to well born (su jāta) men in session in the assembly does not according to Hillebrandt imply one class of Aryan members as opposed to another, but the Aryan members as opposed to Dāsas or Sūdras.

#### THEIR FUNCTIONS IN VEDIC TIMES

The assembly or a chosen body of its members performed judicial works. We gather this indirectly from the fact of 'sabhā-chara' being dedicated to Justice (Dharma) at the Purushamedha (human sacrifice) in the 'Yayur-Veda,' from the use of the term 'sabhā' to denote a law court, and also from

1. Translation of the 'Rig Veda,' 3 253-256. He quotes for this view 'Rig Veda,' VIII, 49, X, 79, 10 (passages with are quite vague) cf. also 'Rig Veda,' VII, 1, 4; 'Atharva Veda,' XIX, 57, 2.

2. 'Altindisches Leben,' 172 et seq. He ignores 'Satapatha Brahmana,' III, 3, 4, 14, 'Chāndogya Upanishad,' V, 3, 6, which shows that the king went to the 'Sabhā' and the 'Samiti' alike. He cannot also adduce any passage regarding the presidency of the Grāmanī.

3. 'Vedische Mythologie,' 2 123-125, Bloomfield (J A O S, XI, 13) is wrong in his view that 'Sabhā' refers to the 'society room' in a dwelling house which is supported by the 'St Petersburg Dictionary' in some passages. 'Atharva Veda' VIII, 10, 5 (where the sense is however clearly 'assembly'), see also VIII to 6; 'Taittiriya Samhita' III, 4, 8, 6; 'Taittiriya Brahmana,' I, 1, 10, 3, 'Chāndogya Upanishad,' VIII, 14 (here the sense is certainly 'assembly hall', see v. 3, 6 where the king is described as going to the assembly hall: 'Sabhā ga').

4. 'Maitrayani Samhita,' IV 7, 4—nirindriya stīr, puman indriyāyāms tasmā pumamsab sabham jagati na stīriyā (woman is weak, man is strong, hence men go to the assembly, not women).

5. 'Rig-Veda,' VII, 1, 4. Hillebrandt's 'Vedische Mythologie,' 2 123-125.

6. 'Vajrasaneyi Samhita,' XIX, 6.

the word 'sabhā sad' which denotes a member of the assembly which met for justice as well as for general discussion on public matters. The assembly hall was also used for other purposes such as dicing, social intercourse and general conversation about material interests such as cows, &c.<sup>1</sup>

According to Messrs. Macdonell and Keith "it is reasonable to assume that the business of the council was general deliberation on policy of all kinds, legislation so far as the Vedic Indian cared to legislate, and judicial work."<sup>2</sup> There is, owing to the nature of the texts, little or no evidence directly bearing on the programme of business in Vedic times, for which we have to fall back upon indirect evidence from which the above inference has been drawn. Zimmer holds that it was a function of the assembly to elect the king.<sup>3</sup>

Geldner<sup>4</sup> opposes him on the ground that the passages cited do not expressly indicate selection by the people (visah) but acceptance by them. This point would be adverted to hereafter.

#### THEIR FUNCTIONS IN THE EPICS.

Coming to the epic period<sup>5</sup> as reflected in the 'Rāmāyana' and the 'Mahābhārata' we find 'sabhā' to be an assembly of any sort. It may be the law-court, the royal court, the convivial assembly as also a political assembly.

The 'sabhā' as a judicial assembly appears for instance in this passage of the 'Mahābhārata'—"na sā 'sabhā' yatra na sandi vridhā, na te vridhā ye na vadanti dharmam"<sup>6</sup>, i. e., "that is no assembly

where there are no elders, those are not elders who do not declare the law." As a term for a convivial assembly, it is found, to take a single example in the title of the second book of the 'Mahābhārata' and as such it is akin to 'samsad'. The compound word 'sabhā sad' 'sitter at an assembly' means in the epic a courtier of the king's court,<sup>7</sup> and the 'sabhāstāra' signifies only one who is at the royal court or a lower officer in the position of dice-master Yudhishthira during the period of his stay at Virāta's court becomes a 'sabhāstāra' and is very ignominiously treated. In the 'Rāmāyana', the 'sabhāsads' are mere courtiers,<sup>8</sup> the important state duties resting on the king and his ministers who take part in the king's council. The term 'sabhā' therefore in these compounds refers to the royal court.

#### THE RELATIONS BETWEEN KING AND COUNCIL ARE NOT CONSTITUTIONALLY FIXED.

The relations that obtained between the king and the council are an interesting study. Different kings differently regard their council. Sometimes the Kshatriya element is predominant, the majority of the council being recruited from the royal relations Bhīshma, Vidura and Drona are sages and ministers, but the two first are relatives of the king and the last a fighting Brāhmana. Kanika and Jābali are also seldom consulted, and the former is not necessarily a Brāhmana. Yudhishthira has as little to do with ministerial or Brāhmanic advice as his uncle Dhritarāshtra. When resolved to stake his kingdom at the gambling, he does not seek advice from anybody. Dhaumya is never employed as councillor though he is the chief priest, and never fills an officer's place of any sort until he is left in charge of the capital with Yuyutsu in the fifteenth book (Āśramavāśika parva) of the 'Mahābhārata'. Duryodhana shows also similar waywardness and consults his advisers when it suits his whim or interests. He calls the priests to advise as to the best means of raising a required sum of money but not otherwise. Resolving on war, kings and allies both of Kurus and Pāndus deliberate among themselves without consult

1 The assembly hall was used for dicing when the session for public business was over. Cf. 'Rig Veda', 3, 34 6; 'Atharva Veda', V, 31, 6; XI, 3, 45.

2 'Rig Veda', VI 28 6- VIII, 49 'Atharva Veda', VII, 12, 2 addresses the assembly as 'narishā', i. e., merriment. Ibid., VII 12 3, refers to serious speech in the sabhā. For serious public business leavened with amusement, cf. Tacitus' German 2, 22.

3 'V I', 11, 431.  
4 'Altindisches Leben' 173, quoting 'Atharva Veda VI 87, 88 with 'Rig Veda', 173 and 'Atharva Veda', V, 19 1, with 'Atharva Veda III 4, 6. Also 'Rig Veda X 124 8 and 'Atharva Veda', 19, IV, 22.

5 'Vedische Studien', 7, 203.

6 In tracing the history of 'council in the epic period, I have mainly followed Prof. Hopkins' article in the 'J A O S.', XIII (pp. 148-162).

7 'Mahābhārata', Udyogaparva, ch. 35, śloka 58, verse 1.

1 Cf. 'Rig Veda', X 34 6 describing a like scene of gambling.

2 'Sabhāparva', ch. 78 śloka 3.

3 'Ayodhyākānda' ch. IV śloka 23 (Corresio's edition) = ch. V, śloka 24 (Bombay ed.).

ing the priests though they are present at the meeting Duryodhana attends the meeting against his will, and though the advice of the council is to avoid war, he remains as determined as ever the decision of the council producing no effect upon his mind

IN SOME PARTS OF THE *Mahābhārata* THE BRAHMANA  
ELEMENT OF THE COUNCIL ATTAINS  
PREDOMINANCE

The didactic parts of the *Mahābhārata*, which are by several authorities looked upon as later than the main portion of the epic as contained in the preceding chapters inculcate the necessity of mutual support between the temporal power of the *Kṣatriyas* and the spiritual power of the *Brāhmanas* for the welfare of the state.<sup>1</sup> The king's power is derived from wisdom of which the *Brāhmana* is the repository. Henceforth the monarch's dependence upon the advice of the *Brahmanas* becomes higher and higher.<sup>2</sup> The didactic

1 Cf. 'Manu' IV, 373 (S B F)—*Kṣatriyas* prosper not without *Brāhmanas*, *Brahmanas* prosper not without *Kṣatriyas*, *Brāhmanas* and *Kṣatriyas* being closely united, prosper in this world and in the next

2 Prof. Hopkins is of opinion that the descent on of the king commences from the time as his reward for exalting the priest. 'For the priest did not scruple to deify the king so long as he could himself maintain the claim of being "the god of the gods"—MBh, XIII, 125, 16, see J A O S XIII pp 157, 153. The main objective of this portion of the article may be right but injustice has been done to the unfortunate priest by the misinterpretation of this passage. He interprets 'Adiparva, ch 149, slk 54 (Goraparyavahitasya hāryāśāśryamajayatah, Upathapraṇāpannasya nyayan bhavan sāmānam) into "The order given even by a sinful priest is good"

(J A O S, XIII, p 153). The real meaning is just the opposite, viz. even if the preceptor be vain ignorant of what should be done and what left undone and vicious in his ways he should be chastised. Lines (2-4) of p 153 are based on this wrong interpretation

'The king becomes "divus janako janadevas tu mīlayām janādhiph" (MBh XII, 118, 3 119-1). He is the god of right and law (118 24 180, 9 ff and 4, 498). His touch is like fire, one must endure all that he does (III 41, 20 1, 41 23 41, III 161 11). The king as divinity is often spoken of thus serve the king like a god (IV, 422; IV, 63 24). For the identical feat on of Udhama and king cf. Manu III, 18 and MBh, XII, 15, 34. God like characteristics of a good king are given in I 64 13 ff he is identified with the creator 1, 40 10 1 like the moon or is the moon is a common comparison I 122 9 49 12, which with the Indra comparison may have given rise to the ultimate identification of the king with all the divinities as in III, 18, 25 to XII 68 to ff, 40 Manu, VII 8 &c 49 ff, (all the gods,) 139 103 ff

portion of the *Mahābhārata* makes tutor and the family priest (who are often identical) the controllers of the king's mind and council,<sup>3</sup> and is important as all the other councillors put together. The king is enjoined to abide by the judgment of the family priest, who is as much conversant with the principles of polity (*Danda niti*) as with the sacred literature, and whose position as such brings him much worldly power.<sup>4</sup> Everything of course could go on smoothly if the priest would always be as self controlled and as indifferent to power as he is enjoined to be. But in the world of actuals, there are deviations from the ideal giving rise to aberrations like the one depicted in this episode. "There was once a king of the Magadhas, in the city of Rājagriha, who was wholly dependent on his ministers. A minister of his called Mahākaraṇin became the sole lord of the realm (*cakṣvara*). Inflated by his power, this man tried to usurp the throne, but failed solely because of I ate."<sup>5</sup> Likewise, on the other hand,

(father, mother, Guru and all the gods) cf. Rāmāyana 11, 122 15 ff and II 111, 4 (Corresio) *ṛjanam manusham āhur devas tvam sammatam mama, yasya dhat nāthasahitam vritam āhur amānusham*. Vide J A O S, XIII, p 153 f n

1 The person usually mentioned is the 'purohita' (family priest) who may or may not have been his tutor (guru) but who is *ex-officio* his 'guru' or venerable adviser, when he is an appointed or inherited minister

2 In this connexion I have to point out that Prof. Hopkins cites a passage (MBh, Ad parva ch 120 slk 73) in evidence of the love of power of the priests, the interpretation of which is not borne out by Nilakantha the commentator. The passage is: 'Even a debauched king if he put a priest at the head of affairs will conquer mortal and spiritual enemies; therefore let kings employ family priests in every act, if they wish to obtain happiness from it' (see J A O S, XIII, p 157 lines 2-3). Here debauched stands for *kāmarivritā* which means, according to Nilakantha 'kṛita dātā' i.e. 'married'

I do not agree with Prof. Hopkins (J A O S, XIII, p 159) that when the word 'vinaya' is used of a king, 'he receives the same approving epithet as that bestowed upon a well-trained horse or elephant, i.e. 'obedient or governed'. 'Vinaya' comes from the root *ni* 'to lead', and it has, I think, no more connexion with horse or elephant than the word 'education', which comes from a root of like meaning *vi* 'to do', 'to lead', has anything to do with either of the animals though horses &c. are spoken of as led by the nose and buffaloes, camels and bears are actually led by the nose by a ring inserted into their nostrils (see Brewer's Dictionary under 'Nose').

3 'Ad parva' ch 262 slks 16 ff; J A O S, XIII, p 160.

we should not suppose that the kings were in all cases equally docile in their attitude towards the Brāhmanas. Their military impatience did sometimes crop up as evidenced in passages like this 'the place for priests is in the hall of debate, good are they as inspectors, they can oversee elephants, horses and war cars, they are learned in detecting the faults of food—but let not the (priestly) teachers be asked for advice when emergencies arise'".

#### SECRECY IN COUNCIL

Evidences of perfect secrecy in council first appear in the epics.<sup>1</sup> As a corollary to this, follow the restrictions on the number of councillors, the selection of a secret place for

1 'Virataparva,' ch 47, ślks 28ff. In this connection, chapter III in Muir's 'Sanskrit Texts,' part I, on the early contests between the Brāhmanas and Kshatriyas should be consulted. It gives Manus list of 'refractory' monarchs, viz, Vena, Nahusha, Sudāsa the son of Pijavana, Sumukha and Nimi (see Manu VII, 41). Muir also cites Pururavas, Visvāmitra, Parasurama.

The conclusions of Prof Hopkins on the growth of political power of the Brāhmanas ('J A O S,' XIII pp 161, 162) appear to me to be rather one-sided and based on insufficient data. Though the Brāhmanas appear to be responsible for the change of the open council into a secret conclave, their influence should not however be taken as the only factor in the field. The state of the country, divided as it often was into a number of principalities, made it expedient for the monarch to have secrecy. Of course, this could have been secured by keeping secret only those matters for which secrecy is essential, without excluding from the council the representatives of the classes and the masses in regard to deliberation of useful and important matters of state to which openness is not detrimental. But the course of evolution took a different direction bringing political matters within the knowledge of the select few in the confidence of the monarch.

2 Prof Hopkins says, 'Absolute secrecy in council is a late practice' (?) but as a rule is strongly urged. The king should go to the house top or a hill top when he consults with his ministers. Some forms of the rule specify 'a secret chamber as the place for council' (J A O S, XIII, p 151, fn).

A few passages in the epics bearing on secrecy are 'Mbh' I, ch 330, 2nd verse, Pāṇḍ II, ch 100 18 2nd verse, V, ch 38 ślks. 15 16 20, XII, ch 80, ślks. 24 and a few preceding ślks., ch 83, ślks. 49 50 51, 53. The ślokas in the 'Purāṇas' regarding place of council etc., also bear on secrecy of council but they have been quoted elsewhere in connexion with the aforesaid points.

There is a passage in the 'Mātṛkandeya Purāṇa' which as a general injunction should be placed here: *atmak nṛpibhyāḥ samrakṣyāto vāhirmantrānārgamāt,* ch 37, ślks. 5, 2nd v of 'Manu,' VII, 148, 'Yā nāvīlkyā 1, 34,' 'Kāmandakiya N. isara 11 53 etc., and 'Kāha Purāṇa,' ch 81 107, 2nd v and 108, 1st v, also 'Raghuvamśa' XVII, 30.

council, the avoidance of undesirable persons and things in and near council, and the check on councillors for divulgence of secrets.

Besides the *Mahābhārata* there are descriptions of the council in the *Arthasāstra*, *Smṛitis* and *Purāṇas* as also in several other Sanskrit works which agree with one another in main particulars.

THE NUMBER OF THE COUNCIL IS MAINLY DETERMINED BY CONSIDERATIONS OF SECRECY AND DISPATCH OF BUSINESS, THE NUMBER ACCORDING TO KAUTILYA AND OTHER WRITERS

Among the considerations that determine the number of the council, the maintenance of secrecy, and speedy despatch of business are the most important. Kautilya quotes the views of several politicians on this point. The extreme view is held by Bhāradvāja who reduces the number of the council to the king alone, the reason being that councillors have their own councillors who in their turn have others for their consultation.<sup>1</sup> Viśālākṣha opposes the view on the deliberation by oneself can never be fruitful. Persons of mature wisdom should be on the council; no opinion should be slighted. The wise make use of the sensible utterances of even a boy.<sup>2</sup> Pārāsara regards this as not conducive to secrecy.<sup>3</sup> Kautilya does not quote Pārāsara's opinion on the number of councillors but gives us his own view which recommends consultation with three or four councillors (*mantrīdāh*)<sup>4</sup> but not more as the general rule. He does not prohibit altogether consultation with a single or two councillors, or even deliberation without their aid in exceptional cases depending upon the time, place and nature of the business on hand.<sup>5</sup>

1 'Arthasāstra,' Bk I 'mantrīdāhikāra,' p 27.

2 'Arthasāstra,' Bk I, 'mantrīdāhikāra,' p 27.

3 Ibid, p 28.

4 The reasons for which he recommends three or four ministers are that consultation with a single councillor leads to no definite conclusion on difficult problems. Moreover, the councillor may act waywardly. In consultation with two councillors, the king may be overpowered by their combination and ruined by their enmity, with three or four councillors he does not meet with serious harm but arrives at satisfactory results. If the number of councillors be larger, conclusions are arrived at with difficulty and secrecy is difficult to maintain. See Ibid, p 28. It appears that there should not be a stop after 'gamyate' in line 12, p. 28, 'Ibid'.

5 Jāṇḍīka Śyāma Śāstrī appears to be wrong in the interpretation of 'yathāsmṛitīyaṇ' in line 14, p. 28. 'Arthasāstra,' loc cit, it should be taken with 'eko' and would mean in the context 'deliberation to the best of his (king's) ability without the aid of the councillors'.

## WALT WHITMAN

THE feeling that arrests those who read for the first time Walt Whitman's great book 'Leaves of Grass' is expressed in Whitman's own words: "Who touches this book touches a man"; for it is really the 'man,' an intense, magnetic, cosmopolitan personality that breathes through the pages of that wonderful book.

Whitman did not write his poetry in verse. His one great aim in life was to be absolutely democratic. To establish democracy in art and letters, he broke away from all contemporaneous art-conventions, literary forms and traditions, from stilted formal verse, from polished and ornate poetical language, from all those delicate ineffable niceties which make up what we call literary style.

To establish democracy in life, he accepted a free, unconventional life, taking to the "open road" as he says, carrying wherever he went his "old delicious burdens"—"men and women"—of all colours and creeds, of all races and climes, without distinction.

"Here the profound lesson of reception  
 nor preference nor denial,  
 The black with his woolly head, the felon, the  
 diseased, the illiterate person are not denied."

In 1862, he followed the army of the North in the American Civil War, simply to devote himself to the care of the wounded, as a volunteer nurse and since then he associated himself with the distressed, the fallen, the illiterate. Even when he became famous and was revered as a prophet and a sage by thousands in America and in Europe, he did not abandon his former ways of life, his active, tangible, full-hearted brotherhood and comradeship with all persons whomsoever he came in contact with. This comradeship with all, was with him the essence of democracy in life. He could never for one moment think of himself as an isolated single individual. His own description of himself is, that he was "a cosmos who includes diversity and is nature." His poems are, therefore, the of that 'cosmos', or rather the poems of a cosmic personality.

To establish democracy in religion, he

rejected the old world conception of a far-off absolute God. Whitman's god was democratic. His God was a god growing with the world, a god in and of the total world-process. His democratic habit of thinking enabled him to grasp the new theory of state and society, that state or society is not guided by a single person or any group of persons. Society makes itself. It is guided by the ceaseless action and reaction of each and all. It lifts itself gradually to planes of higher realisation through its very imperfections, through endless resistances, co-operations, modifications, adjustments. And it must never be missed sight of that this very process is a world-process. Through these very processes, animal and plant society work their way from form to form and stage to stage, as biological sciences point out. This 'mass-dialectic', so to speak, is ever at work. Therefore, there is no place for an eternally perfect God, when we are perfectly certain that society and state are working out their own destiny. God is in and of the total world-process.

In the 'Song of Myself' he says:

"And nothing, not God, is greater to one than  
 one's self is"

"For I who am curious about each, am not curious  
 about God  
 I hear and behold God in every object,  
 yet understand God not in the least,  
 Nor do I understand who there can be  
 more wonderful than myself"

In another poem he writes:—

"All great ideas, the race's aspirations,  
 All heroisms, deeds of rapt enthusiasts,  
 Be ye my Gods."

In a third poem which is also characteristic of his faith, he says:—

"O Me, man of slack faith so long,  
 Standing aloof, denying portions so long,  
 Only now are to-day of compact all-diffused Truth,  
 Discovering to-day there is no he or form of lie,  
 and can be none, but grows as inevitably upon  
 itself as the truth does upon itself,  
 Or as any law of the Earth or natural production  
 of the Earth does"

These few bits of quotations will show that in Walt Whitman's religious belief, God had no separate existence from the



world, from the arena of human history where the mass life of humanity is struggling with imperfections and moving on towards a great end.

It is now quite clear that the type of art which such a thoroughly democratic tendency of mind as Whitman's will create must be something entirely different from all previous types of art. Of course, in view of Whitman's far greater claim to seership, the claim of his style to artistic beauty might appear not worth contending for. Did not Whitman himself strongly repudiate all existing canons of art and aesthetics and take pride and delight in calling himself and his work 'coarse' and 'vulgar' and 'savage'? He says, in a hundred places, he is 'nature' and he is coarse as nature is. But inasmuch as we cannot separate the setting of Whitman's songs from his personality, the former being an integral part of the latter, we cannot but consider the claim of his style to artistic beauty. Rousseau and Wordsworth wanted to go back to Nature and to be nature in a similar manner. But all the same, their works stand to-day as works of art. Whitman's work, if it lives, must also live as a work of art and nothing else. For, indeed, a work of art is much greater and fuller than nature. The French novelist Emile Zola has finely said, "Art is a bit of Nature seen through the medium of a temperament." This temperament, or more accurately and scientifically speaking, personality, makes art different from mere record and makes it more expressive of life than the real perceptible facts of life can ever be. Through a true work of art we enter into the soul of a personality, and through the many facets of that personality, we behold the manifold reflections of life. In order to have an idea of the type of any art, therefore, we have to have an idea of the nature of the personality, which lies at the core of that art and which fashions that art.

Now, Whitman's personality, as manifested in his poems, is essentially democratic, and hence more complex and rich and broad than the personalities of artists in general. More or less all artists depicted the moods and emotions of the human mind solely in the complex of relations of individual to individual. Whitman depicts them in the greater and broader complex of relations of individual to en-masse. Just as before Wordsworth there had been poets of nature, who had

dealt with this or that beautiful aspect of nature but had not been able to furnish us, as Wordsworth did, with a *generalised emotion of Nature*, with that type of emotion which 'sees into the life of things,' similarly before Whitman there had been poets of humanity, who had sung of love, of the various moods and passions of the human soul, but had not been able to give us, as Whitman did, a *generalised emotion of humanity*, an emotion which perceives the individual in universal humanity and universal humanity in the individual. In the very first poem of 'Leaves of Grass,' has been sounded this keynote of Whitman's poems in general :

"One's self I sing, a simple separate person,  
*Let utter the word Democratic, the word*

En-Masse.<sup>1</sup>

Individual, to Whitman, is the very incarnation of the Democratic. His own personality and his conception of personality, was, therefore, a social democratic world gathered into a new focus, individuated in a new person. Nay, it was not simply a social democratic world, it included animal and plant world as well. It included all life. Individual must suck the breasts of the universal ethos, of the universal life, as the following lines taken from one of his exquisite poems bear out :—

"There was a child went forth every day,  
And the first object he looked upon, that object  
And that object became part of him for the day <sup>he became,</sup>  
Or for a certain part of the day <sup>or a certain part of the day,</sup>  
Or for many days or stretching cycles of years."

This child who went forth every day and "who now goes and will always go forth every day" is no other than the child-incarnate of Humanity. He is all, and 'all is in him.

There is in the background of all Whitman's writings this democratic consciousness, this consciousness of the all. In no other modern poet is this consciousness so acute and so intense as in Walt Whitman.

I cannot, therefore, understand why Whitman's style has been disparaged by many people as rugged and coarse and unmusical. Does the sea sing in melodies? Do the leaves of the forest trees rustle to measure and rhyme? If these vast and apparently inharmonious sounds of life have in them the very heart of music, as indeed they have, then, 'Leaves of Grass' are surely musical. That Whitman is coarse, I have said already, that he himself proclaims frankly and unabashedly in a hundred and

one passages Earth and Nature are coarse. Coarse are the majority of men and women. As a democratic poet, he accepts that coarseness and transmutes it into spirituality:

"The pleasures of heaven are with me  
and the pains of hell are with me,  
The first I graft and increase upon myself,  
the latter I translate into a new tongue".  
"Through me forbidden voices,  
Voices of sexes and lusts, voices veil'd, and I remove  
the veil,  
Voices indecent by me clarified and transfigur'd"

As he shares fully all life, there is not the slightest effort on his part to hide and dissemble or suppress evil in any form. He boldly declares that we have to accept evil and sin as part of life since these are in human nature. In a remarkable poem, "You felons on trial in courts" he makes this startling confession:—

"You felons on trial in courts,  
You convicts in prison cells, you sentenced assassins  
chain'd and handcuff'd with iron,  
Who am I too that I am not on trial or in prison?  
Me ruthless and devilish as any, that my wrists are  
not chain'd with iron, or my ankles with iron?  
"Inside these breast bones I lie smatch'd and choked,  
Beneath this face that appears so impassive, hell  
tudes continually run,  
Lusts and wickednesses are acceptable to me,  
I walk with delinquents with passionate love,  
I feel I am of them—I belong to those convicts and  
prostitutes myself,  
And henceforth I will not deny them—for how can  
I deny myself?"

A superficial construction of the lines quoted above, might bring one to the conclusion that Whitman did not urge us at all to strive to contend with evil in order to make the good in us come out triumphant. But all that he meant in these lines, is that there is no good in hiding the evil that is in you and in me, or foolishly deluding ourselves into the belief that by suppression evil can be eradicated. We have to accept evil, when we have to accept humanity. It is by love of humanity alone that we can 'transmute' evil into good, by acceptance of it and not denial of it, by altruism and not egotistic aloofness. Whitman's attitude towards evil is the same as that of Dostoyevsky, the great Russian novelist, who has painted types of criminality and evil more than any other writer of fiction.

It is strange and funny to think that to ignorance, to childhood, for instance, nothing is evil and to comprehending consciousness, to ripe wisdom, nothing is evil

also. For to the latter, evil is really good in the making.

Whitman writes to this effect in another pithy poem which I quote below:

"Roaming in thought over the universe, I saw the little  
that is good steadily hastening towards immortality,  
And the vast all that is call'd Evil  
I saw hastening to merge itself and become lost  
and dead"

Edward Carpenter, the famous author of "Towards Democracy", has classed Walt Whitman as one of the "Eternal Peaks" and has compared him with the Christs of the world, claiming divinity for him. But such comparisons are useless, when we find that Whitman claims divinity for all men and women alike, whether great or small, saintly or sinful. Here again, just as Wordsworth sees in Nature into the life of things and rises to a "sense of something far more deeply interfused," Whitman also with his searching and penetrative vision sees into the absolute life of humanity and says exultantly "To You" and to every man and woman he meets:

"Whoever you are, I fear you are walking the walks  
of dreams,  
I fear these supposed realities are to melt from  
under your feet and hands,  
Even now your features, joys, speech, house, trade,  
manners, troubles, follies, costume, crimes,  
dissipate away from you,  
Your true soul and body appear before me"

"I will leave all and come and make the hymns of  
you,  
None has understood you, but I understand you,  
None has done justice to you, you have not done  
justice to yourself,  
None but has found you imperfect, I only find  
no imperfection in you,  
None but would subordinate you, I only am he  
who will never consent to subordinate you,  
I only am he who places over you no master, owner,  
better, God, beyond what waits intrinsically  
to yourself"

Does not all this approach the Indian 'Advaita-vada,' the concept of the soul as one and Absolute? The 'Advaita' doctrine posits that the individual soul knows itself as limited and partial only because it is enveloped by 'maya,' by what Whitman terms here, 'supposed realities.' As soon as the shroud of 'maya' is taken off, the soul is discovered bare and absolute, perfect and divine. Sin-consciousness is, according to Advaita philosophy, a 'maya,' a 'supposed reality.' For, 'All is truth,' "Sarvam Khalvidam Brahma"; and Whitman says, "There is no flaw or vacuum in

the amount of the truth—but that all is truth without exception

How Whitman rose to such a great and outwearing conception which I find to be distinctly Indian although original beyond doubt is a wonder and a mystery to me. Through Emerson perhaps who was a great friend and an ardent admirer of Walt Whitman he might have an opportunity of getting some knowledge of Indian philosophy and thought. He uses the term *maya* in more than one poem and his great poem *Passage to India* evinces most unmistakably his deep reverence for the great past of Indian History. But it must not be thought that he owes at all to Indian philosophy or writings his supreme vision of humanity as a whole the vision of humanity as a mass working out its own destiny which vision is nowhere to be found in Indian writings whether past or present. The two counter streams of the mass life and the individual life blend and meet in him wonderfully. The one is in the other. In individual life shrivels and shrinks when disjoined from the larger life of humanity in which it attains and can only attain its fullness. The mass life of democracy unles it creates large individuals is destined to be ruined and futile. Whitman's ideal of state is what was enunciated by Plato long ago an institution for educating its citizens in all the virtues. Questions of statesmanship are therefore ultimately moral questions. In every political enactment the ulterior end should be the evolution of the qualities of personality. No state ever legislated well if it weakened the individuality. —How strongly he feels the truth of it will be amply borne out by the following quotation —

I hear it was charged against me that  
I sought to destroy the nation  
But really I am neither for nor against  
(What indeed I have in common with the nation?)  
Or what with the destruction of them?  
Only I will establish in the Manhattan  
and in every city of these states a board  
And in the fields and woods and above every  
keel little or large that dents the water  
Without laws or rules or trustees or any  
argument  
The nation of the dear love of comrades

Unless this central idea of democracy evolving higher individuals and individuals realising themselves in demo-

cracy running through all Whitman's poems is fully grasped much of his work must appear nothing else than a jumble of paradoxes and contradictions and overweening egotism. But when this idea is grasped we shall see that he has revaluated all values. The value of Morality as we have already seen does no longer lie with him in drawing a sharp line of distinction between good and evil and on its practical side in making man his brother's keeper. Morality reveals the brotherhood in man and merges evil in the everlasting good. We have had quotations of this new valuation of morality already. The value of philosophy is not in devising but in discovering. What will it discover? In the poem entitled *The Base of all Metaphysics* Whitman says that underneath all philosophies he clearly sees —

The dear love of man for his comrade the attraction  
of the well married husband and wife of children and  
of city for city and land for land — THAT IS TO SAY  
THE ETERNAL VERITIES OF LIFE

The value of art also is not in mere artifice. Art must be the expression or rather the exploration of life. For life is very great and manifold. In the famous poem *By Blue Ontario's Shore* Whitman thus defines the mission of the poet —

The immortal poets of Asia and Europe have done  
the work and pass'd to other spheres  
A work remains the work of surpassing all they  
have done

The poet is the equable man

He bestows on every object or quality its fit proportion  
He is the arbiter of the diverse he is the key

In peace out of him speaks the spirit of peace large  
rich thrifty  
In busy populous towns encourage of agriculture  
the soul health immortal Government  
In war he is the best bucker of war he fetches artillery  
as good as the engineers he can make every  
word he speaks draw blood

As he sees the farthest, he has the most faith  
His thoughts are the hymns of the present  
In the salute on God and Eternity he is silent  
He sees eternally less like a play with a prologue  
and a denouement,  
He sees Eternity in men and women he does not see  
men and women as dead teams or dots.

For the Great Idea  
That O my brethren this is the mission of poets.

Lastly in the task of revaluation of

all values the value of religion is not in building up creeds but in the actual finding of God. All experiences of life must be spiritual. Take for instance the following lines —

I will make the poems of materials for I think they  
are the most spiritual poems  
And I will make the poems of my body and  
of mortality  
For I think I shall then supply myself with the poem  
of my soul and of immortality

Whitman has an amazingly arresting doctrine to teach of the divinity of the material the divinity of the body

Objects gross and the unclean soul are one he says

But how? In answer to this question he says

No reasoning no proof has established it  
Under able growth has established it

The body has ever been considered as a temporary tenement of the soul as something different from the spirit. Matter has ever been thought as something apart from the spirit. Whitman alone lifts it to unity with soul. He alone declares that it too is divine that it too is immortal.

This strong belief in immortality of the body and of all material things which one finds almost anywhere in the pages of 'Leaves of Grass' made Whitman think of Death as the continuation of life the purport of life its very fulfilment. In a poem in the 'Whispers of Heavenly Death' he says

I do not think if provides for all and for time and space  
But I believe Heavenly Death provides for all.

This belief instead of waning with the decline of life waxed brighter and brighter and towards the end of his life in the 'Sands at Seventy' he writes again —

Nothing is ever really lost or can be lost  
No birth identity form — no object of the world  
Nor life, nor force nor any visible thing  
Appearances must not so! nor shiftings where  
confuse the brain  
Ample are time and space ample the fields of Nature

The sun now low in the west rises for morn, noon,  
and noons count equal  
To frozen clouds ever the spring's invisible law returns  
With grass and flowers and summer fruit and corn

I would offer to those who question whether Whitman is a great literary artist just the lines quoted above so full of vivid word pictures. He is undoubtedly a great poet a poet who can easily rank on the same level with Dante Wordsworth Browning and William Blake. He is more

than a poet. He is a prophet and a seer. His simplicity is like that of the Hebrew Psalmists and the ancient Vedic bards. His utterances are pregnant with wisdom and as deep. But his tenderness his optimism and his wide tolerance are far far greater and almost incomparable. One exquisite poem whose equal one will hardly find in the whole range of literature I cannot help quoting to the full below.

#### Tears

Tears! tears! tears!  
In the night in solitude tears  
On the white shore dropping dropping sucking in by  
the sound,

Tears not a star shining all dark and desolate  
Moat tears from the eyes of a muffled head  
O who's that ghost? that form in the dark with  
tears?

What shapeless lumps that bent crouch there  
on the sand?

Streaming tears sobbing tears throes choked with  
wild cries

O storm embolden's on careering with swift steps  
along the beach!

O wild and dismal night storm with wild — O belching  
and desperate!

O shade so sedate and decorous by day with calm  
countenance and regulated pace

But away at night as you fly none look on — O then  
the unloosened ocean

Of tears! tears! tears!

If the above lines are not an example of exquisitely rhythmic prose most lyrical and tuneful I do not know where else in literature we shall find a better instance of rhythmic prose except perhaps in some of the beautiful pieces of the Gitanjali which far surpasses Whitman's 'Leaves of Grass' in point of artistic form and finish and grace of style and language. But we must remember at the same time that this new form of rhythmic prose was first introduced by Walt Whitman in literature and has been improved upon by subsequent writers like Edward Carpenter Ezra Pound and others among moderns and has been brought to perfection almost by Rabindranath Tagore. Probably this is the best form for deep and prophetic utterances for expressing high and philosophical thoughts and also for depicting vivid elemental cosmic and musical word pictures. Walt Whitman's place in literature is and will be far greater as a seer and a prophet than as a literary artist. But at the same time as the creator of a new form of art which has such wonderful possibilities he must be accorded a very high place among the eternally shining luminaries of literature.

AJIT KUMAR CHAKRABARTY

## THE NEMESIS OF DISTRUST

**E**LEVEN years ago Mr Gokhale from his place in the Legislative Council pointed out that the British Indian army is a small inextensive but very expensive body of professional soldiers while the Continental States and even Japan have nations in arms behind them and that in mere numbers we should prove hopelessly inferior to them in the hour of need. The experts who accompanied the Russian and Japanese armies in the late war, have declared that the Indian army will be found too small if a great emergency really arises. Every where else in the civilised world the standing army is supported by a splendid system of reserves and the nation is behind them all. No pouring out of money like water on mere *standing battalions* can ever give India the military strength and preparedness which other civilised countries possess while the whole population is disarmed and the process of demartialisation continues apace. The policy of placing the main reliance for purposes of defence on a standing army has now been discarded everywhere else and at the present moment India is about the only country in the civilised world where the people are debarred from the privileges of *citizen soldier ship*. My Lord I respectfully submit that it is a cruel wrong to a whole people to exclude them from all honourable participation in the defence of their hearths and homes, to keep them permanently disarmed and to subject them to a process of demartialisation such as has never before been witnessed in the history of the world.

Then after making an appeal to Government to inaugurate a policy of greater trust, in the wise and noble words

After all it is only confidence that will beget confidence and a courageous reliance on the people's loyalty will alone stimulate that loyalty—he uttered the following prophecy

Time and events will necessitate a change and true statesmanship lies in an intelligent anticipation of that change.

In reply to this appeal H E the Commander in chief Lord Kitchener taunted Mr Gokhale by saying that if the nation were armed it would be rather dangerous for certain *unmartial classes* of the community. The sneer was evidently meant for the educated community especially the castes and races officially catalogued as non martial which include Pooni Brahmins and Bengali Brahmins.

To this official display of sweet reasonableness Mr Gokhale gave no answer then but left Time to justify him. And Time has justified him with startling rapidity. In less than ten years from the day when Gokhale's words were spoken that very Lord Kitchener was compelled to raise an army of millions from the most unmartial classes in England—the flat soled thin chested city bred lads of Manchester London and other dense commercial centres who had been persistently sneered at by Rudyard Kipling in his soldier tales. And yet we have the admiring testimony of Marshall French and even of His Majesty George V that these Kitchener's men have so fought as to be not unworthy to stand in line with the veteran professionals of the British army.

And what has been the case in India? Our Secretaries of State and India Councils have refused to think imperially or show statesmanly foresight by organising the defence of India on a national basis. They have refused to modernise their military policy in India and fondly hoped that the system of the medieval dynasts would serve them best for ever. The hour of need came sooner than they had dreamt of and found India unprepared. With one fifth of the entire human race at their disposal their policy of distrust has landed them in sore anxieties about man power sufficient to cope with three States of Europe. And then after the war has lasted three years the lessons of history have at last dawned upon our imperialists. Gokhale's appeal has been heard and a new military policy begun but by gun-grubbing and in a way not likely to reflect on India to the fullest.

possible glory and secure to the empire the fullest benefit of which this great dependency is capable

The greatest writer on the art of war Clausewitz has truly remarked 'War is a contest between the *sprits* of two nations. The real military assets of a State are the health, intellect and heart of its citizens. In proportion as the people have been kept ignorant, unorganised, physically undeveloped, demartialised and untrained in honourable exertion and sacrifice in defence of hearths and homes in that proportion must the State be weak in battle in spite of its having three hundred millions under one imperial sceptre now.

Nature makes nothing by a leap. Statesmen can reap only what their predecessors have sown. When in August 1914 this world war burst upon the empire the amount and value of India's possible contribution to imperial defence were predetermined by the policy followed by Government in the decade before. Two lakhs of sepoys were no doubt promptly transported to help extend to the North Sea the thin khaki line tipped with steel in the western Front. But men who had never seen shell fire even in dreams, illiterate men to whom the achievements of modern science are as witchcraft could oppose to the enemy only stout hearts and strong muscles (none stouter and stronger anywhere else in the world) — but not the resourcefulness, the skilful handling of scientific machines of destruction and the intelligent grasp of the ever varying needs of modern warfare without depending upon officers at every step — which are imperatively demanded in a struggle with the most scientific and best organised military nation in the world. The sepoy army had to be withdrawn from Flanders.

And the intellectual classes and families of India? How did the war find them ready physically and by training to undertake the duties of citizen-defenders of the empire? The answer to the question will be best found by considering what has been done for this purpose in England and comparing it with the state of things in India.

In England for more than a decade past in fact ever since an armed challenge by Germany to England's colonial empire began to loom ahead, as one of the certain

ties of the future, politicians and thinkers had been busy preparing the nation for the coming struggle. The war-worn Belshazzar Lord Roberts after sixty years of service under strange suns denied himself his well-earned rest at home and stumped the country trying to rouse the nation into accepting conscription. But when the sea-girt island confident of its invincible navy declined to sacrifice its manufacturing monopoly of the world's markets by undertaking the burden of universal military training, the better mind of the nation set about doing by voluntary agency what the political leaders were not prepared to compel by an act of state. (i) Rifle clubs were established all over England to teach thousands of civilians how to handle guns and how to aim correctly. *The Spectator* newspaper, the organ of the cultured classes, organised a volunteer company to experiment in how many months a body of men withdrawn from peaceful avocations can be made fit for the firing line. (ii) Associations were formed all over England to organise riders who would carry despatches across country in the event of the railway and telegraph lines being interrupted or seized by invaders, and a rehearsal of such despatch riding from Yorkshire to Middlesex was held and the result (very satisfactory in point of speed) was published in the *Spectator*. (iii) Boy scouts were organised in thousands to serve as the seed crop of the army. (iv) At the same time the volunteer force and militia (Territorials) were reorganised and received a tremendous increase in number and efficiency. It need hardly be told here that athletics are compulsory in schools and colleges in England and most professional men there keep up athletic habits (especially riding) till late in life. Life in the camp is no unexpected or disagreeable change to such men. As soon as the war broke out the Universities, Inns of Court (and even many Public Schools) sent three-fourths of their students and most of their younger teachers to the army as voluntary recruits. (v) At Oxford and Cambridge O.T.C.'s (Officers Training Corps) were established at which such students and professors as could not join were trained in arms to be called in due time to fill the gap in the ranks of officers of the fighting army. (vi) Academics too old to go out on campaigns went through the rigours of drill and the

musketry practice in order to qualify themselves for home defence or garrison duty in the hour of need. Professors Gilbert Murray and Walter Raleigh, Oman and Rose, in short all names venerated in the learned world, were seen shouldering muskets and doing the "goose step" (or the English equivalent of it). It was as if modern England had revived the ideal of Periclean Athens.

In India, no definite policy has been followed in improving the physique of the civil population,—which is the natural reserve for the expansion of the army. Except in a few (not all) Government schools, no playground has been provided for the boys and no drill-and-gymnastics master employed. None of our rulers has considered it his business to *organise* and set in operation a plan for the *universal* physical training of the youths of the country. And the result is that today there are millions of our lads who cannot run half a mile or throw a cricket ball beyond 50 yards. A reference to a Report on Public Instruction in Bengal about 1890-1 shows that when the D. P. I. proposed to introduce drill into Government schools for improving the health of the boys, "the Lieutenant-Governor, Sir Charles Elliot, demurred to the proposal." Since then drill of a kind has been sanctioned. But a *Modern Review* *Lathi Company*, formed in imitation of the *Spectator Volunteer Company*, would certainly be interned, possibly in solitary cells. Since Gokhale spoke, the demartialisation—you may call it emasculation—of the Indian people has advanced apace, and now, in the Empire's hour of need, the only response that India can possibly make to Lord Chelmsford's appeal for an India Defence Army, is such as to make her a laughing-stock to self-governing parts of the Empire, where the nation's martial capacity had been wisely cultivated to the utmost in the past.

In such self-governing countries there are always Militia and a Volunteer Corps. In the hour of need, these supply the ready and almost finished materials for the army, which can thus be expanded almost indefinitely at a moment's notice. The Volunteers are encouraged to make themselves "efficient" and "extra-efficient"; and these men form ready-made soldiers of the regular army. The Boy Scouts who have come of age are

half-soldiers already, and require only a little more training. In India every Native who enters the new Defence of India Force must necessarily be a raw recruit, and must go through a long and painful drill, before his services can be used.

And there is, in addition, a shortage of officers who understand our ways and our language. If Indians\* had been allowed to volunteer in the past, such men would, from the nature of the case, have been educated men, and from their social position and educational qualifications would have formed the natural officers of the India Defence Force. Ever since the outbreak of the war, educated Indians have been begging to be allowed to join the O. T. C. and the Indian Army Reserve of Officers, in order to fit them for service in the day of need, but they have been refused. And now, there is not a single Indian competent to act *immediately* as a commissioned officer, even if Government were pleased to declare that the commissioned ranks of the Indian Army would from tomorrow cease to be a white monopoly.

It should never be forgotten that when men are called upon to enlist, not for the purpose of satisfying the cravings of hunger, but in a noble spirit of defending hearth and home, the conditions of service should be such as not to gall their self-respect. Educated and well-to-do men in India will enlist in thousands only on the same conditions as in England, namely, if they have officers of their own race and are allowed to be officers themselves.

In addition, England is allowing *separation allowances* for dependents to every member of Kitchener's Army. Will the same thing be done in India? Or is a different principle to be followed here and the voluntary recruits of the Defence of India Force are to be treated like the regular army of professional soldiers? No politician can ignore the fact that large numbers of men cannot be expected to continue long at any work unless they get *living wages*. English statesmen recognised this fundamental truth during the last Transvaal War, when they recruited Canadians and Australians at 5 shillings a day, while British Tommies,

\* The only pure born Indians who have been allowed, as a favour, to volunteer in the past, are Parsis and Native Christians,—men who have the least likelihood of fraternising with the Indian populace.

fighting shoulder to shoulder with them, were paid the regulation shilling and two pence a day. As a temporary measure it was necessary. Living wages are similarly necessary for India's educated recruits.

But not for Volunteers. These should sacrifice a part of their time in receiving training and receive no salary at all for absence from their office or business during training. Lord Chelmsford is ominously silent about allowing Indians in general to serve as volunteers and also about forming a Camberwell or Sandhurst for Indians.

It cannot be contended that the need for marshalling the empire's total man-power could not be foreseen. France had foreseen it and silently raised her *Le Force Noire* in North Africa, and an English military critic had described it in the *Nineteenth Century* six years ago. With a dark population infinitely more numerous, intelligent and educated in modern knowledge than Turcos and Zouaves, at her disposal, England has been content to let matters drift. And now, as late as 7th February, 1917, she makes a half-hearted and enigmatically obscure call to our patriotism. Let us wait for the response.

## A BOOK-STUDY

**"JAPANESE Expansion and American Policies",** by James Francis Abbott, Ph.D. (George Washington University, St. Louis), published by the Macmillan Company, 1916.

In this volume, Dr. Abbott, after giving a short history of the rise of Japan as a world power, and of her past relations with the United States of America, discusses the chances of war between the United States and Japan. He gives some practical suggestions concerning what would constitute a sound policy for the United States to adopt towards Japan. In this discussion Dr. Abbott expresses views which are directly related to Chinese questions of vital importance.

The author successfully proves that "war with America would be national suicide for Japan." It would not only bring her ruin from the commercial point of view, but Japan could not expect from any of the European nations support in carrying on a war against the United States.

Now to anyone who examines the facts the most striking characteristic of the white people that inhabit the lands bordering the Pacific is the instinct of racial solidarity against the Oriental. I should not call it unity, for it is as a rule impersonal. At bottom the difficulty is an economic one and for that reason so fundamental that it transcends the artificial barrier of nationalism.

When Japan fought Russia, Germany and France did not view the situation with equanimity although

they did not interfere, partly because of the Anglo-Japanese alliance and partly because the battlefield was many thousand miles away. Like China Japan has profited by the mutual jealousies of the powers and the reluctance of any of them to offer a lead to any other.

But should Japan declare war against the United States particularly on the plan so often discussed in this country, the situation from the European standpoint would be very much graver. Were the antagonist any other than an oriental one, we may well believe that a good many European nations would view the thorough trouncing of the United States with complacency. But the defeat of any leading Occidental power by Japan would be a calamity from the standpoint of any nation in Europe. England would without doubt be given the immediate alternative of renouncing the Japanese alliance or of losing Canada and Australia from the Empire. At any rate it is inconceivable that England should be anything but neutral in a matter in which her own self-interest would be so much concerned. But with England neutral that is, with Japan deprived of the backing of the English alliance, both Russia and Germany would appear on the scene of continental Asia the one with keen recollections of Port Arthur and Dalny and the other with equally keen remembrance of Kiao-Chow, and both ready to seize the long deferred chance to secure themselves in China by evicting the Japanese.

Japan would find herself isolated, beggared and with all the delicate structure of her new and hardly won economic development crumbling to ruins about her. In the midst of a world of enemies she would fight on no doubt, indefinitely. For there are no braver folk on earth no more steadfast and loyal to their own, than the fifty million stout-hearted people who fill the islands of the Japanese Empire. But is it very reasonable that she should deliberately bring on all this, in the belief that she would profit thereat?



The author thinks it very probable that, after this war is over, rivalry between Great Britain and Japan will increase :

"England so long as she feared the Russian bear, deluded herself with the notion that she was protecting her interests in Asia by the Anglo-Japanese Alliance. In reality it was Japan that profited most since by tying the hands of England she eliminated, temporarily, another rival. For the natural interests of Great Britain—her national instinct, one might say—places her in the opposition to Japan in all that concerns China. England's trade along the Chinese coast led all the rest until very recently, and it has chiefly been her partner in the alliance that has played the successful rival and reduced the relative importance of that trade. No one can say what results will follow the conclusion of the great European war. It is doubtful, however, if Russia is ever again the bogaboo to England that she has been in the past, and if that is so, then the chief motive on England's part for maintaining the Japanese alliance will disappear and her own interests as well as the pressure which Canada and Australia will exert will force her into the other camp." Pp 220-27

- Dr. Abbott boldly advocates a new policy of informal "alliance" between Japan and America in unmistakable terms :

"America wishes the 'Open Door' in China. Japan wishes the equivalent of a Monroe Doctrine for the East. If America supports Japan's contention and Japan, America's Europe will be forced to acquiesce and peace in the Pacific will be assured.

In a word, we must abandon once for all the anti-Japanese policy inaugurated by Knox, more than that, we must abandon the 'Laissez faire' indifferent policy that many advocate today. Rather our policy should be one of active cooperation, an alliance, if you will though not necessarily one in the conventional military sense." P 259

Thus Dr. Abbott advocates that America should not interfere with Japanese policy in Eastern Asia :

"Asia can never again be what it was before the Cassin convention. Korea is a part of Japan now and south Manchuria is under her control. Let us accept the situation. China may well heed Japan's contention that she took them not from her, but from Russia, against whom the former was helpless. Japan's needs for expansion are real and obvious. Manchuria and Korea could hold the double of the Japanese population. Why try to 'head her off'? They are her safety valve. If the stream follows that way, it will not flow to us, nor to Canada and Australia."

It is exceedingly interesting to note the author's view that commercially Japan is not the greatest competitor of the United States in the Chinese market, but Great Britain. Germany and France are the true competitors of the United States of America. He finds that American interests are not threatened by Japan, but by those powers that have tried to establish a control over large portions of Chinese territory and have been opposed by Japan in that attempt.

"We must consider whether it is for our future advantage or disadvantage that Japan should be supported in her contention. It reduces to the question of whether it would be to our advantage or contrariwise that China should be the scene of the pulling and hauling diplomacy so continuously the feature of the past two decades' history or whether we should profit most by the elimination of European powers (Russia, England, Germany and France) from political control of Chinese territory and interference in Chinese politics.

'We in this country, wish peace in the Pacific and its shores. We wish to find the greatest possible market for our goods in both Japan and China. We have something of the present status of the Oriental trade. We have seen that the greatest current market at present is for cotton manufactures, secondly for such goods as matches, umbrellas, cigarettes, lamps, oil, etc. the use of which is easily acquired and is increasing in China. In the third rank are the manufactures, the use of which will have to be acquired by the Chinese as their scale of living changes—such things as sewing machines, electrical appliances, scientific instruments, phonographs, household conveniences and plumbing supplies. We may add structural iron and railway equipment.

"The market for these at present is embryonic. Now of the first class, that of cotton yarns and cloths, Japanese goods are attaining a startling rapid ascendancy in the Chinese markets. Neither Europe nor America can hope to compete with Japanese cotton mills employing work-girls at fifteen cents a day and running sixteen to twenty-three hours out of the twenty four. But as we have seen, Japan depends to a great extent upon American raw cotton to supply this market, since a certain admixture is necessary to bring her product to the proper standard. In other words, since the Chinese customer demands the best he can afford, if Japan should attempt to do without American raw cotton, depending upon that from China and India, then her control of the market would pass. Here, therefore, Japan's success is really America's joint profit and Europe does not count.

'In the second class, all essentially cheap articles, it is likely that with the exception of kerosene oil the trade will also tend to settle into Japan's hands although in this case in certain lines her competition may come from Europe. Oil we shall doubtless continue to supply.

"It is in the third group of manufactures that American industry has its greatest opportunity. The product of American workshops, employing the highest grade of skilled labor, need not fear competition from the Japanese, at least not for many years to come. There is every reason to believe that the Chinese demand for such products will grow apace. Our competitors here, however, will be Germany, England and France. Again we find our interests are not threatened by Japan, but by those powers that have tried to establish a control over large portions of Chinese territory, and have been opposed by Japan in that attempt.

"Commercially therefore, and from the standpoint of strict national selfishness, it is to our advantage to keep Europe out of East Asia, which involves the acceptance of Japanese dominance in far Eastern Affairs. Every consideration points to a community of interest between America and Japan with reference to the development of China's trade, provided only that Japan does not make the mistake of attempting to monopolize the whole trade." Pp 243-244.

About 75% of the whole of the Chinese territory is claimed by the European Powers as their 'Spheres of Influence' where American capital cannot be freely utilized. The Japanese sphere of influence in China to lay does not amount to more than 1% of the Chinese territory. If by the proposed co-operation of Japan and the United States China be freed from the effect of the European Spheres of Influence, it will certainly mean progress and prosperity for China and room for American capital. Dr Abbott's suggestion is a

very bold one, but it may be very profitable for the statesmen of America, Japan and China to ponder over this daring proposition which in its logical conclusion leads to a very powerful combination of America, Japan, and China, with the leadership of America who cherishes no territorial ambition in Asia. This last point has not been considered by the author, though it is a most important one.

AN AMERICAN POLITICAL SCIENTIST

## AMERICA'S WORK IN THE PHILIPPINES, I

**T**HE latest available official report on the government of the Philippines is the *Report of the Philippine Commission to the Secretary of War* for the period from July 1, 1913, to December 31, 1914. We propose in this article to make extracts from this report and others, with brief comments where necessary.

The spirit which animated the Philippine Commission in carrying on the government of the islands will appear from their recommendation for the passage of the Jones Bill.

'The Philippine Commission urgently recommends the passage of this proposed act, which provides for the extension of the autonomy of the Filipino people by granting to them greater participation in their government.

It is urged that at the coming session of the Congress the Jones bill or a similar act, as it passed the House of Representatives and as favourably reported by the Senate Committee on the Philippines be enacted. In the opinion of the Philippine Commission modification of the bill if any is made should be in the way of making its provisions even more liberal.

We consider it particularly important that the preamble of the bill substantially as it was passed by the House of Representatives be enacted. We consider such a definite statement of intent on necessary in order that a better understanding may be established between both peoples and that stability of business may be established and assured.

*Do the British Government in India feel it necessary to make a definite statement of real intention regarding Indian autonomy or Home Rule?*

The Jones Bill proposed to make the Filipinos independent not later than four

years after the date of its passing. It has been enacted in a modified form giving the Filipinos a government directly responsible to the people. We quoted the following summary of the Act from the *Springfield Republican* in our last November number —

In place of the present Philippine Commission which is abolished the Filipinos are to elect a Senate. The House is already elected by the people and with the election of the Senate the electorate is to be increased by about 600,000. As about 200,000 Filipinos vote now the new law will grant voting rights to about 800,000. The office of Governor General is retained and there is to be a vice-governor an American whose duties are to be fixed by the Governor General. The functions of the legislature are limited so as to provide that the coinage currency and immigration laws shall not be made without the approval of the President of the United States. Finally all Americans residing in the islands who desire to vote must become citizens of the islands. The *Republican* points out also that the preamble of the bill fixes no specific date for the granting of independence but simply states that it has always been the purpose of the people of the United States to withdraw their sovereignty over the Philippine Islands and to recognize their independence as soon as a suitable government can be established therein. Therefore, enlarged powers of self-government are granted "in order that by the use and exercise of popular franchise and governmental powers they may the better be prepared fully to assume the responsibilities and enjoy all the privileges of complete independence."

So the Philippine Commission, in recommending the passing of the Jones bill, practically recommended their own extinction, as the first sentence of the foregoing extract shows.

The report of the Governor General of

the Philippines contains the following paragraphs regarding this Bill —

"The Philippine Commission in its report printed herewith makes mention of the importance of the early passage by Congress of the pending Philippine bill. The extended powers of self government offered to the Filipino people by this measure will afford the best demonstration to the world of the capacity of the Filipino people and will give unmeasured satisfaction to the people of these islands.

"The preamble of the bill containing as it does an unequivocal statement of the intention of the people of the United States to give ultimate independence to the islands will be regarded by the Filipino people as an affirmation of the often expressed policy of our country towards them."

Then follows the enunciation of an important principle

"Every nation as well as every individual must have an ideal and all Americans should unite with the Filipino people in cherishing for their future ideal that independence which we value so highly for our selves."

Is there any official report published by the Government of India which contains any sentiment like this? Do the British people "unite with" the Indian people in cherishing the ideal of national autonomy?

The good that is likely to result from a statement of definite policy is next referred to

"The Filipino, citizens of all nations residing in the Philippines all parties and all factions realize that business as well as political conditions will improve upon a statement of definite policy by the Congress of the United States. Prevailing uncertainty will come to an end immediately upon the enactment of such a measure as that advocated. Every sentiment of good faith on the part of the United States calls for an affirmation of the statements heretofore made by the representatives of the United States in the Philippine Islands, that eventually the people of the Philippines are to be given their independence."

The Governor General next pays an ungrudging tribute to the political capacity of the Filipinos

"All who have resided in the Philippine Islands must appreciate the tremendous achievements of the United States in the islands since American occupation. We are perhaps somewhat prone to under estimate however the part which the Filipino people have borne in our success. Only through their willing co-operation in executive administration and in the expenditure of their revenues as expressed in the acts of legislature of their provincial boards and the municipal councils have we been able so easily and so rapidly to make the tremendous strides and improvements in order sanitation and public works of which we are so proud."

How different is the spirit which animates many Anglo Indian bureaucrats. If the police cannot detect criminals, why, it is the people who are so cowardly! If sanitation does not make progress, why,

it is the people who do not appreciate good health and are obstructive!

There is another passage in which the Governor General bears testimony to the ability of the Filipino people in a still more marked manner. Says he —

This occasion is taken to express my deep appreciation of the consideration accorded the recommendations of the Governor General by the Legislature and as a member of the Commission to express admiration for the ability and conscientious hard work of my colleagues. One who has had opportunity for intimate observation cannot doubt for a moment the ability of the Filipinos to enact their own legislation conservatively and without extravagance, with diligent attention to the needs of the Filipino people, and with a comprehension of these needs such as it is difficult if not impossible for men of another race to acquire."

In the Philippines the educated leaders of the people are held to possess a comprehension of their needs "such as it is difficult, if not impossible, for men of another race to acquire" in India, on the contrary, the educated section are held neither to represent the people nor to understand their needs or to have the desire to remove their grievances.

What are the attainments, what the intellectual status of the people of whose ability the Governor General speaks so highly? It may be thought that the Filipino electors, the Filipino legislators, and the Filipino teachers and other officials are far more highly educated than our educated men. This does not seem to be the case. Let us try to have some idea of the number and attainments of the men who have obtained the highest education in the islands. The Sixteenth Annual Report of the Director of Education (January 1, 1914, to December 31, 1915) which is the latest available, states —

"The University graduated its first class in the year 1909. Beginning with that year its graduates in all departments have numbered by years 8 12 11 31 51 101 and 178 for the school year 1914 15."

So altogether up to 1914 15 there have been 392 graduates. Besides these there are some Filipinos who have graduated in America. We have not been able to find out their number. The Filipino graduates of the University of the Philippines are not as highly educated as the graduates of the U S A of American race. According to the Director, "they lack at least two years of college work to equal 80 per cent of the American teaching force" in the Islands.

Some idea of the education which is

"Not alone in this particular was the increased efficiency of the newly constituted Legislatures apparent.

For example a campaign had been directed against the Filipino people in certain quarters of the United States based upon the alleged refusal of the Filipinos to legislate against slavery which it was alleged, existed in the islands. There was in fact a legal doubt whether existing law in the Philippines did prohibit slavery and penalize it and consequently, one of the first acts of the new legislature was to pass, by unanimous vote, a drastic antislavery law, applying to the islands as supplementary to existing law.

Certain salaries of the government were also reduced.

### PHILIPINIZATION

By filipinization is meant the replacing of Americans by Filipinos in the government machinery. This has gone on throughout the years of American occupation. Brigadier General Frank McIntyre of the United States Army, Chief of the Bureau of Insular Affairs, writes in the course of his official despatch to the secretary of war, dated March 1, 1913, "In your last annual report you say with reference to the policy which has controlled us since:

Briefly, this policy may be expressed as having for its sole object the preparation of the Filipino peoples for popular self government in their own interest and not in the interest of the United States. In the words of Mr. McKinley:

"In all the forms of government and administrative provisions which they are authorized to prescribe the Commission should bear in mind that the government which they are establishing is designed not for our satisfaction, or for the expression of our theoretical views, but for the happiness, peace and prosperity of the people of the Philippine Islands."

Brigadier General McIntyre then describes the political status of the people at the time he wrote the despatch:

"The Filipino to-day controls absolutely his municipal government, which means from the American standpoint the municipal and county governments. He elects all of the officers and the officers are almost invariably Filipinos. The municipal judge—the Justice of the Peace—is a Filipino.

It is true that the financial affairs of the municipalities are subject to the supervision of higher authority. This is not unusual in the United States. The police of the municipalities are governed by regulations prepared by the Chief of the Constabulary, an insular official, and the municipal police are subject to the inspection of Constabulary officers.

In the provinces which correspond to the states of the Union the governing body is a provincial board, two members of which are elected by the voters of the province. The third member—the treasurer—is a civil service official, and is in the general case an American, though we have a number of provinces with Filipino treasurers.

Again, in the insular or central government the

executive officers are appointed, the Commission consisting of one member appointed by the President and with the advice and consent of the Senate. Five of the members are the heads of executive departments of the government and four are members of the Commission in its legislative capacity. This body is the upper house of the Legislature. For several years five members of this body have been Americans and four Filipinos. At present due to a vacancy there are four Americans and four Filipinos. For several years one of the executive departments—that of Finance and Justice—has been presided over by a Filipino member of the Commission while one of the legislative members has been an American.

The Attorney General of the Islands is not a member of the Commission. This office has for several years been filled by a Filipino.

In the Legislature the lower house, the Philippine Assembly, is composed of 81 members elected from that number of districts into which the entire Christian and civilized portion of the Archipelago is divided. The jurisdiction of this legislature is far greater than that of the state legislatures, and the lower house of the Philippine Legislature has all of the usual powers of the lower house of legislative bodies in the various states. The jurisdiction, however, of the Legislature of which it is a component part does not extend to those portions of the Archipelago which are not represented in the Legislature, being inhabited principally by Moros and other non-Christian tribes. Over this part of the Archipelago the legislative authority of the Commission is exclusive.

In his relation to the courts the Filipino finds the Justice of the Peace court occupied by a Filipino. One-half of the Judges of First Instance are Filipinos and of the seven Supreme Court Justices three have been and are Filipinos.

### Summing up the General says:

Briefly, the Filipino as distinguished from a small class has been given more power in his government than is exercised by any oriental people, and all the agencies which are supposed to work for the advancement of a people in popular self government are being used to the greatest practicable extent for the Filipino.

At the same time every effort consistent with reasonable conservation of natural resources has been made to develop the material prosperity of the Philippine Islands.

In the Special Report of Brigadier General Frank McIntyre on the Philippine Islands, dated December 1, 1913, there is a section devoted to the filipinization of the public service. He writes that "in his special report to President Taft, made in 1910, Secretary Dickinson said:—

"In your special report of 1904 under the heading 'Civil Service' you say:

"Still in many of the bureaus the progress of Filipinos to the most responsible places is necessarily slow and the proportion of them to be found in positions of high salaries is not as large as it ought to be in the near future. The winnowing-out process, however, is a sadly retarding the American employees in the civil service."

One of the demands most urgently brought to my attention was that the work of increasing the proportion of the Filipino employees is not being

pressed, and that especially in the higher salaries, there is discrimination against Filipino employees. The Filipinos bear the burden of government and should, so far as is consistent with proper administration and the maintenance of the present attitude of the United States in the government of the islands, be given a preference in employment.

The general question was taken up with the Governor General and the heads of departments and bureaus. It is the fixed policy of the administration to proceed as rapidly as the good of the service will permit in increasing the Filipino employees and I am satisfied that there will be a hearty cooperation upon the part of all. The Governor General has always favored this course.

Without a careful analysis of these tables one might get a false impression of the extent to which the government of the island has been Filipinized during the period covered by them. They show the increase of Filipinos in the civil service of the islands but it should be observed that in the period covered by these tables the number of Filipino members of the commission has been increased 33 1/3 per cent, the number of judges of first instance by 100 per cent and there has been created the Philippine Assembly an elective body composed exclusively of Filipinos.

To-day four of the nine members of the Philippine Commission which constitutes the upper house of the legislature are Filipinos. The entire lower house is composed of Filipinos. In the executive department the important portfolio of finance and justice is held by a Filipino. Three of the seven justices of the supreme court including the chief justice thereof, are Filipinos and 10 of the 20 judges of first instance are Filipinos while practically all the lower judicial officers are Filipinos.

"The policy in this regard, as set forth in the report of Mr. Taft in 1908 and of Mr. Dickinson in 1910, and which has been outlined in practically every official statement on this subject since the establishment of civil government in the Philippine Islands, has been steadily adhered to by the present Governor General. The change in the subordinate positions has been somewhat more rapid than it had averaged in the recent past. It has, however, been by no means radical. Filipinization has been marked by necessary conservatism in the higher positions in the government.

"To illustrate this, the last paragraph in Secretary Dickinson's report of 1910 would read, if written to-day, as follows:

To-day 5 of the 9 members of the Philippine Commission which constitute the upper house of the legislature are Filipinos. The entire lower house is composed of Filipinos. In the executive department the important portfolio of finance and justice is held by a Filipino. Three of the 7 justices of the supreme court including the chief justice thereof are Filipinos and 22 of the 36 judges of first instance are Filipinos while practically all the lower judicial officers are Filipinos.

The only change from 1910 is that

5 instead of 4 of the 9 members of the Philippine Commission are now Filipinos, the changes in the number of judges of first instance being the result of an increasing number of judges of first instance, as it will be noted that the number of American judges is greater than in 1910."

The report of the Governor General dated June 20, 1915, contains a section devoted to changes in personnel. From it we learn that "the action of the national administration in Filipinizing the Commission was followed by increased representation of Filipinos in the executive branches of the government. Filipinization of the government service was the policy of President McKinley in his organic letter of instructions, and has been endorsed with emphasis as a principle by succeeding Presidents and by most of the Governors General of the islands. Under whichever principle the Philippine question is now discussed, whether of eventual independence or local self government of the islands, it is obviously necessary to give the Filipinos an opportunity to fill any offices for which they demonstrate their ability. In fact, the law requires this, as is indicated by the following excerpt from the civil service act:

Sec. 4. In the appointment of officers and employees under the provisions of this act the appointing officer in his selection from the list of eligibles furnished to him by the director of civil service shall, where other qualifications are equal, prefer—

First Natives of the Philippine Islands or persons who have under and by virtue of the Treaty of Paris acquired the political rights of the natives of the islands.

Second Persons who have served as members of the Army, Navy or Marine Corps of the United States and have been honorably discharged therefrom.

Third Citizens of the United States.

So the Filipinos have the first claim to civil service appointments.

The Governor General then proceeds to make some remarks on the policy of Filipinization, which all rulers of dependencies and all dependent peoples should bear in mind. He observes: "In addition to the justice of the policy of Filipinization, it is obvious to all that efficiency must result when capable Filipinos are placed in office, because thereby the confidence and cordial cooperation of the people are obtained. An administrative efficiency which may sparkle in the lecture room is not necessarily perceptible in action."

decide that the eligibles do not possess the technical knowledge and training or other qualifications or requirements necessary for the position sought to be filled or that the best interests of the service require the appointment of a nonresident.

"As further stated in the report of the director of the civil service, 'on account of the increasing number of better educated Filipinos who were able to qualify in the first and second grade examinations appointing officers have almost ceased making appointments in Manila from the third (the lowest) grade register of eligibles, and there has been a marked decrease in the number of eligible appointed from this register in the provinces. For this reason the third-grade examination was given only once during 1914.'

"As demanded by the economies put into effect by the Legislature, there was a general reduction of personnel throughout the insular service and the municipal service of Manila in 1914. Of the appointees from examinations, only 6 per cent were Americans and 94 per cent Filipinos, instead of 11 and 89 per cent, respectively, in 1912 and 1913.

"In the classified service but 54 Americans were brought from the United States in 1914, of whom 45 were teachers; and in the unclassified service 39 Americans were brought from the United States, 18 as constabulary officers and 10 as superintendents of agricultural experiment stations; the other 11 were, except as above mentioned, chiefly technical experts."

"The report of the executive secretary shows the gradual filipinization of the 43 provincial and 757 municipal governments, which in the case of the latter is almost complete. In 1914 there were 37 Americans and 134 Filipino provincial officials, as against 40 and 113 in 1913, while in municipal offices there were 116 Americans and 13,272 Filipinos, as against 121 and 12,384 in 1913."

"The bureau of labor is directed entirely by Filipinos, and has been conducted in a very satisfactory manner."

So there is "simultaneous civil service examination" for the Philippines; and Americans are examined and appointed only when there are no properly qualified Filipino eligibles.

#### RELATIONS BETWEEN THE DIFFERENT COMMUNITIES.

The following paragraph from \*the

report of the Governor General shows what efforts are made to promote friendly relation between different communities:

Particular attention is lavished to the work accomplished by the secretary of the interior and his staff in promoting friendly relations between the people of the mountains and the Filipinos of the plains. By this policy the isolation in which the mountain people were left for so many generations will gradually be removed and the way opened for a more rapid spread of civilization. By this means, also, the distrust heretofore reported to exist between the hill people and the civilized people of the plains will be eliminated and a feeling of mutual regard and respect will be engendered. It is obvious that common feelings of nationality and common sense of responsibility among the peoples of the Philippines can only be secured by bringing them into association and contact with each other, maintaining and strengthening the barrier which has in the past been erected between them will not serve.

Another paragraph gives some interesting details on this subject.

In the Moro country, as well as in the Mountain Province, a new policy was inaugurated of cultivating confidence and good will between the non-Christians and their Christian neighbors. Especial stress was laid upon the fact that all the inhabitants of the Philippine Islands were destined to form a united people with a common nationality. Earnest efforts have been made to eradicate the distrust with which the Mohammedans viewed the people of other religions and most gratifying results of harmony and cooperation are already beginning to appear. Christian Filipinos from the northern islands have been installed as government officials, especially as school teachers, in many of the remote portions of the Moro country and have been uniformly successful; in no instance has any violence been offered them or any obstruction placed in their way. The undersigned concurs in the urgent recommendation of the governor of the department for largely increased appropriations for the establishment of schools in Mindanao and Sulu.

Evidently the Americans do not think it either necessary or righteous to follow the *divide et impera* policy.

#### EDUCATION.

We shall in a succeeding number give some details regarding the educational work of America in the Philippines. Here we merely mention "the fact that in the year 1914, 23½ per cent of all the expenditures of the Philippine government were for educational work, a record which it is believed is not surpassed elsewhere in the world." In 1914-15 the Baroda State spent 12½ per cent of its revenue on education, which is a much larger proportion than that spent by the Government of India. The Governor General observes: "In the desire for continuation and extension of this vast program of educa-

tional work both Americans and Filipinos unite. The educational work in the Philippines is a particular source of pride to the people of the United States and, moreover, the political principles of all parties demand that as rapidly as possible the Filipino people should receive the most modern education to fit themselves for their future responsibilities."

#### EXODUS TO HILL STATION STOPPED

The town of Baguio is a health resort. In the winter of 1914 the Legislature discontinued the appropriation for transferring the bureaus of the government to Baguio during the heated period. This was done to save the annual expenditure averaging 170,000 pesos (equal to about Rs 260,000) customary for the Baguio exodus. At the same time the teachers' camp, numbering about 350 teachers, was held as usual in Baguio for about six weeks. At no time in the past had the whole government force been transported to Baguio, and at no time had the whole personnel of the insular government shown a desire to go to Baguio.

To the official mind in India, it would seem to be the height of absurdity to propose that the viceroy, the governors, and the lieutenant governors, with their entourage, should not resort to their summer capitals during the hot season, but that the ill-paid and overworked pedagogues should, instead, spend six weeks there and hold educational conferences. But Americans have ideas of their own regarding the importance of education.

#### PUBLIC HEARINGS AND CONSULTATION WITH CITIZENS

We reproduce below the paragraphs on public hearings and consultation with citizens, and complaints of citizens.

In order to avoid mistakes due to unfamiliarity with the local conditions and the language traditions and customs of the people I have resorted freely to public hearings on all matters of general public importance. During the year the department has participated in at least 18 such hearings.

In many matters the department has made a distinct effort to hold personal consultations with citizens interested in any especial branch of the department's work, and above all with persons inclined to oppose any method or plan of the department.

Frequently also the department has invited the advice and cooperation of unofficial voluntary committees containing, usually a representative of those who opposed the proposed plan, a representative of the department, and third persons particularly familiar with the general subject.

Often these measures have revealed some justification for the objections advanced and also some practical way of modifying the department's action so as to adapt it to existing conditions without injustice or injury to anyone.

Sometimes they have disclosed pure misunderstanding of the department's intentions due to no fault of anyone but merely to differences of language or misinterpretation of acts. As even such misunderstandings, however, lead to irritation and opposition obstruct efficient and smooth administration and prevent harmonious cooperation with the public (especially between different races) the department has sought to prevent them or when they occur to correct them with precisely the same care which it uses to prevent or correct any positive mistakes.

#### COMPLAINTS OF CITIZENS

Another helpful method of preventing such mistakes or of correcting them has been painstaking attention to complaints of individual citizens. For administrative purposes the department has acted on the assumption that every complaint wherever it may originate is likely to have some justification, that it indicates at least irritation and that such irritation should be alleviated wherever possible. As a rule these assumptions have proved sound.

#### PLAGUE AND OTHER EPIDEMICS

As the result of the efforts of the Bureau of Health plague, both rodent and human, has disappeared from the islands. "The last case occurred on September 12, 1914. Measures will be continued with vigour, however, to prevent a return of the disease."

Smallpox has been eradicated, bubonic plague and Asiatic cholera have been suppressed, a remedy has been found for beriberi, the lepers that formerly roamed almost at will have been segregated without adding complete isolation and inhuman treatment to the terrors of the disease. And the cost of all this and of much more that has been similarly done for the health of the people has been borne by the Filipino people themselves. More than that the people have been brought to the point when they appreciate the benefits of sanitation to an extent that a few years ago would have seemed incredible.

As showing the confidence of the business world in the improved sanitary conditions it may be stated that the life insurance companies are charging the same rates in the Philippines as in the United States.

British life insurance companies are not able to charge the same rates in India as they do in the United Kingdom.

#### LAW AND ORDER

General McIntyre says in his Special Report:

It is only fair to say in recognition of the excellent work of the several administrations in the islands that the maintenance of law and order there does not now require the presence of a single American soldier and that the duty of such as in the Philippine Islands is to-day in all identical with their duty in the United States.

### CIVIL SERVANTS NOT ENTITLED TO BE HEADS OF DEPARTMENTS

We learn from the report of the governor general that in the Philippine Islands civil servants are not entitled to fill the positions of chiefs or assistant chiefs of departments or bureaus. The reason given for such a rule is sound.

In a consideration of the official personnel of the insular government it should be remembered that the civil service laws do not cover the positions of chief and assistant chief of bureaus. Such high officials

bear a large share in carrying out the practical operations of the governmental policy, and the wisdom of permitting the appointment of such officials without reference to the civil service law is apparent when it is brought to mind that the Governor General or secretary of department must depend for efficiency in his policies upon the loyal cooperation and genuine support of the bureau chiefs immediately subordinate to him.

Evidently it is feared that if civil service men were appointed, their esprit de corps and class interests might stand in the way of their loyally carrying out the governmental policy.

## INDIAN PERIODICALS

### Navigation Schools in India.

D. P. Bhosekar pleads for the establishment of navigation schools at the principal ports of India in the pages of the *Quarterly Journal of the Poona Sarvajanik Sabha* for January. A country to expand commercially must possess its own vessels to carry its trade. The maritime activities of Indians are now only memories.

The writer says quite correctly

So long as India has to depend on foreign ships and unsympathetic railways for the transport of her manufactured goods as well as raw materials there can be very little hope of its industrial advancement. It is a most fortunate circumstance that this year's session of the Industrial Conference is being held at the principal port which occupies the most prominent place in the Commercial activity of the whole country. I take therefore, this opportunity to appeal to the Industrial magnates of this city to seriously take up the subject of recognising and re-establishing shipbuilding on modern lines as Bombay was once famous for its ships which plied as far as England.

India is not an inland country like Tibet or Switzerland. She has a seacoast of more than 4,000 miles. She has excellent ports and harbours like Karachi, Bombay, Madras and Calcutta. Her sea-borne trade is extensive. A large number of Indians are required to go to foreign countries for commerce, service and education. Sea-voyages are also often resorted to by the Indians. Hindus and Mahomedans alike for pilgrimages.

The subject of commerce is now included in the curriculum of the Bombay University and the subject of Navigation or Marine Architecture will owe to be included in it if strong efforts be made by the educated Indians and merchants of this city. As commercial education is included in the faculty of Arts so Navigation and Naval Architecture may be included in the Faculty of Engineering and Bombay

is the most suitable place for establishing a Naval School by Government as it possesses an excellent harbour. There are about fifty High Schools in this city at present but not a single Navigation School. One gentleman of Bombay the Honourable Mr. Muhammad Yusuf Ismail has made a beginning and has provided for the training of a few Indian boys and intends to start a small training ship to be affiliated to an orphanage and other schools which he maintains at Nahava, near Bombay.

In England some Navigation schools are maintained by City Municipalities. So also our Bombay Municipal Corporation may be requested to maintain at least one Navigation School out of its fund.

Writing in the *Mysore Economic Journal* for January on the

### Vernacular Question

a writer observes

India is not one people one language, India is many peoples many tongues.

There is in this vast land, only one available medium of communication and that is English. The conditions of educated life and enterprise in this land as in all lands call insistently for one common tongue. In India English is that common tongue. We may regret it we may sit down and bemoan the divisions and isolation caused by our many vernaculars but we shall find ourselves left far behind if we do for another outstanding fact is that millions of our fellow countrymen are to-day forging ahead because they have learned to use English as a second mother tongue.

The co-operation the widening of their outlook, the gleaming of help from all sources the splendid patriotism shown in the true subordination of merely local or private ends to the welfare of the whole all this is possible only because Indian sons and daughters throughout this vast land have realised that in the English language they have a common



medium of fellowship they have made this medium their own and they are now in the position of being able to press forward in mutual co-operation.

The Japanese are one people they can carry on the internal work of their land in their own tongue because they happen to have a common tongue and because Japan's people know that tongue. But all Japan's sons who hope to take a share in any part of her international life must know English and of course they learn English.

The writer is evidently labouring under a *misunderstanding*. We do not know if any sane person ever proposed to drop English altogether from the curriculum of our schools and colleges. The controversy is about the medium of instruction. The present system of instruction through the medium of English, a foreign language is unnatural, and as such must be dropped. The Japanese learn English certainly, but in Japan, as in every other country, instruction is given through the medium of the mother tongue. We also demand that, and it passes our comprehension, why some of our people should cry against it.

In the *Hindustan Review* for January Mr K. M. Panikkar intelligently discusses about the

### Disabilities of Indians in the Colonies

In the course of which he says that

The Political problem of Greater India has two aspects—first what I might call the negative aspect of the problem the various disabilities under which the Indian subjects of His Majesty labour in His Majesty's Dominions over the seas. Secondly we have the positive aspect which of course is the claim of India to her just place in the Empire and its corollary of statutory equality of Indians in all parts of the British Empire. The thing to keep in mind is that they are both two aspects of the same fundamental question—what is the status of India in the British Empire. And whether British citizenship carries with it the right of free entrance to any part of the Empire. There is another question more fundamental to wit—Has any race a moral right to consider any part of the world's surface as its own special reserve?

As to the first of these we have a strong case. All British subjects have free entry into India. Our Civil Service contains not only Englishmen, Scotchmen and Irishmen, but even Canadians, Afrikaners, Australians, Negroes and Jews. All of them claim privileges as British citizens in India. Why should

not Indians then claim the same privileges in these Colonies?

As to the question whether any race has a right to consider any part of the world as its special preserve to be exploited by nobody else, European policy will give the best answer. Both the Chinese and the Japanese seriously put forward such a claim but the European powers did not recognise it. The United States settled the matter once for all when it sent Commodore Perry to the Japanese coast. The question is exactly similar but Europe did not recognise Japan's right for exclusion and independent evolution.

In answer to the arguments advanced regarding the "racial superiority of the Europeans" the writer rightly observes.

The word fit has no meaning except in regard to some specific sphere of action. If Europeans put forward the claim that they are the fittest, we are entitled to ask to do what? The problem of survival is essentially the problem of annihilating the competitors. I am not disposed to dispute the claim of the Europeans as the best architects of destruction, and therefore the fittest to survive. But with regard to any other sphere of action, their claim to be the fittest will strongly be contested not only by Indians but by many other nations of the earth.

Civilisation does not advance by Racial War. It is impeded by it. The progress of humanity depends upon the co-operation of races. I am a firm believer in the superiority of the Hindu mind, but I also believe that the Hindu mind wants the co-operation of the minds of other races if a better and more civilised world is to be evolved out of the present.

The January number of *Indian Industries and Power*, which, by the way, is an excellent, neatly printed journal containing useful notes and articles on various industrial, engineering and agricultural topics, has to say the following on

### The Industries Commission.

The Industrial Commission are collecting useful opinions and suggestions which if adopted will have very far reaching effects. The reports of their sittings are being carefully digested by the Government, some of whom fear however that the Commission will not materialize into a practical and sensible policy by the Government of India. Our industrialists do not command their admiration and they do not forget that they have as a class been very selfish to the trader and the manufacturer. But the feature of class prejudice is being slowly shaken by the War yet more vigorous measures of the changing times are needed in India. We fully realise the urgent necessity for industrial emancipation in our country.

## FOREIGN PERIODICALS

## Consortship.

The following is taken from an article appearing in the *Crisis* for January and penned by the late Inez Milholland

When there is a question of good and bad involved I am most distinctly opposed to suppressing the bad as a means of establishing the good. I would let them flourish side by side certain that the really good would in the end prevail and outlive the bad and certain likewise that given freedom of reflection all people would eventually repudiate the bad in favor of the good. Why? Because that would be in accord with the fundamental instinct of self-preservation since what is good for the individual organism is good for the race and the good of the race is the sum total of all morality that we know anything about.

Let evil flourish unsuppressed by all means. If it is really evil it will kill itself by the very poison it distills. The best that we can do is to put up a danger sign for those who are inclined in its direction warning them of its harmful properties. If we hide the thing away people are apt to come upon it unaware of its power for injury and it may kill.

To suppress evil is to drive it underground not to exterminate it. Incidentally underground is about the only place where it can take root and flourish. I would let noxious things continue on the following theories: (1) That it is difficult, if not impossible to counteract the effect of a secretly acquired evil whether it be a disease, an idea or a poison whereas the evil that is known is more easy to combat. (2) That nothing so reinforces an evil thing (or a good thing either for that matter) like any attempt to suppress it. (3) That it is a supreme right of every individual to judge for himself and not to have the judgment of any group or any individual thrust upon him no matter how wise or good that group or individual may be. (4) That only by such independence of judgment may judgment be trained and developed and the training of individuals in judgment and everything else is I take it what we are here for. (5) That such training of individuals to make use of their own independent processes is worth ten thousand times more than any spoon-fed system of seemingly conduct that it is possible to conceive.

But to let evil flourish by no means ends the responsibility of the lover of individual liberty. He must proceed to set up fine standards, worthy standards with which to contrast the evil so that the public may have opportunities for comparison and selection. Without such opportunities they inevitably absorb the only thing at hand which happens to be evil. Your liberty lover must take pains too to point out the falsities and dangers of the evil thing and its consequences. All that education is able to give in the way of protection from evil must give. The only instrument he may touch is the instrument of the free man—

E. M. Purkis writing in the *Westminster Gazette* recounts some

## Literary Losses of the War

and observes while doing so, with sufficient justification

It is a persistent fallacy that the poetic temperament incapacitates men for deeds of gallantry. History has many shining examples to the contrary from Sophocles to Byron and after the present war that fallacy will surely perish forever.

The article under review makes sympathetic mention of Mr. Dixon Scott, "a literary critic of more than usual ability," Mr. Raymond Asquith, Mr. Asquith's son, Thomas Mac Donagh, the Irish poet, and others who were "cut off in the springtime of promise."

A very extraordinary story of bravery on the part of a certain young poet is thus related

His name was not revealed but one cannot but hope that those who hold the secret of his identity may be induced to make it known. He fell at the beginning of the Somme offensive after many revelations of bravery of the highest order yet when he was gone his Major revealed the fact that all the time this splendid subaltern had been fighting a great battle within himself a battle against fear not against fear of the foe without but against the fear that he should fail in the part allotted to him. He was afraid of being afraid of being unworthy of the men he led. Yet it was while filled with such a fear that he performed acts of the utmost daring and gallantry continually. 'Brave! his Major wrote of him, Brave! He was a knight of old chivalry. More fearless acts no poet ever wrote about than he performed a dozen times a day during that fortnight. And all the time I knew, and nobody else but himself knew, that he went in mortal fear, afraid as most soldiers never have been—not of being killed God knows but of being afraid. He was smiling like—a woman when he died. He said: They never guessed I was so thankful that I—' and then he was gone. But I knew well what he would have said. I've been a soldier all my life. I've seen more than one win the V.C. but I never have seen and never expect to see, any such bravery as young—showed in the last fortnight. The public will never hear of him; and he would not want to. But if you ask me what's the best and bravest I've seen, why, I tell you of all the brave men buried behind the Somme and the Ancre—aye, or behind Verdun—there's not one not one in my belief braver than the junior platoon commander of my battalion, young—

An informing account of

Syrians and Arabians in America

appears in the *American Review of Reviews* from which we learn that the approximate population of Syria, a province of the Turkish Empire, is three million. In recent years half that number has migrated abroad, about three fourths settling in America. There are said to be half a million Syrians in South America, chiefly in Brazil. In Mexico and Cuba too they are to be found in very large numbers. In the United States there are approximately three hundred thousand Syrians and Arabians.

The activities and pursuits and achievements of the immigrants of the Arabian race in this country are as multitudinous and notable as those of the best foreign elements flocking to America from the East. They support a large number of Arabian newspapers in the city of New York alone.

Arabians have not been slow to avail themselves of the opportunities in education and business offered by America. While it is no easy task to make a just estimate of the degree of assimilation and Americanization of certain immigrant elements, there are signs in this respect which are valuable and instructive. The Syrian Arabian immigrant has certainly imbued the American ideals in no less a measure than any other newcomer.

M. Ribani was delegate to the Young Arabian Congress held in Paris in 1913, and he is closely identified with the revolutionary movement. This is true of many leading American Syrians and Arabians to whom Ottoman rule is distasteful and who would like to see an independent Arabia.

These Moslems, scattered throughout the country, have not been able to organize into religious communities as the Christian Arabians have done.

There is an industry in the United States which is exclusively in the hands of the Syrians, namely, the kimono industry. All grades of this feminine article are manufactured by the Syrians, and the number of factories especially engaged in this work in New York City and its vicinity is about thirty five. Large numbers of Syrians are also engaged in weaving industries, while the greater part of the Moslem immigrants are working in bakeries. Rugs and carpets and kindred articles are the things the Syrian pedlar is usually selling while tobacco and cigarettes form another considerable source of income to many Syrians. Exporting and importing to and from the Orient is also the occupation of many well-to-do Syrians.

From the same Review we cull the following extracts from a tribute to Syria by an American Arab, translated from the Arabic of Amm Mishrik by Mary Caroline Holmes.

In a vision I was carried through the blue ether on wings. I beheld thee, my beloved, my beautiful one sleeping 'neath trees, of fig and cedar, the hem of thy robe rising and falling in waves of a sea of light, from which ascended odors more delicious than musk.

Thy breath like the smell of jasmine intoxicated

me. I kneeled before thy sleeping loveliness in awe. To breathe, even seemed a sacrilege. I gazed into thy face alight with the sunrise, and said, "It will kiss thy smiling mouth," when lo, thy smile turned into mourning. I looked, and beheld thy robe of green, soiled and torn revealing thy ivory breasts beneath. Thy sandals eaten of the stony ways and thy feet blood-stained from the wayside thorns.

Oh, beloved, my love for thee is deep as the ocean, wide as the bounds of heaven, mighty as the lightning, resplendent as the sun pure as the dew, and lasting as eternity. I long for thee, oh, beautiful enchantress. I worship thee, oh, rock of my faith, oh, rest to my soul. If I meditate, 'tis of thee. If I dream I dream of thee. Of thee I speak. In the morning I think of thy gleaming, white brow, at noon, in the burning heat, I remember the green cedars which shade thy beautiful head, and at even I see in the rays of setting sun thy wonderful countenance, yea, even the passing moonbeams on thy cheeks in the dark of night, while the attar of thy breasts steals up with the dawn.

The Day of the Chemist.

Deploring the lack of enterprise and faith in pure science of English manufacturers, in the course of an article in the *Saturday Review*, a writer goes on to say that

The most important thing is "pure science," there is no "applied" science without it. Ignorance of this is the reason, to a great extent, why England has fallen behind in the more modern manufactures and industries. It is true a time comes when, the pure scientists having made his discovery, it has to be applied to the practical purpose of making a new article sufficiently cheaply to be used in a manufacturing process, which may revolutionize an existing industry. Money has to be risked by manufacturers.

The writer makes us familiar with the vast amount of effort spent by the Germans in making the advance they have done in things scientific and industrial. The following account should serve as an eye-opener to those ignorant arm-chair industrialists of our country who are ever ready to cry down an industrial expert at the first failure, and the impatient shareholder who expects a dividend after the first year of business. We read:

In 1880 a German chemist Adolf von Bayer discovered how to make artificial indigo in his laboratory, but it cost too much. The German manufacturers took it up and during seventeen years spent £1,000,000 until success was achieved and they had the satisfaction of being able to compete with the Indian plantations. They ruined the indigo trade of India which exported to the annual value of £3,500,000 in 1896, but in 1913 only £60,000 worth, and Germany was exporting an annual value of over £2,000,000 with indigo at 3s 6d instead of 8s 10d.

The incandescent gas mantle is a good example of the transcendent importance of pure chemical research. Auer von Welsbach, in 1884, did not start out with

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Edited by Ramananda Chatterjee

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ARTICLES, AND REVIEWS AND NOTICES, MEANT FOR ANY MONTH'S ISSUE, SHOULD REACH THE EDITOR BEFORE THE 7TH OF THE PREVIOUS MONTH.

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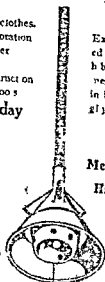
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# The United States of America: A Hindu's Impressions and a Study. By Lala Lajpat Rai.

## Opinions of The New York Times

Lajpat Rai is known to us in this country through what he has written of his own. Through the publication of a Hindu's impressions and study of our land he will probably be far better known to America. His book offers us, in the first place, what may well seem like a strange novelty—an examination into American life and history, written by a Hindu for Hindus. And simply as a book about the United States, the scrutiny of a seeing man, the volume is well worth the attention of American citizens.

A study of the United States of America from the Hindu viewpoint must inevitably point the obvious contrast between East and West. All that we have heard from Europe of the 'progress' and 'materialism' of our country must receive far more emphasis from India. The Hindu looks upon the 'civilization' of the Western World, and names the United States as its type. The basis of comparison is strikingly different, but the accenting is the same. That much we know before we open Lajpat Rai's book.

But this "Hindu study" is far more than that. The Hindu scholar has no purpose of writing a book for the purpose of contrasting the East and the West. What he does is to see the United States, a great and growing nation, on the threshold of imperialism, to find her problems unique and difficult, to behold her as something complex and interesting in the present and full of strange promise and portent for the future, to study her thus as a thing worth studying. After a really remarkable resume of the history of America and the world, which begins with the discovery of America and leads to the labor situation of today, and fills but thirty-three large print pages, the author states:

To sum up, the United States stands to-day with the promise (or curse) of imperialism ahead of her, with the tremendous problems of Government ownership of public utilities, with an imminent war between capitalism and labor, with race problems, and with the question of woman suffrage. It is truly "the melting pot" of the different nations of the world, of its social, political, and economic problems, and its past and future history is well worth the watching.

And this is no mere gathering of praise or blame, though the book contains both. It is a quiet, careful study. Education, government, religion, the need and the distribution of charity, the position of woman and the social problems of marriage, and "cases" are carefully examined. Lajpat Rai pays a great deal of attention, too, to the "negro problem" and to the education of the negro, and has a report on conditions under American government in the Philippines. At

the end of his researches he has certain interesting reflections on Western civilization. Written for Hindu readers, his book is intensely stimulating for us. Minor inaccuracies there are, chiefly in type—misspellings of proper names, for instance, here and there. There are conclusions that are not always exact. The author has not been wholly guileless of such generalization as the classic European, "American cities abound in tall buildings, called 'skyscrapers.'" But these are small matters to criticize in a study that, in its selection, its investigation, and its interpretation is so illuminating and so full of interest.

At the beginning of the first chapter on American education we may be a little taken aback to read that "the United States has followed suit" in the lead taken by Scotland, England, Wales, and Ireland in themselves moving toward the goal set by the achievement of Germany, and that "the facilities for education in America are perhaps even greater than in the United Kingdom." But our self-esteem, if joyed here, regains a happy equilibrium in the recital of American educational opportunity and in the high tribute paid by the Hindu scholar to the responsibility of the American State toward the welfare of the child. That responsibility, its gravity, its significance, its acceptance and its fulfilment, Lajpat Rai very heartily appreciates and very deeply admires. And he has gone into details of our educational system with the utmost care, even to the discovery that "the people in the United States are just now almost mad about vocational education," and to the consideration of co-education in our colleges and schools.

Finding much to censure in American materialism, setting us down as a nation of money makers, Lajpat Rai finds much that is unusual, interesting, and fine in American charity. "If they have made millions and millions," he says, "they have also given away millions." But what he admires most and exhaustively is not the extent of American generosity, but its system.

Lajpat Rai's chapter on religion in America is, too, exceedingly interesting, and a bit surprising to boot. So are his observations on caste.

His chapters on women's work and place in the community are most interesting. From his admiration of our State responsibility for the education of each "male and female" to his discussions of woman suffrage and of marriage and divorce.

The Hindu's observations on civilization remain Oriental and somewhat depressing for Occidental readers. He finds the "world in this country and in Europe, given over to the pursuit of material things, conquering natural obstacles, it is true, but struggling and suffering for yannies."

# Publications of the Varendra Research Society, Rajshahi, Bengal.

I **Gaudarajamala**—A Dynastic History of Bengal from the earliest times to the Muslim conquest [in Bengali] By Rama Prasada Chandra B. A. Rs. 2 (2s 8d)

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The Honble Mr F J Monahan I. C. S. writes in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* 1914 p. 104 — Although the inscriptions contained in part I of the *Gaudalekhamala* have all been printed before in different publications, a valuable service has been rendered to the History of Bengal by their collection in one place and by the learned and discriminating commentaries of Babu Akshaya Kumar Maitra

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Professor A. Berriedale Keith in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* 1917, p. 167—This the fifth of the publication of the Varendra Research Society, is by far the most important work issued by the Society and forms a valuable addition to the literature dealing with the origin of the Indo Aryan peoples. The author, who is the Hon. Secretary of the Society has adumbrated in magazine articles some of the views now put forth, but his opinions gain greatly both in value and clearness from their ordered exposition and whatever conclusions be arrived at as regards his main theses all interested in the question must recognise the catholic character of his erudition and the ingenuity and effectiveness of his arguments, which render his work a serious contribution to the subject with which it deals.

*Nature* [November 23 1916]—"His notes, as the author modestly terms them have developed into a series of essays on the religion, history, and ethnology of Ancient India" "The essays, modestly written and creditable to the scholarship of the author traverse well trodden ground. He would probably discard Risley's theory of Mongoloid infusion in favour of some early entry of an Alpine strain."

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# Towards Home Rule

## Opinions.

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# THE MODERN REVIEW

VOL. XXI  
No. 4

APRIL, 1917

WHOLE  
No. 124

## LETTERS

EXTRACTS FROM OLD LETTERS OF RABINDRANATH TAGORE \*

(Specially Translated for the Modern Review).

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(31)

Shazadpur,  
July, 1891.

THERE is another boat at this landing place, and on the shore in front of it there is a crowd of village women. Some are evidently embarking on a journey and the others there to see them off; infants, veils and gray hairs all mixed up in the gathering.

One girl in particular is attracting my attention. She must be about eleven or twelve; but buxom and sturdy, she might pass for fourteen or fifteen. She has a winsome face,—very dark, but very pretty. Her hair is cut short like a boy's, which well becomes her simple, frank and alert expression. She has a child in her arms and is staring at me with unabashed curiosity, and certainly no lack of straightforwardness or intelligence in her glance. It is her half boyish, half girlish manner which makes her singularly attractive,—a novel blend of masculine nonchalance and feminine charm. I had no idea there were such types among our village women in Bengal.

None of this family, apparently, is troubled with too much bashfulness. One of them has unfastened her hair in the sun and is combing it out with her fingers, while conversing at the top of her voice, with another, on board, about their domestic affairs. I gather she has no other children but a girl, who is a foolish creature and knows not how to behave, or talk, or the difference between kin and stranger. I also learnt that Gopal's son-in-law has turned out a ne'er-do-well and that his daughter refuses to go to her husband.

When, at length, it was time to start they escorted my short-haired damsel, with her plump shapely arms, her gold bangles and her guileless, radiant face, into the boat. I could divine that she was returning from her father's to her husband's home. They all stood there, following the boat with their gaze as it cast off, one or two wiping their eyes with the loose end of their saris. A little girl, with her hair tightly tied into a knot, clung to the neck of an elder woman and silently wept on her shoulder. Perhaps she was losing a darling *Didimani*\* who joined in her doll games and also slapped her when she was naughty. . .

The quiet floating away of a boat on the stream seems to add to the pathos of a separation,—it is so like death,—the departing one lost to sight, those left behind returning to their daily life, wiping their eyes. True, the pang lasts but a while, and is perhaps already wearing off both in those who have gone and those who remain,—pain being temporary, oblivion permanent. But none the less it is not the forgetting, but the pain which is true; and every now and then, in separation or in death, we realise how terribly true.

If man is ever free from anxiety, it is only because he is thoughtless. No one stays on; and man is beside himself when the thought comes upon him that not only does he not stay on, but is not even kept in mind. How then can the music of mankind be in other than India's mournful modes?

\* Elder sisters are often called *sister jewel* (*Didimani*).

(32)

On Board the Cuttack Steamer,  
August 1891

My bag left behind and my clothes duly getting disreputable and more and more intolerable—this thought continually uppermost is not compatible with a due sense of self respect. With the bag I could have faced the world of men with head erect and spirits high without it I find would skulk in corners away from the glances of the crowd. I go to bed in these clothes and in them I appear in the morning and on the top of that the steamer is full of soot and the unbearable heat of the day keeps one unpleasantly moist.

Apart from this I am having quite a time of it on board the steamer. My fellow passengers are of inexhaustible variety. There is one Aghore Babu who cannot allude to anything animate or inanimate except in terms of personal abuse. There is another a lover of music who persists in attempting variations on the *Bhairab*\* mode at dead of night, convincing me of the untimeliness of his performance in more senses than one.

The steamer has been aground in a narrow ditch of a canal ever since last evening and it is now past nine in the morning. I spent the night in a corner of the crowded deck more dead than alive. I had asked the steward to fry some *luchis* for my dinner and he brought me some non-descript slabs of fried dough with no vegetable accompaniments to eat them with. On my expressing a pained surprise he was all contrition and offered to make me some hotch potch to once. But the night being already far advanced I declined his offer, managed to swallow a few mouthfuls of the stuff dry and then all lights on and the deck packed with passengers I laid myself down to sleep.

Mosquitoes hovered above cockroaches wandered around. There was a fellow sleeper stretched crosswise at my feet whose body my soles every now and then came up against. Four or five noses were engaged in snoring. Several mosquito-tormented sleepless wretches were consoling themselves by pulls at their bubble-bubble pipes and above all there rose

those variations on the mode *Bhairab*. Finally at half past three in the morning some fussy busybodies began loudly insisting each other to get up. Then in despair I also left my bed and dropped into my deck-chair to await the dawn. Thus passed that variegated nightmare of a night.

One of the hands tells me that the steamer has stuck so fast that it might take the whole day to get her off. I inquire of another whether any Calcutta-bound steamer will be passing and get the smiling reply that this is the only boat on the line and I may come back in her if I like after she has reached Cuttack! By a stroke of luck after a deal of tugging and hauling they have just managed to get her afloat at about 10 o'clock.

(33)

Cuttack  
September, 1891

A—Babu is a personage of portly and flourishing body and his air is likewise that of a big wig of considerable dimensions. He is advanced in years but his scarf has a youthful twist. His get up is dandy like his clothes redolent of scent. He has a double chin, moustaches to match and great big eyes half-closed in self-sufficient complacency of which the balls turn upwards as he delivers himself of his solemn drawl touched with the suspicion of a superior smile and free from all vestige of hurry as though time, his bond slave ever waits at his side in awed suspense.

With upturned orbs he asked me, "And where is Jyoti\* now?" My whole being in a tremor at the portentous gravity with which the question was directed at me. I meekly intimated in reply the fact of my brother's presence in the metropolis.

I was a class fellow of Birendra† he went on to state making me feel smaller and smaller and the completeness of my collapse may be easily imagined when in conclusion he alluded to my youthful folly in allowing myself to be let in for this journey hither without duly consulting those who ought to know. I could only keep on repeating helplessly that this was my first visit that I had never been this

\* A Baga or mode of lad an classical music used to be appropriate to early days.

\* The writer's fifth brother.  
† The writer's fourth brother he being the youngest of seven brothers.

way before, that I had no idea of the nature of the route.

From this, by a natural transition, the question arose as to when my brother Jyoti had been in Cuttack; whereupon a passage at arms ensued between the great man and Baroda, the former making it 1874, the latter assigning an earlier date. This shows how difficult it is to write history; so I have resolved to put the date on my letters henceforth.

(34)

Tiran,  
7th September, 1891.

The landing place at Balia makes a pretty picture with its fine big trees on either side, and on the whole the canal somehow reminds me of our little river at Poona. On thinking it over I am sure I would have liked the canal much better had it really been a river.

Cocoanut palms as well as mangoes and other shade trees line its banks which slope gently down to the water turfed with grass, beautifully green, overspread with sensitive plants in flower. Here and there are screw pine groves and, through gaps in the border of trees, glimpses can be caught of endless fields, stretching away into the distance, their crops so soft and velvety after the rains that the eye seems to sink into their depths. Then again, there are the little villages under their clusters of cocoanut and date palms, nestling under the moist cool shade of the low seasonal clouds.

Through all these the canal with its gentle current winds gracefully between its clean grassy banks, edged, in its narrower stretches, with clusters of water-lilies and reeds growing through. And yet the mind keeps fretting at the idea that after all it is nothing but an artificial canal.

The murmur of its waters does not reach back to the beginning of time. It knows naught of the mysteries of some distant, inaccessible mountain cave. It has not flowed for ages, graced with some old-world feminine name, giving the villages on its sides the milk of its breast. It could not have rippled out the sentiment:

Men may come and men may go,  
But I go on for ever.

Even old artificial lakes have acquired a greater dignity.

However when, a hundred year's hence,

the trees on its banks will have grown statelier; its brand new milestones been worn down and moss-covered into mellowness; the date 1871, inscribed on its lockgates, left behind at a respectable distance; then, if I am reborn as my great-grandson and come again to inspect the Cuttack estates along this canal, I may feel differently towards it.

Alas for my great-grandson! Who knows what fate may be in store for him, —poor scattered offshoot of the family, shorn of all glory like a fallen meteor? An obscure, petty clerkship perhaps! But I have so many troubles of my own I can not afford to weep for my great-grandson.

(35)

Idem.

We reached Tarpur at 4 o'clock. From there our journey was to be continued in palanquins. Being a matter of only about 12 miles I thought we should make the estate residence by eight in the evening. But field after field was crossed, village after village passed by, mile after mile covered, and yet those 12 miles seemed never going to get done.

At half past seven I asked the palanquin bearers how much further we had yet to go. "Not much," said they. "A little over 6 miles."

At this I uneasily shifted my position inside the palanquin, which was not big enough to hold more than half of me; if only I could have done myself up into two or three folds I might have fitted in better. My back was aching, my legs tingling off into numbness.

The road was atrocious, with knee-deep mud throughout and in places so slippery that the bearers had to go at a slow walk, gingerly testing every step. They did actually slip once or twice, but just managed to recover their footing. Here and there the road was lost altogether and they had to splash through rice fields under water. The evening was dark and cloudy, drizzling now and then. The torch was constantly going out for want of oil, and having to be blown and blown into a flame again, while the bearers complained bitterly of the lack of light.

After we had advanced a little longer in this way one of the retainers came up to the palanquin and with folded hands humbly submitted that here we had come

to a river, that the palanquin would have to be ferried or run a boat but that the boat had not yet arrived so that a halt would have to be made

They set down the palanquin. Little by little the torch went out for good. Yet there was no sign of the boat. And in the darkness the retainers rushed up and down the river bank shouting the name of some boatman—Mukundo o o\* Nilkantha†—in accents piteous enough to bring Vishnu and Shiva down from their abodes but the boatmen remained unmoved in their resting places.

Not a cottage was to be seen near the desolate river bank the only object which arrested the eye being a driverless bullock less cart on which my palanquin bearers mounted and chattered away in an unknown tongue. Frogs were croaking at intervals and the shrilling of the cicadas filled the atmosphere. I was making up my mind to spend the night bent up inside the palanquin till Mukundo or Nilkantha turned up next morning when with a deal of grunting and song Baroda's‡ palanquin came up.

Finding no sign or chance of a boat he ordered the palanquins to be ferried across on the heads of the bearers. I did not like the idea but after a long discussion and much grumbling on the part of the bearers they called upon Hari§ and waded into the river with the palanquins on their heads. Getting across was indeed an experience!

This was at half past ten in the night. I then stretched myself out as far as my cramped up state would allow and had soon how managed to drop off to sleep when one of the bearers slipped and I started up at the jolt with my heart thumping at this rude awakening. At last half awake and half dozing during the rest of the journey I arrived at the Pandur residence at midnight.

(36)

Tiran  
9th September 1891.

After many days the rain and clouds have gone off and the golden autumn sunshine is over us again. I had almost

forgotten that there was such a thing as sunshine in the world and when it suddenly flooded the scene at about ten or eleven I felt a great wonder as at something never seen before.

It is indeed a wonderful day.

I am on the verandah after my bath and meal lounging in a long armed chair, busy day dreaming. Before my eyes are the tops of the cocoanut palms growing in the grounds of the house and beyond them as far as the eye can see stretch cultivated fields with an indistinct blue fringe of distant trees.

Doves are cooing and now and then tinkle the bells worn by the cows. Squirrels run up sit on their tails to take a look, and then disappear in the twinkling of an eye. The breeze blows freely. The cocoanut leaves tremble and rustle. A feeling of solitude, silence and languor is over the whole place.

A knot of peasants are gathered in one spot pulling up the young rice shoots into little bunches for transplantation. This is the only sign of work to be seen.

(37)

Sheldah  
October 1891

Boat after boat touches at the landing place and exiles return home from distant fields of work after a whole year for the Poojah vacation their boxes, baskets and bundles loaded with presents. I notice one who as his boat nears the shore changes into a freshly folded and crinkled muslin dhoti, dons over his cotton tunic a china silk coat carefully adjusts round his neck a neatly twisted scarf and walks off towards the village umbrella held aloft.

Rustling waves pass over the rice fields. There are fluffy clouds on the horizon and beyond them rise into the sky mango and cocoanut tree tops the fringes of the palm leaves waving in the breeze. The reeds on the sandbank are on the point of flowering. It is altogether an exhilarating scene.

The feelings of the man who has just arrived home the eager expectancy of his folk awaiting him this autumn sky this world the gentle morning breeze the universal responsive tremor in tree and shrub and in the waves on the river, compare to overwhelm this lonely youth gazing from his window with unutterable joy and sorrow.

\* Name of Vishnu

† Name of Shiva

‡ Th manager

§ Is a nu

Glimpses of the world received from way-side windows bring new desires, or rather, make old desires take on new forms. The day before yesterday, as I was sitting at the window of the boat, a little fisher-*dinghi* floated past, the boatman singing a song,—not a very tuncful song. But it reminded me of a night, years ago, when I was a child. We were going along the Padma in a boat. I awoke one night at about 2 o'clock and, on raising the window and putting out my head, I saw the waters, without a ripple, gleaming in the moonlight, and a youth in a little *dinghi* paddling along all by himself and singing, oh so sweetly,—such sweet melody I had never heard before.

A sudden longing came upon me to get back my past from the day of that song; to be allowed to make another essay at life, this time not to leave it thus dry and unsatisfied; but with a poet's song on my lips to float about the world on the crest of the rising tide, to sing it to men and subdue their hearts; to see for myself what the world holds and where; to let men know me, to get to know them; to burst forth through the world in life and youth like the eager rushing breezes; and then return home to a fulfilled and fruitful old age to spend it as a poet should.

Not a very lofty ideal, is it? To benefit the world would have been a much higher one, no doubt; but being on the whole what I am, that ambition does not even occur to me. I cannot make up my mind to sacrifice this precious gift of life in a self-wrought famine, starving the world and the hearts of men by fasts and meditations and constant argument. I count it enough to live and die as a man, loving and trusting the world, unable to look on it either as a delusion of the Creator or a snare of the Devil. It is not for me to strive to be wafted away into the airiness of an Angel.

(38)

Shelidah,

29th Aswin (October), 1891.

I was pacing up and down the shore last evening, twirling my moustaches; alternately looking at the gold of the sunset on the West and the silver of the moonrise on the East. Nature was gazing on my face with a depth of sad yearning as of a mother looking on an ailing child. River and sky were alike unruffled, and

our two boats with their heads tucked under their awnings nestled against the bank like sleeping birds.

Up came the *Mouli* and in a discreetly anxious whisper communicated to me the news: "Bhojia\* is here from Calcutta!" I cannot tell what a tumult of impossible fears crowded into my mind, all in a moment. However I contrived to calm myself and going inside sat on my state chair awaiting Bhojia. The way she came in and flung herself at my feet, setting up a loud wail, told me at once that the misfortune, whatever it was, had happened to herself.

She went through a long and rambling story in her uncouth Bengali and nasal accents, interspersed with sobs. What I managed to make out with great difficulty was this: that Bhojia was in the habit of quarrelling with her mother—not at all an extraordinary circumstance considering that both were amazons of West Arya-varta† and neither were noted for tenderness of heart; that one evening mother and daughter had proceeded from words to action—not meaning an embrace concluding a loving tete-a-tete, but mutual abuse ending in a hand-to-hand encounter; and that this duel of the arms had resulted in the overthrow of the mother, grievously hurt. According to Bhojia's account her mother had rushed at her, uplifted metal pot in hand, and, in self-defence, her heavy brass bangle had somehow come into contact with her mother's head, drawing blood. Anyhow it had resulted in Bhojia's instant banishment from the third storey to the ground floor.

This had happened some days ago, but I had no news of it. So it was a regular case of a Bhojia-bolt from the blue!

(39)

Shelidah,

2nd Kartik (October), 1891.

A man has only to leave Calcutta, it seems, to become doubtful of his own permanence or importance. Here man is the lesser, nature the greater. You see all around things which were not made to-day, to be repaired to-morrow and scrapped the next day; which stand unmoved through man's birth and death and striving; which keep their course, and speed on unweariedly.

\* A maid servant of the family.

† Old name for Upper India.

altogether spent four or five hours with him. We met in his library—a good sized room for a house in London. It had a large fire place and a bright fire was burning in it—very welcome for the weather was most inclement. Lord Ronaldshay's table was loaded down with papers, reference books and account books (the latter I noticed were locked). In front of the Earl's chair stood on a pedestal a brass Buddha in the traditional reposeful attitude and on another stand stood a bronze Indian figure. Cupboards full of books lined the walls and books lay on several tables. Heads of deer and antelope that he had brought down with his rifle in various parts of Asia—for he has travelled and hunted in Ceylon India Persia Asia Turkey Central Asia Siberia Japan China and Burma—were nailed to the walls.

Lord Ronaldshay was not at all a formidable person. He did not have the chilly manner that is usually ascribed to the English nor did he have the aristocrat's hauteur. I found him to be pleasant and friendly. He talked plainly and without affectation. At times a smile spread over his face and his eyes twinkled with merriment. He often laughed heartily. His face in repose showed him to be a student capable of much thought. When in deep thought his fine forehead would become wrinkled—perhaps much more so than one would expect in an Englishman of his years—he was forty last June—and one so fond of hunting and outdoor life. He had a medium figure and was dressed simply. From what I could judge of him I should say that he is a good mixer and has great social talents which if he chooses to exert them will please Indians.

One of the first questions that I asked the Governor despatch of Bengal was:

Is your Lordship going out to India with a set and dried programme in your mind as to what you intend to do during the five years that your Lordship will be in charge of the youngest Presidency?

No, replied Lord Ronaldshay without a moment's hesitation. It would be wrong for me to go out there with a definite scheme in my head. He added: I wish to look around me when I get there and see what needs to be done before I can do what I shall do. I was not long in Bengal and I have been away for some time. Things change—even in the

East especially in time of war. The very reason that a Governor is sent out from this country is that he will be able to bring a fresh mind to bear upon Indian questions and I do not intend to defeat that purpose by going out with a definitely settled programme of reforms that I intended to carry out during the full term of my office.

Lord Ronaldshay appeared to be very much in earnest when he uttered these words—and I believed that he meant what he said. His reply was broad as indeed was my question. I therefore narrowed the scope of my inquiry, and asked: 'Are there any reforms that your Lordship has very much at heart and that you wish to make provided you find a favourable opportunity?'

The Noble Earl did not answer me quite so readily as he had replied to my first question. He chose his words carefully and spoke in measured tones. Yes, he said, I wish to see some administrative reforms carried out in Bengal.

More than likely he would have stopped there but for the question: What reforms pray? that he must have seen in my eyes. Without compelling me to put this query into words he went on to say: Several of the Bengal districts are too large and cumbersome for a single officer to administer and I wish to do what I can to lighten the responsibilities of such officers. Moreover I think so far as I can judge that the circle system is one which might be developed with advantage.

There Lord Ronaldshay paused and I fired a volley of questions at him. What about reforming the Calcutta Municipality? I asked.

That is a contentious measure, I believe and I understand that so long as the war lasts measures of this character can only be dealt with by consent, he replied.

Yes, I added. Lord Carmichael recently expressed his regret that he had been unable to complete this work before retirement.

Lord Ronaldshay had seen the passage in Lord Carmichael's speech to which I alluded but in vain did I press him to tell me what he intended to do in the matter after the hostilities were over. The view he took was that it was premature to say anything on the subject—and there I let the matter rest.



have since been suppressed. My meaning is clear from the words I employed at the time. If I remember correctly, I spoke of the "poisonous" press. Now if you leave out such an important clause in quoting my words, you create an erroneous and distorted impression. I never meant to apply my remarks to papers that were edited by responsible men who were loyal to the British Crown and who carried on their agitation in a perfectly constitutional manner. I may have had differences of opinion with such editors, but I did not and do not advocate their suppression. Yet that is precisely what my critics are trying to make my words imply. It is gross and dishonest misrepresentation. It is done daily—here as well as in India—and all public men suffer from it, more or less. But such treatment is unfair, all the same."

Lord Ronaldshay's expressive face lit up with animation as he jerked out these sentences. The smile that usually plays about his lips had vanished. His large eyes were aglow. His broad forehead was knitted. He paused for a minute or so and that pause enabled him to compose himself. Then he went on:

"Besides, it is important to bear in mind the conditions under which these words were spoken. The original speech was made in the House of Commons seven or eight years ago and later were worked up into a chapter in my book, 'An Eastern Miscellany,' published in 1911. At the time I made these statements there was grave unrest in India. Political murders were being openly advocated and were being actually committed. Englishmen at home could not contemplate such acts of violence with calmness. Their feelings were roused. They cried out for the ruthless suppression of the anarchists. I was not the only Englishman who demanded the annihilations of the wrong doers. On whatever subject I may have changed my views, I continue to think that we cannot permit terrorism to grow in the dark. But why should anyone do me injustice by giving a wider meaning to my words than I intended them to have—by applying to law-abiding Indians the expressions that I applied to foul murderers?"

As Lord Ronaldshay had referred more than once to his speeches in the House of Commons, I asked him if the chapters on India in "An Eastern Miscellany" were

made up of such speeches. He answered me in the affirmative. That led me to suggest to him, as delicately as possible, that party politics might have had a good deal to do with his statements.

Instead of taking offence at this hint, Lord Ronaldshay quickly answered: "Yes. You have hit the nail squarely on the head. I spoke in the House of Commons, in the heat of debate, as a member of the Opposition. The Liberals were in power, and it was our duty to criticise their administration. We criticised their governance of India as weak and vacillating, and we charged them with lack of resoluteness in dealing with sedition and terrorism. We did not oppose the proposals put forward by them to reform the India Councils in principle, but we did, as we were bound to do, criticise them in detail. Such is the essence of government by the party system."

He had not finished his sentence when I interjected that many Indians did not know sufficiently about the party atmosphere that prevails in the House of Commons to make the necessary allowance in criticising his statements. He said that he feared this was so, and went on to tell me how the atmosphere of the House of Commons becomes charged with electricity, and members belonging to opposite parties sing taunts across the floor. Statements are made under the stress of excitement that appear formidable in cold type.

The inference was plain, and, therefore, it was unnecessary to ask Lord Ronaldshay if he wished he had toned down some of the things he had said, or if he felt that it would have been better if some of the things had not been said at all. I did venture to ask him, however, if he was, representing Conservatism on the Public Services Commission, and if the questions that he asked while that body was holding its investigations were inspired by his desire to serve the interests of his party.

My query was bold, and if I had had time to consider my language I would no doubt have framed the question in different words. His Lordship answered me slowly and cautiously. He admitted that various elements were represented on the Public Services Commission—Conservative and Labour, Education and Indian. His selection was perhaps due to his being a Conservative politician who had taken

interest in Indian questions. If any questions that he had asked gave umbrage they were asked because he wished all sides of the topics under discussion to be brought to light, so that the Commission would have the Indian and pro-Indian views, as well as the view that opposed the dilution of the Indian services by the further employment of Indians. He was not, however, actuated by animus towards Indian aspirations. On the contrary, he felt, and felt strongly, that the employment of Indians in high office had justified itself. This was especially the case with the experiment that had been tried in admitting Indians to the Executive Councils—an experiment that, he admitted, he had viewed with some doubts when it was first proposed. He was among the Commissioners who had recommended to his Majesty the advisability of giving greatly increased opportunities to Indians for employment in the Indian Civil Service and other public services. Perhaps I and other Indians thought that he and his colleagues had not gone far enough. They had, however, to guard against the efficiency of the British-Indian Administration being endangered, while providing Indians with greater opportunities. In any case, his signature at the end of the report of the Public Services Commission showed his sympathy with legitimate Indian aspirations, and he intended to do all that lay in his power to satisfy them during his term of office.

At this point it occurred to me to ask the Noble Earl if he realized that Indians aspired to have a representative Government that managed their domestic affairs with no more interference than the self-governing Dominions managed theirs, and that they wanted it to be responsible to them. I asked him if he remembered that he had said in the House of Commons that Parliamentary Government was alien to Eastern traditions—and that this statement had been reproduced in his book, "An Eastern Miscellany."

He replied that he was familiar with educated India's demand, and he had not forgotten the remarks made by him, to which I alluded. He pointed out that no one could deny that Parliamentary government had been evolved in the West, and had been introduced in the East only during recent years. In Japan the Ministry was not responsible to the Lower

House, but to the Emperor, and, therefore, the Government could not be said to be democratic, as was the case with the English Government, which was put into power by the people and could be ousted by the voters. It was not possible to have a democratic government in India so long as there was the appalling illiteracy that there was.

I would not let Lord Ronaldshay go on until he had listened to what I had to say. I admitted that the illiteracy in India was appalling, but I pointed out that it did not redound to the credit of the Government. In Japan illiteracy had been wiped out in less than two generations and it was practically certain that it would be wiped out in the Philippines in a generation. He interjected the remark that the Japanese population was not so vast and so divided as that of India and that the problem in the Philippines was still smaller and less complicated. But I held out that the British had had a much longer time to do their work in India. He urged that the immediate introduction of compulsory education might interfere with the economic life of the people, who were mainly agriculturists. My rejoinder was that similar objections had been raised in all countries against making education compulsory, and that in the end education more than made up for any temporary economic loss. Besides, I argued, when education was made compulsory in Japan, the bulk of the Japanese derived their sustenance from land, and continued to do so, even to this day, though not to the same extent. I ended by saying that a system of elementary education could be perfected that would make it possible for the boys and girls of our agricultural population to attend school without much interference with the economic life of the family, and in a few years the farmers would realize what a blessing education was, provided the right sort of education was given, which would make the new generations more efficient farmers, stock-breeders, and dairymen. Lord Ronaldshay appeared to agree with the last point, and he repeated the assurance he had already given that he would promote literacy all he could during his term of office as Governor of Bengal.

Towards the close of my last interview with Lord Ronaldshay, I asked him what he thought of the Indian members of the various Legislative Councils, as re-consti-

tuted under the India Councils Act of 1909. He replied that he had had no opportunity of personally observing them at work. But what he had read and heard made him feel that they were on the whole a great success. He went on to say that he was profoundly impressed with the calibre of the many Indians with whom he had come in contact. They were distinguishing themselves in many lines of activity—administrative, political, industrial and commercial. He believed that Indian industries were capable of great expansion and that Indians were destined to play a great part in developing them.

I called Lord Ronaldshay's attention to a statement that was appearing in Indian papers to the effect that he believed that Indians did not respect the sanctity of truth. He hotly repudiated the suggestion that he ever accused Indians of this. He was aware of the passage in his writings to which reference was made, and as usual it was an isolated phrase cut away from its context. He said that if it was read in conjunction with what preceded it, any fair minded person would realize that he was referring solely to the difficulties of travel in *uncivilized* Asia—the difficulties that he had experienced with his muleteers etc., when travelling in Central Asia. Their

habit of promising to bring ponies on a certain day and then not doing so for perhaps two or three days afterwards and so on. I asked Lord Ronaldshay if he could show me the passage which he did. The sentence to which objection was taken read

Finally East and West As a whole we with one another in proclaiming the existence of that strange and mysterious law by which it appears to have been decreed that among the peoples of the West alone shall the sanctity of Truth meet with respect or recognition. *A Wandering Student in the Far East* Vol I p 11.

Thereupon I told his Lordship that I for one did not wonder that complaint was made for he spoke of 'East and West Asia alike'. I said that the statement was much too broad—and this he could not deny. I gathered that ten years later he has seen the wisdom of qualifying his statements and using words that express precisely what he means.

My final question to Lord Ronaldshay was 'May I say in my report of these interviews that you have great belief in India's potentiality and in the capacity of Indians and look forward to helping India's evolution?'.

The Governor designate of Bengal smiled and said 'Yes'.

## KRISHNAKANTA'S WILL

By BANKIM CHANDRA CHATTERJEE

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### CHAPTER XVI

Without losing a moment Gobindalal plunged in, swam, dived down and brought her up to the surface. He then bore her out of the water and placed her on the landing. Outwardly she showed no signs of life for she was quite unconscious and there was a full suspension of her breath.

With the assistance of the man how ever who had the care of the garden Gobindalal removed her to a room in the house and laid her on a couch. Her eyes were closed, the wet, gleaming to be a much darker hue to the hair, her above. Her fair gentle brow which

now showed no signs of shame or fear, bespoke yet as it seemed some sorrow in her heart. This evening as she lay stretched on the couch before him the light shining fitfully upon her she looked so bewitching, fascinating, in Gobindalal's eye that he loved her. The beautiful and delicate crest of her face, the round supple limbs soaked in water, the long dishevelled hair hanging down in clusters at the bed's head from which water was dripping—these made a deep impression on Gobindalal's mind. He felt such pity for her that he could hardly keep the tears out of his eyes. 'O God,' said he, 'why didst Thou give her beauty if

"Thou wouldst make her unhappy!" His heart wrung to think that he was the unfortunate cause of this sad catastrophe.

"If there be life in her I will save her," said Gobindalal. He knew what to do in such cases as this. He raised her now to a sitting, now to a standing, posture; turned her this way and that and on every side, and continued this operation until she had thrown up nearly the whole of the quantity of water she had swallowed. This, however, did not induce respiration. But though this seemed a very difficult thing to accomplish Gobindalal was acquainted with the process, and he at once proceeded to try it. He told the gardener, who was a Urah, to blow into her mouth while he slowly moved her arms up and down. The fellow was afraid. A cold sweat seemed to break upon him. If his master had told him to go before a tiger he might not have refused to do his bidding; but now he totally refused to obey him. It was, as it seemed to him, a preposterous order—a thing contrary to nature or reason, and he said, "I can't do it, master, I am sure I can't."

"Then you move her arms up and down, and I will do the blowing," said Gobindalal. And he showed him how the arms should be raised slowly and brought slowly down again while he blew into her mouth. Gobindalal put his mouth to hers to blow. A thrill ran through his frame. But he was awake to nothing—nothing but his sacred duty—the duty to try his utmost to save her life. The operation of moving her arms up and down, and blowing continued for nearly two hours, at the end of which Rohini breathed. She belonged to the world again.

## CHAPTER XVII.

Rohini now breathed freely. By slow degrees her consciousness returned. Gobindalal made her take some stimulant which seemed to increase the activity of the vital functions. She opened her eyes. There was nothing strange or unusual in her look; and she seemed exceedingly happy in his company. A candle burnt on a teapoy in one corner of the room. She had got back her memory. "I drowned myself. Why have you saved my life?" she said.

"God be thanked that you have got back your life," said Gobindalal.

"Why have you saved my life?" she

said again. "What enmity is there between you and me that you should stand in the way of my dying? Why should I live to suffer if it could be helped?"

"No one has a right, Rohini, to kill oneself. It is a great sin."

"I do not know what act is sinful and what is not," said Rohini. "No one ever taught me. I doubt there are such things as virtue and vice; or why should I suffer without committing any very great sin in my life? This time you have saved my life, but in future I will take care to keep out of your way."

"Why should you die?" he said bitterly.

"Is it not better," said she, "to die at once than to die every day, every hour and every minute in my life?"

"What is your grief, Rohini?"

"Oh, I am dying of thirst. There is a spring of cool water before me, yet I am to hold off."

"Drop it, Rohini. Hush! It is getting on for eleven and you must go home. I will go with you if you will let me."

"No, thank you, I can go alone."

Gobindalal said nothing, for he saw what her objection was.

When she had gone Gobindalal felt he was no longer his own master. He was deeply in love with Rohini. His was a guilty passion, his conscience told him. Much as he wished to play the man and crush and trample it under foot he felt he was too weak. He sought help from on high to enable him to do so. But he had not the least restraint on his passion, and in his helplessness he threw himself on a bed and wept like a child.

## CHAPTER XVIII.

"What made you stay away in the garden till such a late hour of night?" his wife asked when Gobindalal returned home.

"Why do you ask?" he said. "Did I never stay away so late as this before?"

"You did, but I fear something has happened tonight," said Bhramar.

"How do you know?" said her husband.

"Why," said she, "your very look and the tone of your voice seem to indicate it."

"What has happened?" said Gobindalal rather coolly.

"How am I to know? I was not there with you."

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"What has happened?" said Gobindalal rather coolly.

"How am I to know? I was not there with you."

"No, but you can find out what is the

matter by looking at my face. Can't you do that dear?"

Come I don't like your jokes she said. "Something is the matter with you. There is something wrong for I can see it perfectly well by your looks. Tell me what is the matter, do. You ought to have no secrets from me."

When Bhramar had finished speaking her feelings were worked up to such a pitch that she burst into tears.

Gobindalal drew her affectionately to his side wiped the tears from her eyes and said "I will tell you Bhramar but not now."

Why not now? she said.

It is better you never know it he said.

It is not for the ear of a girl so young as you. But I may tell you some day next week.

Be it as you please. I think I can wait for a few days.

No not so soon Bhramar he said again. Let a couple of years pass and then I will tell you.

She sighed. Since you will not tell me she said I will not urge you. Oh I am so unhappy. But I hoped you would tell me.

She was sad. Like a cloud overspreading the clear azure sky in spring a gloom was suddenly cast over her mind and she did not know why. She thought she had grown very naughty that her husband was very kind to her and that it was very uncharitable on her part to have any suspicions about his actions. She went and took a book out of the shelf to read thinking it would take this foolish unmeaning gloom off her mind and make her cheer up. But she could not give attention. So she threw aside the book and went and laid herself down on the bed.

## CHAPTER VII

Next day when Krishnakanta had retired after meal to take his usual rest Gobindalal entered his chamber and unlike his way talked with him chiefly over matters relating to the estate. He inquired about the condition of each estate that had been jointly acquired by himself and his late father and asked a lot of questions that incidentally suggested themselves to him and Krishnakanta was very pleased at this unexpected inquisitiveness on the part of his nephew for whom he had a great affection. You must

learn' said he 'to look after your own affairs. I have become old and am not expected to live long. If you neglect to look to your own affairs while you can after my death everything will be at sixes and sevens. I am not now able to visit the estates myself so for want of supervision there is disorder in them."

I shall be glad to visit them uncle if you want me to' said Gobindalal. Indeed I would like to visit all the estates myself.

Krishnakanta was very pleased to hear his words. I am happy to hear said he, that you wish to visit the estates. At present there is considerable mismanagement at Bunderkhal. The *naib* there says that the tenants are on strike and have stopped paying their rent. But the tenants complain that the *naib* does not give them proper receipts for rent paid by them. So I think you will do well to start at once for Bunderkhal.

Gobindalal readily agreed to his uncle's proposal and left his chamber to make preparations for his departure. He had wished to obtain his permission to go on a visit to one of the estates and he had gone to him for that purpose. Though a handsome youth of good morals he was as young people at his age generally are subject to the influence of beauty. He wanted to go abroad because he felt that if he stayed at home it would be very difficult for him to put Rohini out of his mind and forget her. His object was to run away from her and try to forget her where she would never come in his way. Out of sight is out of mind he thought of that. And he thought of his wife's affection for him. How devoted she was to her husband. If she knew that he loved Rohini it would kill her surely. He thought he would sooner die than be unfaithful to his wife.

When his wife knew that he was going on a visit to one of the estates where his presence was urgently required she wanted to go with him. She pressed very much. But her mother-in-law strongly opposed and consequently she had to be left behind.

Bunderkhal was about ten days' voyage from their village. The boat to carry Gobindalal was furnished with everything needed to make such a long journey by water. He took leave of his weeping wife. He kissed her and comforted her. With a favourable wind he set sail accompanied by his own cool and servants.

When her husband was gone Bhramar wept bitterly for sometime, lying down on the bare floor. Afterwards she rose, and in a fit of vexation tore up the leaves of the book she had taken out of the shelf to read. She did not stop there. She broke all the china in her room; she cut the flowers in the pots, let fly away the birds whose cages she could get at, and did more other mischief she could think of. She then lay down on the bed, hiding her face in the coverlet to indulge in her grief. Meanwhile Gobindalal was on the way to his destination, the boat under sail taking him farther and farther away from those he had left behind.

## CHAPTER XX.

Bhramar missed her husband very much. After he was gone she could find pleasure in nothing. She told her maid not to get flowers any more, her excuse being they were 'full of grubs'. A game of cards had no interest for her now. As for embroidery, it was trying to her eyes. She told so to the girls to whom she gave away her pattern books, and her gold and silver threads and needles. She cared not what she ate or what she wore, and her hair seemed not to have known the comb since her husband went away. At meal-time she often complained she had no inclination for food. Her mother-in-law sent for the physician who prescribed an appetising medicine. But she never took it; she threw it out of the window the instant it was brought to her by her maid.

Things went on in this way till at length her maid's patience was tired. "I mean no offence, madam," said Khroda, "but of what avail is all this weeping and chafing and fretting? What good is it to refuse food and drink or go without a wink of sleep at night? Master is a very different man from what he used to be. He cares not now to think of you though you be killed with thinking of him. Shall I say it? He loves Rohini."

No sooner had she uttered her last words than she got a smart slap on her cheek.

"Get out of the room, I say; how dare you talk like this?" cried Bhramar, provoked almost into crying.

"Why, your beating me will not stop people's mouths," she said. "The talk in the neighbourhood is that master is in love with Rohini. She was seen coming

home from the garden at a very late hour of the night the other day."

It would have been well if the maid had kept quiet. Bhramar was provoked beyond all bearing. She gave her slaps upon slaps, blows upon blows, pulled her by the hair, and pushed her and pinched her. Finally in a fit of passion she burst into tears.

Khroda was used to hard words and to hard blows besides, and she seldom or never took any offence. But this day as her mistress went beyond the proper limit she was a little annoyed.

"It is useless to beat me, mistress," she began again. "I don't mean any offence, not at all. I wish nothing had happened; and nothing is farther from my heart than to wound your feelings. But the thing is we don't like people should make a fuss about it. You mightn't believe me, but you can inquire about the truth of what I say if you care to."

Bhramar was impatient at her words. "How do you dare to speak this nonsense about my husband?" she exclaimed, half choked with grief and anger. "Am I such a goose as to believe it or inquire about the truth of it? I would sooner believe anything than to give ear to the words of any idle gossip in the village. Oh, I cannot tolerate this from a servant. If you utter another word I will break your silly pate. Get out of my sight!"

It was rather late in the morning when Khroda, after she had been liberally treated to slaps and fisticuffs, flounced out of the room in anger. When she had gone Bhramar, with uplifted face and tears in her eyes, called upon her husband, saying, "O my lord of my life, my teacher, my guide, could it be that it was this that you refused that night to tell me when I insisted on knowing? Is it possible you love Rohini?"

She had unbounded faith in her husband. She believed that his character was stainless; and the more she dwelt upon it the more convinced she was that sin and he were leagues apart.

## CHAPTER XXI.

Khroda had no grudge against his mistress, though it must be said that like most women she found pleasure in talking of the private concerns of others. She certainly meant no harm, but she was

sorry that her words were not believed and by such a green horn as she thought her mistress was and she resolved to make her feel that she had told no falsehood to her

I will not bear being beaten and abused for nothing said Khiroda, meeting Haramoni on the road. Khiroda was going to the Baruni tank to bathe and Haramoni a cook belonging to Krishnakanta's house was returning home after bathing.

What has turned up? asked Haramoni stopping.

'I wish to ask you one thing said Khiroda. If anybody does anything bad or condemnable isn't it more than to expect that people will keep quiet about it?'

'Why of course said Haramoni. But what's the matter?'

Mistress beat me this morning for daring to tell her that master is in love with Rohini.'

'In love with Rohini! Is it true?'

'True? As true as you and I stand talking together. Why did master come home so late as one o'clock the other night? He was in the garden with Rohini.'

Poor unfortunate girl! said Haramoni. 'I feared she would trip. I did for there was something I could see that made me apprehend some such thing about her. I never liked her. I never did indeed.'

And Haramoni pitied Rohini again. She used many more epithets, smiled scornfully and then turned to pursue her way leaving Khiroda to pursue her own.

That morning on her way to the tank the maid servant circulated her story among half a dozen more women whom she happened to meet on the road. Haramoni was not indifferent either but did her best to promote the circulation of it by telling it to every one of her friends. The story, as such stories are bound to be, was a great deal exaggerated as it passed from mouth to mouth. Some said that Gobinlal was over head and ears in love with Rohini. Others declared that he had given her seven thousand rupees worth of ornaments. In a day or two this formed a principal topic in all parts of the village and created a sensation in it.

Soon afterwards when Bhramar keenly felt her separation from her husband there went to her neighbours who wished to condole with her in her misfortune. First

went Binodini. Is it true? she asked. What is true? said Bhramar. Binodini shot a sly glance at her. The rumour I mean—the rumour about Rohini she said.

Bhramar felt very angry but not wishing to say anything and wanting to get rid of her drew her child into her arms apparently to caress it but really to make it cry which she did by secretly giving it a pinch. Binodini without any more ado took her child from her and withdrew trying to quiet it by giving it suck.

Next went Surodhani a young lady of two and twenty who often used to call to have a game of cards with Bhramar. She assured her she was very sorry on her account considering that her husband was the handsomest young man in the village.

Why don't you try and get something she said to use as a charm against such an evil as this? You ought to consult somebody who can help you about it for what men care for in women is beauty, and you know you cannot boast of it. But I wonder at Rohini. What a wicked brazen faced girl she is!

Bhramar pretended not to understand her and said. I do not quite see what you are driving at. What has Rohini done?

Oh dear! you don't know the news when the whole village rings with it? Why your husband has lost his head about Rohini. The rumour is that he has given seven thousand rupees worth of ornaments to her.

Bhramar was inignant. But she dared not say anything to her and vented her anger instead on a little stray doll of clay whose head she snapped as though it were the head of Surodhani. However calling up a smile she said. I have looked into the account book you also have fourteen thousand rupees worth of ornaments in your name.

Afterwards there went many others young ladies and elderly ladies and ladies in short of all ages who either singly or with friends all as they pretended to comfort Bhramar. Alluding to the love affair they pitied her. They declared that though there was no reason to wonder as both Rohini and her husband were young and handsome it was undoubtedly very unfortunate that such a thing should ever have happened to destroy her happiness and peace of mind for ever. They all pretended they were very sorry and some even



shed tears; and Bhramar, far from finding any comfort from such lip sympathy as they showed, felt a great deal more miserable than she had ever done before. Their visits were simply an infliction, and their seemingly kind speech was gall and wormwood to her.

She was very very miserable. Not long before this she had been as gay and happy as a lark. The women of the village had envied her lot because she was the wife of the richest and handsomest young man for many miles round; because her husband bore an excellent character, and because,

though in point of beauty she was nothing by his side, he loved her dearly. Now when they knew that her husband's affection had been suddenly alienated from her they laughed in their sleeve and enjoyed her trouble very much.

When she was alone she vented the anguish of her heart in bitter tears. Could she ever doubt her own dear husband? Yet why was this rumour? It seemed such a mystery that she wished he could come at once and solve it for her.

(To be continued)

TRANSLATED BY D. C. ROY.

## SOCIAL SERVICE \*

**S**OCIAL Service is a pretty vast subject and can be regarded from many points of view. A historical survey of the growth and development of Social Service in this country, through various social conditions in different ages, would be almost as fascinating as a comparative study of its progress and activity in different countries at the present day; no less interesting would be a study of the determining factors in the social and political conditions, through the action and reaction of which, social work has been variously shaped and moulded; and equally illuminating would be a review of the contributions made to the cause of Social Service, as it has been understood at different times, by various philanthropists and social reformers and by numerous movements and organisations.

Apart from these and other academic and philosophical surveys of this subject such as its relation to religion and various social problems, we could derive more practical benefit from a detailed study of the various forms in which Social Service could be rendered in towns and villages and of the work and methods of the many present-day movements and institutions which are doing this work each in its own particular way. It might perhaps be

better if we could take up each of the items in a programme of Social Service, e.g., co-operative work, mass education, village sanitation, work among the depressed classes, &c., and give full and practical consideration to each of them, in relation to our present-day environments and needs.

There is yet another most essential and intensely interesting aspect of Social Service, viz., a proper and systematic study of social conditions. This social study, I am afraid, is not receiving that amount of care and attention which it deserves, owing perhaps to pressure of actual service.

All these and various other social problems connected with this subject may well form a most interesting and instructive series of lectures from this platform of popular education. We may also include social exhibits and lantern shows which more than anything else graphically represent various social facts and conditions and make lasting impressions on the popular mind and stimulate our social conscience. I have decided, however, to make a few broad observations on Social Service generally.

I shall try briefly to deal with the subject as follows:

A. What is Social Service—its definition and its organic evolution in this country;

B. What is its present need; and

C. What should be our duty towards it.

The meaning of Social Service—a

\* Being an address delivered by Dr. D. N. Mastru, of the Bengal Social Service League, in connection with the Ram Mohan Library Saturday Evening Lectures on 24th February, 1917.

of recent currency in this province—may not yet be clear to many. It is still being confused with *Individual Charity* and with *Social Reform*. It is different yet not far removed from either. Social Service may not consist in helping just *one* individual but surely it is the individual who comes in collectively within the range of Social Service. Again you cannot serve the community without reforming its defective or harmful social conditions e.g. poverty ignorance disease or misery yet such reforms as attack the socio religious customs of the people believing them to be harmful do not come within the immediate sphere of work of the Social Servant as they do of the Social Reformer.

Social Service may then be best defined as that form of organised effort for man's betterment which seeks to improve and uplift his community life to develop and perfect the institutions of associated life, and to construct a social order which shall be as far as possible free from ignorance disease poverty crime and misery. To be able to do all these most effectively a clear knowledge of the causes and conditions is very necessary. Social Study therefore is an inseparable and almost essential condition of Social Service just as much as correct diagnosis, based on an accurate knowledge of the normal and abnormal conditions of the human body, is of medical treatment.

The spirit of Social Service has been manifest in limited fields and through individual or limited efforts in different ages according to various social and political environments. But Social Service as it is understood now is a fairly modern phase and is rather of recent development. And it is not strange that it should be so when we consider its genesis in our country. Here the bases of our social systems lay on the one hand, in the family unit and on the other on innumerable distinctions of caste. Whether in the family as youngers or elders by the difference of even a day in respect of age or, as youngers and elders by virtue of relationship quite irrespective of age, or, whether in the society in the variously graded castes with their limitations of rights and privileges the fundamental ideal of Social Service which rests on the recognition of the Fatherhood of God and the Brotherhood of Man and demands the

treatment of man or woman on a basis of equality, could not find an adequate expression or realisation in the then constituted society. A Depressed Classes Mission or a Widows' Home or a relief and nursing association where caste considerations are set at naught, could not be thought of 50 or even 25 years ago, except in connection with such reform movements as the Brahmo Samaj the Arya Samaj and recently the Ramkrishna Mission.

It was however different in the West—the home of the modern Social Service—where the social fabric rested on the units of the Individual against our units of rigid family or social groups. Each system has had its good and doubtful sides. The intense and restless individuality of the west generated as waste products in the fight for competition, various social evils of which the most appalling and appealing was perhaps pauperism with its attendant evils e.g. drink etc., which in the materialistic west proved a menace to civilisation. And according to the eternal law of action and reaction in the progress of evolution, this social evil sent 'shocks' to the better and nobler side of the western mind and 'induced' an awakening of social consciousness, and it was but a step from this awakened social consciousness to Social Service.

Good emerged out of a seeming evil, Good and Evil as we term them. These awakenings have been landmarks and milestones in national progress. Raja Ram Mohun Roy sounded the trumpet for such an awakening in the last century, the call of that trumpet has not died away—we are still waking up to that trumpet's blast. The impact of the west on the east has been the parent of many such awakenings. It is the age of Indian renaissance whether in the region of art and literature, or in the domains of science or in the province of religion and politics or in the camp of physical endurance and bravery or not the least in the social field, movements instinct with the pulse of a reinvigorated birth are everywhere manifest. Though the waves of Social Service in its modern sense, first appeared in the west, it is not the same wave that we notice in Bengal to-day.

The bosom of Bengal spontaneously surged to the writhing agonies of its social conditions.

Even as a gradual development we can trace it to the 'Lokasangraham' of the Gita or the 'Sarvalokahitam' of the Mahabharata, to the Buddhist hospitals to the village communities of centuries back which were types of charity organisations and we can trace it through the various socio religious ceremonies and institutions still current in the present-day which leaned however more to the giving of relief and charity than to any constructive programme for the betterment of the community and such charities often confirmed the conditions which it was sought to relieve, e.g., chronic beggary etc.

This Social Renaissance is thus an evolution through a heredity and environment and not a mere graft from the west and herein lies its future and promise and it is not a mere pious hope or prophecy. The steady growth and development of our social service institutions and the increasingly cordial adherence given to such organisations by a generous and philanthropic public testify to the timely advent of these movements.

Coming now to the consideration of the needs of Social Service we find that the need is at once urgent and great. The need is measured by the benefit that accrues first to the worker, secondly to those for whom he works and above all collectively, to the nation. Such service awakens and stimulates in the first place what is the best and noblest in man's nature, viz., the spirit of service and sacrifice. This spirit is always within us often lying dormant perhaps and requiring just a little stirring up to glow into feeling and active work.

Then again it engenders the spirit of self-help and teaches us to be real. Men "Heaven helps those who help themselves" is an old English proverb which however, is never too old. If we are keen on 'national regeneration' and believe in the dictum that "Nations by themselves are made" we must exert ourselves vigorously in the act of nation building. In the quiet and silent yet none the less strenuous task of 'keeping our own doorsteps clean' lies enough scope and training for self government and governing ourselves. It may be manifest for instance in the internal difficulties and obstacles that often arise and have to be overcome in the attempt to supply good drinking water in a single village or in clearing its jungles. We have

almost hypnotised ourselves into a morbid belief that we are helpless and that we have nothing to do but to look about as apathetically and sometimes pathetically for others' help. A man is unworthy of the name if his soul be so dead. We must bear in mind that no one can ever make men of us if our own hearts do not move, our own brains do not work and our own muscles do not act.

Closely associated with, in fact lying at the very root of, this spirit of self-help, is the spirit of self-respect. I cannot lay too great a stress on this aspect of a man's nature. A man devoid of it is one to be pitied. Have we indeed this spirit of self-respect in us and do we wish to see it equally in others? Respect for one's self means, I take it, recognition of and respect for the immense and infinite possibilities of progress of the human soul. Have we recognised this self-respect or have we not ignored it by continuing a social system which, whatever might have been its merits in an historic age has by its operation coupled no doubt with other factors, through centuries of concomitant degradation slighted the manhood of nearly 87 per cent or at least 58 per cent of our total Hindu population in Bengal, till we have succeeded in reducing them to a state of soul atrocity, robbed them of one of the highest and most precious of God's gifts to man, viz. the desire for an eternal progress and a progressive emancipation. The first condition of Social Service thus lies in attending to the needs that are in ourselves viz., the need of the spirit of self-sacrifice, of the spirit of self-help and the spirit of self-respect. This spirit must be fostered in ourselves as much as in those with whom and for whom we work. Love above all should pervade all our actions. We should work not in any spirit of patronising charity but in a spirit of true love, good will and comradeship.

Turning for a moment from ourselves to our towns and villages we find that the cry has gone forth that 'we are a dying race'. Well the facts and figures are disconcerting indeed. Take population the total number of the Hindus in Bengal is less than half the total population in the Census taken 40 years ago the Hindus were 4 lacs more than the Mahomedans, in the course of these 40 years the total Hindu population has fallen behind the

total Musalman population by 30 lacs! And of this population only 13 per cent. belong to the upper castes, 29 per cent. to the 'low' castes and full 58 per cent. are "untouchable."

Again, take the case of our young widows, whose number, amongst Bengali Hindus alone, is over 5 lacs! In a large per cent. of cases they are dependents and drag on friends and relations, themselves poor and hardly able to make their two ends meet. What a beneficent field of service lies here in giving them suitable education so that they may be made self-reliant and more useful members of the family.

In Bengal out of a population of four crores and 63 lacs and odd, say,  $4\frac{1}{2}$  crores, (4,63,05,642), quite 2 Crores and 92 lacs and odd, say, 3 crores (2,22,26,472), are without any active employment. Even after making liberal allowances, quite a crore of people remains to be duly educated and employed to earn a decent living. Here is another field for giving widespread industrial and technical education to make them useful and helpful members of society.

There are again, the Orphans, the Blind, the Deaf and the Dumb who need our special attention for making them useful and giving them some joy in their lives. In the matter of general literacy the revelations are very striking. If the amount of illiteracy in this province could be graphically represented now by closing all the doors and windows of this Hall and making it dark and then letting in just as much light as would be represented by the extent of literacy in the land, why, we would hardly be able to see or recognise one another's faces; yet such is the darkness which Bengal is submerged in. The number of illiterates in Bengal is 92.3 per cent. against only 1 per cent. of England, Germany, Norway, Sweden or Switzerland. Even amongst the Negroes in America the illiteracy is 31 per cent. and in Burma 77.8 per cent., whereas, ours is as high as 92.3 per cent. .

In the matter of the education of women there is no comparison with the west, but in India itself the percentage of literate women in Bengal is only 1.1 against 2.1 in Baroda, 5 in Travancore, and 6.1 in Burma and Cochin.

Regarding Schools and Colleges we have 1 School and College to 35 villages

in Bengal against 1 for 1 in Baroda and 5 for 1 in Japan. We may easily with a little of local and organised efforts found elementary boys' and girls' Schools with small workshops attached to them wherever possible all over the province and it would cost very little indeed—I speak from personal experience—if local interest is aroused and the burden divided between the different districts, sub-divisions and villages, between the different centres of Social Service.

Take Sanitation: the call on the Social Servant is no less urgent here. If we consider the excess per 1000 of births over deaths—an index of racial vitality during the last 45 years, the figures will be found rather disquieting. Taking the last 4 consecutive groups of 10 years, the excess was only 11.5 per 1000 in 1872 to 81; it fell to 7.3 during the next 10 years; it was further reduced to 5.2 during the next ten; till during the last 10 years of census calculation, the excess of births over deaths was only 2.2 per 1000 in 1901-11. But, mark, this poor increase of 2.2 per 1000 included Mahomedans as well, who, however, showed an increase 3 times over the Hindus so that actually deaths exceeded births in the case of Hindus. Taking again individual years from 1911 to 1915, the total births over deaths gradually diminished from 3.63 per 1000 in 1911, to 2.50 in 1912, 1.98 in 1913, 1.03 in 1914, till in 1915 the deaths exceeded births by 46,939. Consider again the deaths from fevers alone (mostly malarial). The available figures for the last 3 consecutive years are 9,63,546 in 1913, 10,61,041 in 1914, 10,64,169 in 1915, i.e., a steady increase in fever mortality. Next to fevers, the highest toll is taken by Cholera (deaths amounted to 67,750 in 1911, 78,898 in 1913, 130,679 in 1915); and next come bowel complaints (deaths amounted to 28,919 in 1915 against 27,013, the average of previous 5 years). The highest mortality is thus from diseases which are mostly preventable, not so much by any legislation or state measures as by popular sanitary education and other measures adopted by the combined and organised efforts of the people. Keep the surroundings of your house clear, ensure the supply of good drinking water and unadulterated food and the drop in the mortality figures would be immediate and remarkable.

Those figures may be terrifying but they are nevertheless eye openers. I could go on, but I will just mention one more instance. The infant mortality in Bengal in 1913 was 20.9% or 21%, it was in 1914 22.14 or 22¼ and in 1915 21.89 or 22%. If we take a country for comparison whose climatic conditions fairly resemble those of Bengal say, Australasia, their average infant mortality works at only 7%, i.e., less than one third of our infant mortality. 22 per cent means that more than 1 out of every 5 births in Bengal do not survive. There is at the present day little difference of opinion if any at all regarding some of the causes of infant mortality, e.g., early motherhood, poor food, bad hygiene, insanitary surroundings, defective nursing, tetanus and so forth. So here lies a very suitable field for Social Workers, especially ladies and the urgent need for the combined efforts of our people in organising the spread of popular education on the subject and adoption of necessary preventive measures is easily apparent.

Turning for a moment to the economic side we find the crushing poverty of the debt-laden millions. Yet we can make it easier for them by the introduction of various methods of co-operative systems explaining to them the benefits of it and inducing them to join the existing ones and by the preaching and practical demonstration of improved methods of agricultural and other industries, and again giving them such technical instruction and stimulating the growth of such small industries as would easily supplement their unstable or poor income.

The debt-entangled poor victims should be released from the jaws of usurious human sharks. I will tell you of a simple method which has been found very useful. Suppose a man is forced to incur a debt of 100 Rupees on 40 per cent interest per annum—I have known it to be as high as even 70 per cent. Well we can easily borrow money on say 7 per cent and discharge his debt making him pay the 40 per cent to us. Out of this deducting the 7 per cent for the interest at which we have taken the money, the balance of 35 Rupees will be saved to his credit and in 3 years time we may make him debt-free whereas in the other case there is little chance if any of his getting the release. If he can not pay the 40 per cent he may pay less, his re-

lease will only be proportionately delayed but the method remains the same. Of course we must always be careful in our procedure in these cases.

Then there are urgent and not too infrequent occasions for affording relief in time of epidemics and distress such as famine fires or floods in large fairs, festivals and similar occasions helping poor students visiting the sick, temperance work and so forth.

I need not go into any further details or cite more examples.

Social Service, then, is good work and its need in this country is urgent and great. That is all right so far as it goes, but it does not go far unless we make *united, organised and sustained* efforts in this service and DO IT NOW. The programme may seem large to a casual observer, but we do not propose to tackle the whole programme suddenly at one stroke in one day. We should have always a clear and exhaustive programme before our eyes and proceed steadily according to the available resources in men and money. A robust optimism founded on a deep faith in the cause, more than a cold and calculating experience should inspire our action for in any movement of social or moral regeneration it is faith and hope that carry us a longer way than the cautious wisdom of mere practical experience. We should preach the Gospel of Social Service and the people's Social Conscience is to be roused. The people should be made to realise the gravity of the situation. At the same time Local Centres of activity should be founded all over the province. A few earnest members should first of all study the immediate and most urgent needs of the locality,—it may be an extensive antimalarial work or it may be a small night school or even a village playground. A small local committee should be formed, local public opinion is to be created and their interest enlisted. Necessary funds raised and the proposed scheme of work taken in hand, as an integral part of a common organisation giving and taking inspiration and strength from one another. I may mention in this connection that whatever we may preach and do outside we must follow all that in our own families. It won't do for example to ignore the education of a sister or to allot a dark and the

worst possible room in the house for a child about to see light

The Bengal Social Service League has within a year founded nearly 30 branch centres in this province and our experience is encouraging

In this field we may expect the good will and co-operation of all people of all creeds and beliefs, for our aim is purely loving service to our fellow-men a service which while helping them will at the same time teach them to be self-reliant self-respecting and self-sacrificing and will help in the development of full Manhood

In this field again we have the great privilege of co-operation with the Government through the local boards and municipalities for any one who has studied what the Government has been doing knows how the state has been striving to improve the educational the economic and the sanitary condition of the people. It is just here that an efficient and organised peoples' association comes in as a link between the state and the mass as supplying the heart as it were to the head and hands of the executive. Often as much as 90 to 99 per cent. of the Government grants to District Boards and Municipalities for sanitation and water supply lapse every year on account of our failure to utilise this money. This tragedy might be largely averted if those districts had a number of

centres of Social Service which could properly study local needs and press the urgency of meeting them to the attention of the members of the Boards

There are again the co-operative banks, the experimental farms the seed stores the various excellent recommendations of the Sanitary department and many other similar schemes of the Government for the sanitary and economic improvement of our villages. Surely organised associations of Social Workers are here also needed to interpret and recommend the beneficent usefulness of these schemes to the masses and enlist their active participation in those institutions

From whatever point we may view it the urgent need for *united organised and sustained* efforts of the people for Social Service is more and more borne in upon us. Without this unity and organisation we can hope to achieve but little. Even if we are not able to show any results immediately the very fact of our being able to be united and organised in a common cause of loving service is in itself an achievement. For I believe unity and organisation and sustained efforts are the very corner stones of the fabric of our national regeneration service and sacrifice being the mortar and cement

D N MAITRA

## THE NATURAL AND THE SPIRITUAL WORLD\*

**T**HE rigid distinction between nature and spirit matter and mind with which the modern civilised mind is so familiar is far removed from the primitive man's way of viewing the world in which he lives and of which he forms a part. He cannot think of matter as dead and lifeless and moved by forces external to it nor does he conceive of mind and matter as two substances different from and independent of each other. The instinctive tendency of his mind is to interpret all things after the analogy of his own

self to endow all natural objects with life and the power of spontaneous movement. He is not troubled by any problem about the relation of the natural to the spiritual for no clear distinction between the two exists for him and yet he does not simply identify the one with the other. All that exists is in his eyes more than merely material and also more than the impalpable intangible spiritual. The animate and the inanimate the conscious and the unconscious are intuitively apprehended by him as the twofold aspect of the same reality.

This primitive conception of reality also

\* Calcutta Lecture Series, Lecture

finds expression in the speculations of the early philosophers of Greece. Whether the original substance out of which all things arise was conceived as water, air, fire or something indeterminate, it was regarded as a living though not necessarily conscious being whose changes and determinations are due to its own spontaneous activity. For these thinkers, the opposition between the living and the not-living and, as a consequence, the problem of their reconciliation does not exist. No distinction is made between the natural and the supernatural and for the explanation of the cosmic order it is not found necessary to have recourse to any cause or principle different from and beyond that order. Just as the changes and movements of an animal are due not to any foreign principle but to the animal's own vitality, so the mutations of the world are the expression of its own life. The stuff of which all things are made is eternal, uncreated, living matter. The pre-socratic philosophers do not seek to explain the natural world by referring it to a transmundane intelligence. It was Anaxagoras who first introduced into Greek thought the dualism of nature and spirit. He is unable to explain the world, so beautiful, so orderly, so full of design by matter, even if matter be conceived as living. It can only be the work of a being who is intelligent and whose power extends over all things, the work of a rational principle independent of and unmixed with anything else. The clear distinction between matter and mind is the keynote of the thought of Anaxagoras. Mind is incorporeal and simple, while matter is compound, a mass of the constituent elements of all things. But though Anaxagoras conceives of mind as other than matter and as the explanatory principle of its orderliness, he does not think that matter is the creation of or dependent for its existence on mind. He is very far indeed from the idealistic view of the material universe as the manifestation of mind. By the proclamation of mind as the explanatory principle of the physical world, all that he means is that mind is the first cause that sets up the movement by which substances mingled together in the original medley are separated from one another. After having started this movement mind does not interfere with the subsequent course of the world. Anaxagoras, therefore, is

justly censured by both Plato and Aristotle for not making use of his newly discovered principle for a teleological explanation of the world.

The first great thinker of Europe who with clear vision sought to make reason the explanatory principle of the universe and thus laid the foundations of genuine idealism is Plato. It is in his system that we find for the first time a clear distinction drawn between the sensible world and the ideal world. The world of matter and the world of supersensible ideas are sharply opposed to each other and so far as this is the case Plato's philosophy is dualistic. Indeed we may say that the Platonic philosophy, in spite of its vindication of idealism which must always remain classical, is also largely responsible for the introduction of the dualistic mode of thought into European philosophy. The phenomenal world, to be born into which is a misfortune, is a very inferior world opposed fundamentally to the intelligible world above and beyond it. But at the same time Plato conceives of the material universe as the reflection of the world of Ideas, pervaded and sustained by it and apart from which it has no being. The Ideas are the universals of thought presupposed in the cognition of the particulars of sense and cannot, therefore, be derived from the latter by a process of generalisation and abstraction. Sensations apart from their relation to and participation in the Ideas would be a mere chaos incognisable by us. The Ideal world is the sun that sheds its light on the dark region of sense and illumines it and thus makes it capable of apprehension. Genuine reality, therefore, belongs only to the universal notions which are not mere subjective concepts but intelligible principles of reason on which subjective concepts are based. These intelligible principles, again, are not cut off from and independent of each other, but are interrelated members of a single coherent system in which an ultimate all inclusive unity, viz., the Good, finds expression. But though the phenomenal world is absolutely dependent for its knowability on its shadowing forth its noumenal background, Plato attributes to it some sort of independent being and regards the Ideas as having an existence apart from it. In respect of both of these views his theory is open to serious objections. A universal that stands outside

the particular is limited by it and is therefore not genuinely universal. The true universal is such by reason of its expression in the particular. There are passages in Plato's own writings which lend support to this view. But in spite of his suggestive treatment of the problem of the one and the many, he sets up a barrier between the ideal world and the phenomenal world of differences. It is true that the ideal world is not an abstract unity but a unity of differences; but this only makes the sharp distinction between it and the manifold of perception more unintelligible. If we had here unity on the one side and mere difference on the other, the gulf between the two would no doubt be profound and unbridgable; but as the Ideas are a plurality centred in the unity of the Good, the noumena and the phenomena are not so hopelessly antagonistic to each other as to be incapable of being viewed as two opposed expressions of the same reality. In one sense the universal does indeed transcend the particular. It is expressed in each particular but is not confined to it and therefore goes beyond it to other particulars, thereby reducing them to a system of interconnected things. The universal is thus prior to the particulars, but this priority is logical and not chronological. Plato mistakenly presupposes that because the universal transcends the particulars of sense, it is also beyond them. What he fails to perceive is that the universal cannot transcend the particulars without being immanent in them. The conception of matter as a chaotic mass absolutely opposed to the Ideas is only the counterpart of the error that noumena resting in themselves and unrelated to phenomena are anything real. Before the Ideas are imposed on it, matter according to Plato is so indeterminate so formless that no characterisation of it in positive terms is possible. It is something of which we can speak only negatively. It is rescued from this state of incognisability by being brought into relation with Ideas. But if apart from relation to the Ideas, phenomena of sense are unknowable and unnameable, surely they cannot be regarded as real in any proper sense of the term. What cannot even be conceived that to which no definite meaning can be attached is only a figment of the imagination. Ideas belong, not to a transcendent world and not

finding necessary expression in sensible phenomena and matter of which Reason is not the essence and informing principle, are both false abstractions. The ideal and the real are not two opposed entities needing to be externally brought into touch with each other but two relatively opposed manifestations of an ultimate all-inclusive unity. Failing to perceive this, Plato is forced to seek for a mediating principle between phenomena and the Ideas which he finds in the world-soul. But this attempt at an external reconciliation between two things supposed to be self-subsistent and having nothing in common is foredoomed to failure. If you arbitrarily separate from each other elements of a whole which exist only through their mutual relations, you will never be able to bring them together again any more than you can reunite into a living whole members of the body severed from each other. The only possible escape from this logical impasse, as Caird observes, would have been to set aside altogether the abstract opposition of the ideal world and the world in space and time and to substitute for it the conception that they are correlative factors in the one real world. If Plato had adopted this course, he would have done justice equally to the distinction and to the unity of those factors and he would have avoided the opposite dangers of an abstract monism and of an irreconcilable dualism. He would have conceived the intelligible reality or the Divine Intelligence which is its central principle not as resting in itself but as essentially self-revealing, and he would have treated the world in space and time as its necessary manifestation.

In the *Philosophy* of Plato then we no longer find that immediate identification of matter and mind which is the special feature of pre-Socratic philosophy and which is in accordance with the natural tendency of the Greek mind. The natural world and the spiritual world are distinguished from and set in opposition to each other though the former is conceived as permeated and supported by the latter. For all that is orderly and intelligible in it, the natural world is dependent on its being the reflection of the Ideas. Like the manifold of sense undetermined by the categories in Kant's philosophy, matter without Ideas is as good as nothing. But nevertheless matter is treated as an inde-



pendent reality. The dualism of Plato, we may say, pulls itself together and asserts itself just as it tends to break down. It would have been easy for him to have recourse to a facile monism but he is too great a thinker to minimise the obvious difference between the natural and the spiritual, the real and the ideal. Failing to rise to the standpoint from which nature and spirit are seen to be the opposed manifestations of the same reality, he is necessarily unable to reconcile their unity with their difference.

Plato conceives of the ideal world as the abode of higher intelligences prior to their corruption and descent into the world of phenomena. Into it they return when they succeed in emancipating themselves from the bondage of sense. It is the heaven depicted in the *Phaedrus* in which 'Zeus the mighty lord, holding the reins of a winged chariot leads the way, ordering all and taking care of all and there follows him the array of gods and demigods marshalled in eleven lands, Hestia alone abides at home in the house of heaven, of the rest they who are reckoned among the princely twelve march in their appointed order. They see many blessed sights in the inner heaven and there are many ways to and fro, along which the blessed gods are passing, every one doing his own work, he may follow who will and can, for jealously has no place in the celestial choir.' The spiritual world, however, cannot thus be identified with the spirit world. The abode of spirits, which is to them what nature is to us, must be an experienced world and an experienced world is an objective world that in which spirit is manifested and, therefore, not the same as spirit. The mistaken identification of any world higher than this with the spiritual world is a necessary consequence of the dualism for which nature and the world of Ideas are two separate entities having no necessary relation to each other. What is other than and outside of the material universe is bound to be another reality like it though perhaps superior to it. The spiritual world, however, is not another world beyond this but the natural world itself viewed in relation to the mind of which it is the expression. It is the universal principle of Reason of which the subject and the object are relatively opposed expressions. The dwelling place of higher spirits, if there be any such place,

must be presented and, therefore, objective to thought and cannot, consequently, be different in kind from the world in which we live. It may be a better world, but it must be a continuation of and on the same footing with the physical world in both of which the Absolute Spirit is revealed. Plato seems to be half aware of this, for, in the *Phaedo*, the spirit world is called the upper earth and seems to be distinguished from the intelligible world. There is a certain confusion about this matter in Plato's mind and it is not improbable that it is connected with the change that gradually took place in his conception of the Ideas. To enlarge on this point, however, would be to go somewhat beyond the scope of this paper. Any possible upper earth into which emancipated spirits pass and from which they descend into this lower earth cannot be more spiritual than the latter. Both must be connected members of the one world in which the Supreme Intelligence manifests itself.

Aristotle developed and gave a more systematic form to the doctrines of his master and in doing so further emphasised his dualism though, at the same time, he also indicated the idealistic line of thought by pursuing which it is possible to transcend that dualism. He opposes Plato's theory of Ideas and points out that the universal abstracted from the particular is nothing real, that the essence of things cannot be separated from the things of which it is the essence and that the ideal world is not another world independent of the phenomenal world. The universal is not before but in the individual things. The Ideas of Plato are conceived as the forms of things without which they cannot be. Form and matter are inseparable from and in indivisible union with each other. From this the legitimate inference is that form and matter are not two different things but two aspects of the same thing. This, however, is not Aristotle's view. Form, according to him, is, no doubt, the informing principle of matter and as such, has the higher degree of reality but it is other than matter. The original stuff of which all things are made, the common substratum of them is 'first matter' which so far from being the necessary correlative of form is that which resists its realisation. On it all the evils and imperfections of nature depend. Aristotle's matter, therefore, is a more positive

reality than Plato and he endows it with a power of its own. But nevertheless it is enmeshed in forms all of which are included in the Divine thought. God is the supreme form related to other forms much in the same way in which the Good is related to the other Ideas in Plato's philosophy. In spite of its independent being matter is completely under the control of forms centred in God. God is the prime mover on whom the changes and movements of matter, its transition from a lower stage to a higher stage depend. The goal of all this movement and evolution is also God. The world process that is to say is a process of more and more explicit realisation of forms implied in its existence from the beginning. Aristotle conceives of God as the beginning and end of all things and in so far as he does this his philosophy is idealistic in spite of the dualism between intelligence and matter even more pronounced than in Plato.

In the philosophy of the Stoics we find a reversion to pre-Socratic modes of thought particularly to that of Heraclitus. It is true that the Stoics hold that Reason is the sustaining principle of the universe all that is is the self-expression of Reason. But they are unable to think of Reason as a purely immaterial principle. The real is corporeal and ideal both at the same time. Aristotle conceives of God as the pure form divided from matter. Not so the Stoics. To them one and the same all-pervading substance is God as well as matter. The matter with which God is immediately identified is not visible matter, but a perfect eternal substance called *pneuma*. It is from this subtle impalpable substance that the coarse matter of everyday perception is developed. This distinction however, does not create a gulf between God and the physical world. All that it amounts to is that while *pneuma* is directly divine what we call nature is indirectly so. The Stoics have been called materialists but they can be so characterised only from the standpoint of a dualism for which matter and mind are two independent realities absolutely opposed to each other. The Stoics however admit the existence of only one substance material in one aspect and spiritual in another of which all particular objects are modifications and cannot justly be called materialists in the usual sense of the term any more than Spinoza or Schelling.

The cardinal defect of Stoicism is to lay such stress on the unity of matter and mind as to overlook their difference. A genuine monism must do justice to the unity as well as to the difference of the ideal and the real. The physical and the spiritual are one only in the sense that they are the relatively opposed manifestations of a unity which includes and goes beyond them. Mind is one with matter not directly but by overcoming the distinction which in order to be anything real it sets up between itself and its own object. It opposes itself to itself and only in this way reaches the deepest unity with itself. The tendency of the Stoics is to mistake their distinction between the fiery breath and the physical world which it pervades and supports for the distinction between mind and its object, but the *pneuma* is as much object as ordinary matter and both must be viewed as equally the manifestation of Reason. There may be adequate reasons for thinking that there is an unseen universe from which the world in which we live is derived and of which it is a part but the unseen universe is not the same thing as the spirit which is the constitutive principle of all that has being both seen and unseen. Any kind of refined matter is not less material and more spiritual than the matter with which we are familiar. The relation of both to intelligence is the same. Stoicism would have been a genuine advance on the dualism of Plato and Aristotle if it had succeeded in reaching an ultimate principle of unity that does not obliterate but provides a basis for the distinction between matter and mind.

The next great system of Greek thought to which we must refer for a moment is the philosophy of Plotinus. Neo-Platonism is a theory of emanation. The primal being from which everything is derived is the One perfect and complete in itself and raised above all that is finite and comprehensible to us. No definition of it is possible for to define is to limit. Though the Absolute One is independent of every thing and as such excludes all determinations that would only make it finite Plotinus conceives of it as the source and origin of all things. How is this possible? How can a being that needs nothing beyond itself be the explanatory principle of the world? Plotinus is unable to give a satisfactory answer to this question and has

recourse only to metaphors. The original essence is so complete so perfect that it flows over into a lower grade of being, the nous. Out of the fullness of the primal being comes the intelligible world, a world of rational beings indivisibly connected with each other and having their object of thought in intelligible matter. This again overflows into the sensible world, a grade of being inferior to it. The difference between the sensible world and the intelligible world is that while in the former the component Ideas or thinking beings are in close transparent union with each other and are not discursive in their thought but have an unbroken intuition of the whole, in the latter the Ideas are less firmly compacted in consequence of their contact with matter. The next lower grade of reality into which the world soul descends just as the nous descends into the world soul is the world of matter and change. The lowest grade of being is indeterminate matter. The soul falls into the material world when it assumes a body. From the bondage of sense however it necessarily seeks to emancipate itself for its home is not in the world of matter but in the higher sphere of intelligence. Thus it is enabled to do by living a life of asceticism and discipline. Final salvation however is attained only when the soul is absorbed into the Absolute and is illumined by it when in divine rapture or ecstasy it so to speak swoons into the Absolute.

The only remark that it is necessary to make on this theory for our present purpose is that the worlds which constitute a hierarchy and are so related to each other that the lower emanates from the higher must be homogeneous with each other. The highest member of the series cannot be mind or something above it and the lowest matter. The relation between intelligence and its object is not a relation between two things on the same level. The former is the opposite of the latter though the opposition rests upon and is made possible by a unity that transcends it. Mind and the object of mind is one not in spite of but because of their opposition. So far as the intelligible world and the sensible world are concerned Plotinus after all admits this principle for both of them are unities involving the duality of subject and object and are therefore one as well as many. But the

highest member of the hierarchy is a pure undifferentiated unity and the lowest member a world of differences without unity. An arrangement like this is impossible. Worlds belonging to a series in which they are arranged in order of merit must have a common denominator. They must all be experienced and therefore, objective worlds in all of which a self manifesting spirit is equally realised.

Greek philosophy begins with the conception of the ultimate reality as neither purely physical nor purely spiritual but both at once. Plato and Aristotle were the first to make a clear distinction between the corporeal world and its ideal background and though they taught that the former is supported by the latter they failed to overcome the opposition between the two by leading them up to a higher unity manifesting itself in them. The stoics arrived at their monism by ignoring and not by retaining and explaining the difference of mind and matter. It was, therefore as untenable as the dualism of Plato and Aristotle. Plotinus seeks to heal the breach between the transcendent Absolute and matter by interposing middle terms between them and the only result is that he is confronted with the problem of explaining how the mediators are themselves united with the extremes which they are supposed to bring into connection with each other. We thus see that when Greek thought clearly realised the opposition of matter and spirit it failed to attain to a point of view from which it is possible to do justice to their unity as well as to their difference.

Supernaturalism and dualism are the cardinal features of European thought during the centuries preceding the renaissance. The spiritual world tenanted by immortal beings and angels is set over against the world in which we live. Here God reigns directly and the blessed are face to face with Him. It is a quite different place from the material universe and any influence issuing forth from it operates on our plane in the form of miracles. A world so conceived it is easy to see is altogether a sensuous world and to call it as consisting of mere fact spiritual is a misuse of terms. It may be a very exalted place but it cannot be different in kind from this earth. Any attempt to think of it inevitably leads us to portray it in much the same way as Plato does the

upper earth in the *Phaedo* "In this fair region everything that grows trees and flowers and fruits are fairer than any here and there are hills having stones in them smoother and more transparent and fairer in colour than our highly valued emeralds and sardonyxes and jaspers and other gems which are but minute fragments of them for there all the stones are like our precious stones and fairer still To the animals and men there the ether is what the air is to us The temperament of their seasons is such that they have no disease and live much longer than we do and have sight and hearing and smell and all the other senses in far greater perfection in the same proportion that air is purer than water or the ether than air Also they have temples and sacred places in which the gods really dwell and they hear their voices and receive their answers and are conscious of them and hold converse with them and they see the sun moon and stars as they truly are and their other blessedness is of a piece with this The heaven of medieval Christianity bears some resemblance to this picture Now I am not going to dogmatise and say that any such place is impossible What I do affirm is that it is not a whit more spiritual than this humble abode of ours No object of sensuous perception not even heaven can be ultimately real and the only thing ultimately real is the spiritual the Absolute of which whatever exists is an embodiment or expression The concrete whole the all inclusive being presupposed by everything else is the one self revealing spirit of which all that is real is an aspect or subordinate appearance Both heaven and earth are in God and heaven therefore is not the same as God the interjection Good Heavens notwithstanding

The most typical philosophical expression of the dualistic mode of thought is perhaps Cartesianism Matter and mind are for it two independent substances having nothing in common and antithetical to each other The fundamental property of the former is extension and that of the latter thought Any intimate connection between these opposed substances is inconceivable but in man at any rate they are closely united How this is possible Descartes is unable to explain except by invoking the aid of God The ingenuity of the followers of Descartes was taxed to the utmost in discovering a solution of the

problem but in spite of their bold speculations well known to the student of philosophy the problem remained unsolved Knowledge which is a unity involving the duality of the knower and the known becomes inexplicable if mind and matter are regarded as two different substances repelling each other The theory of Spinoza which reduces thought and extension to parallel attributes of the one substance does not really help us The modes of thought and the modes of extension in Spinoza's system exclude each other quite as much as the substances of Descartes and this being so it is impossible that the former should be aware of the latter The mind that knows its object is not merely opposed to that object but is also the unity that overreaches the opposition and makes it possible Spinoza's modes of thought are of course not such a unity, they are only parallel to the modes of extension But unless thought is conceived as a unity that transcends this parallelism knowledge remains unexplained It is not possible to attribute such a view to Spinoza though perhaps there are some indications of it in his theory

Where dualism fails one sided monism viz the monism that does not do full justice to the duality of experience is not more successful It has two main forms materialism and subjective idealism The former seeks to reduce mind to matter which according to it is the one original substance The brain secretes thought as the liver secretes bile It is not necessary at this time of day to say anything in refutation of materialism a philosophy worth only of the age in which things are in the saddle and ride mankind It has always failed to explain how is it that mind if it is only a bye product of matter behaves as if it were the principle that dominates and controls matter The effective annihilator of materialism however is idealism from whose assaults it has never been able to protect itself It has not been on its feet again since Bishop Berkeley laid it low some two centuries ago as Bain tells us all the ingenuity of a century and half has failed to see a way out of the contradiction involved in the popular idea of matter exposed by Berkeley But however unanswerable Berkeley's argument against matter be he himself in his positive construction fell into a mistake equally one

sided. It is true that object has no meaning apart from subject, but from this it does not follow that objects are mere ideas of the mind. Reid, in his polemic against Berkeley, was quite right in insisting as did Kant afterwards, that ideas always have an objective reference but from this without more ado he passed straight to the conclusion that objects are, therefore, independent of mind. Actual experience, on which alone we can take our stand, involves the duality but not the dualism of subject and object. If the object apart from the subject is a meaningless abstraction, it is equally true that the subject depends for its existence upon its relation to the object. The error of materialism is to reduce the subject to the object and the error of subjective idealism like that of Berkeley, is to reduce the object to the subject. These correlative errors bring into view the truth that Reality is subject-object, and to enforce this truth is the merit of German idealism.

Kant, on whose critiques the whole fabric of German idealism rests, was the first to show in a clear manner that objective experience is not possible apart from its relation to the unity of the self that constitutes it. The mind is not a mirror in which the external world is simply reflected. It is the active principle which puts together the elements of experience and makes it one. Disconnected sensations are not possible objects of knowledge. They must be brought into connection with each other and reduced to unity before experience is possible and it is the self that effects this necessary synthesis. The world of experience owes its coherence and unity, without which it would be a mere chaos to the combining activity of the self and is therefore real only in relation to it. But if mind is the presupposition of nature, it, on its part, is dependent for the consciousness of its unity with itself on the process by which it constitutes and distinguishes itself from nature. The unity of the world, that is to say, is the objective counterpart of the mind's unity with itself. Self-consciousness and the consciousness of the world are two inseparable phases of the unity of experience.

In so far as Kant brings out the correlative unity of self-consciousness and the objective world of experience, his position is unassailable; but his funda-

mental mistake is that he fails to perceive the organic character of knowledge and conceives of it as the result of the mechanical combination of elements separate from each other. If percepts without concepts are blind and concepts without percepts are empty, if the mind's consciousness of itself as a unity is dependent upon its relation to and distinction from the world and the consciousness of the world presupposes the consciousness of its reference to the self, the only legitimate conclusion is that experience is a concrete whole of distinguishable elements incapable of being separated from each other and that subject and object are two opposed expressions of a unity that transcends them. Kant, however, is far from such a conclusion, though his own reasoning makes it inevitable.

It is not possible to give anything like a full account of the philosophy of Kant or to form an adequate estimate of it in a paper like this. All that can be done is to indicate very briefly the line of thought which it opens up. The difficulties in which Kant becomes involved are, in the main, the outcome of the false separation between sense and understanding with which he begins. Sensations are regarded as the raw material of knowledge, which, in order to be transformed into objects of experience, must be brought under the categories of the understanding. But it is impossible that subjective sensations should change their character and become objects opposed to the subject merely through the process of being united with each other by the understanding. Indeed Kant himself in his *Refutation of Idealism* insists that sensations depend for their possibility upon their reference to objects from which the knowing mind distinguishes itself. If so, they cannot be regarded as the original data out of which the objects are developed. The presupposition of a thing cannot be dependent on that which presupposes it. What Kant's teaching in the *Refutation of Idealism* amounts to is that subjective experience is not anything other than objective experience but is objective experience itself regarded as the experience of the mind for which alone it is real.

Kant is never able to explain how it is possible for the understanding to reduce chaotic sensations to order if the two are alien to each other. Lawless sensations may occur in any and every order and can

not, therefore, be amenable to the forms which the understanding seeks to impose on them. That sensations should be a mere manifold wanting in every element of regular arrangement and at the same time orderly enough to conform to the categories is an impossible conception. The only way out of the difficulty is to perceive that the synthetic forms of the understanding are not superinduced upon sensations from without but are intrinsic to them and are therefore, the very *revelation* of their being. Sensations, that is to say, can be brought under the categories because after all they are not a chaotic manifold but elements of a harmonious whole. This is the view suggested in the *Critique of Judgment* which properly developed leads to the conception of the universe as the self-revelation of mind.

The logical outcome of the philosophy of Kant is the Absolute Idealism of Hegel, an idealism which successfully overcomes the dualism of thought and being of matter and mind of nature and spirit. Hegel is at one with Spinoza in thinking that Ultimate Being is one but conceives of this being as subject and not as substance. By subject, however, he does not mean the mere correlative of the object. If subject is the antithesis of object, it is also the higher unity that overcomes this antithesis and makes it possible. It is the ideal unity, the concrete universal which opposes itself as subject to itself as object and transcends that opposition. If Reality is a connected system of things, it is a coherent whole of inter-related parts; it is such only because its centres lie in mind. The complete circle of Reality has for its centre mind and for its circumference the objective world. To the unthinking mind objects are as they appear, each real on its own account independently of its relation to anything else. It does not view the world as an organic unity but as a mere aggregate of unconnected or at any rate not essentially connected things. This theory of the first look to use a phrase of Mr Bosanquet is corrected by science which points out that objects have being only as they are connected with each other. Nothing is isolated and self-subsistent in the universe. Whatever exists does so by virtue of the relations in which it stands to other existences which together constitute the world-system. The highest generalisation of science is that the universe

is a unitary system, a single whole composed of elements which cannot be parted off from one another. If this is so it necessarily follows that the plurality of objects is the expression of an underlying unity, a unity that can only be an ideal unity. For, the reality of related substances must be sought for not in the substances taken separately, nor in the mere aggregate of them but in the principle which divides and at the same time unites them. Such a principle is mind. The presupposition of the world as a system of reciprocally determining substances therefore is the universal intelligence that realises itself in them. The unity of the world of which we hear so much is in the last resort, ideal unity. What is not ultimately an ideal unity is not a unity at all. The real is ideal and the ideal alone is truly real. The natural world seen in the light of the principle of reason implied in its existence, is the spiritual world.

The element of imperishable truth in Hegel's philosophy is its conception of the unity and spirituality of the world. It knows no absolute distinction between nature and spirit, God and the world. God is never tired of insisting is not a mere Supreme Being. His very nature is to reveal Himself and the world is His self-revelation. But it seems to regard the universe as known to us as the complete expression of the Absolute Mind. This does not appear to be a tenable view. The experienced world is too full of antinomies and contradictions to be capable of being taken as the sole content of the Divine Mind. It is not sufficiently coherent for that. Coherence and comprehensiveness as Mr Bradley points out, go together. The more comprehensive a thing is the more coherent and rational it is. Nature as we know it is not a whole completely harmonious and unless we believe that it is supplemented by elements beyond the ken of our intelligence but forming integral factors of the Divine Experience it is not possible to regard it as the revelation of God. It is true that nature becomes an irrational surd unless we think of it as the objective expression of the Divine Mind but this does not mean that it is the complete expression of that mind. Such a view would make it even more irrational. We are unable to make anything of the grave-digger's scene for example in the play of Hamlet even when it is read

apart from its context, unless we suppose that it is the work of mind. The knowledge that it was written by Shakespeare explains it; but, in another way; it adds to our perplexities. Can this half crazy thing be the production of Shakespeare's mind? If it is so, are we not led to ask whether, after all, we should not revise our ideas of Shakespeare's genius? The solution of the problem comes when we remember that it is only a very small part of a big drama and see it in its proper setting. Not it by itself but it, as supplemented by more significant things that throw light on it, is the work of Shakespeare. This imperfect world in which we live is like the grave-digger's scene in Hamlet. It can be regarded as the revelation of God only if we suppose that it is a very insignificant fragment of a much larger world of which we have no knowledge. Any other supposition would amount to saying that it, as God's world, is the best possible world although everything or nearly everything in it is gravely defective. In the buoyant and cheerful days of youth it may be possible to indulge in optimism of this sort but, I think, a time comes in the life of every man who reflects when instead of finding traces of God's presence in this world he is rather inclined to make a present of it to the Devil. What is to be said of a world in which horrors like those of the present war and the still greater horrors of the peace that prevailed before the war and made it inevitable are possible? Yes, it is God's world but only

in the same way as the grave-digger's scene in Hamlet is Shakespeare's work. We are forced to believe that it is largely supplemented by facts which make its defects explicable and that, it is in the whole circle of Reality of which our sphere of existence is a mere part that the Absolute Spirit is adequately embodied.

The conclusion, then, to which we come is that nature in its last interpretation is spirit. There is no spiritual world beyond this. What appears to be a universe of dead matter is, in reality, the living thought of a living God. But the material universe is not a coherent whole and, as such, cannot be a complete reality. We must, therefore, suppose that beyond it and including and supplementing it there are other worlds which together constitute a whole comprehensive enough to be coherent. The distinction, however, between this world and any other world beyond; it is not a distinction between the natural and the spiritual. The spiritual is not a beyond, it is the universal principle which has its content in all that exists. The unseen universe is of a piece with and a continuation of the visible universe and in both the One All-inclusive Spirit is revealed. Our world and every other possible world, as regions of mere fact, are all equally secular and valueless. Their genuine reality and spirituality lies in their being the embodiment of the Absolute, of the True, the Good and the Beautiful.

HIRALAL HALDAR.

## THE STATE-COUNCIL IN ANCIENT INDIA

BY NARENDRA NATH LAW, M.A., B.L., PREMCHAND ROYCHAND SCHOLAR.

### VIII.

#### THE NUMBER ACCORDING TO THE EPICS.

**A**S TO the number of councillors, we find the same injunction in the Purāṇas as in the didactic portions of the 'Rāmāyana' and 'Mahābhārata.'

1. Kachchinmantrajase naikah kachchinna bahubhūh saha. Rāma. 'Ayodhya kanda,' sarga 100, ślk. 18, v. 1.

2. The same verse as above is in the 'MBh.,' 'Sabbh-

parva,' ch. 5; ślk. 30, v. 1. Also 'MBh.,' 'Santiparva,' ch. 83, ślk. 47 which enjoins the number of councillors to be 'trayaṣa' which Nīlakantha interprets as 'pañcāśm abhāve trayaṣaśtribhyo nyūnā na karyah' (i.e. when five councillors are not available, counsel can be had with three at the minimum). This comment of Nīlakantha is at variance with that on 'MBh.,' ch. 6, ślk. 30 quoted above. There, he says, 'śbatkarmobhidyate mantra nī prasiddher dvābhyāmeva mantrayutayamityarbhah.' The ślk. 'śbatkarmobhidyate' is cited for explanation, appears in several works such as Panchatantra, Hitopadesa, Vetalpana-





crooked, lame, blind and emaciated, as also animals. Kautilya likewise taboos the animals on the ground that the parrot ('suka'), Mainā (siri, i.e., either the *Gracula Religiosa*, or *Turdus Salica*), dog and other animals are known to have divulged council secrets.<sup>1</sup> The Mānava<sup>2</sup> injunction as also that of the 'Kālikā Purāṇa'<sup>3</sup> is almost to the same effect.

According to Kautilya, cabinet secrets run leak out through 'pramāda (carelessness), 'mada' (intoxication), 'suptapralāpa' (talk during sleep) and kāmādi (sensuality &c.) of councillors.<sup>4</sup> Passages in the 'Mahābhārata',<sup>5</sup> 'Agni Purāṇa'<sup>6</sup> and 'Kāmandakiya' repeats similar causes of violation of cabinet secrecy.

#### THE BUSINESS OF THE COUNCIL ACCORDING TO KAUTILYA

It is stated by Messrs Macdonell and Keith that it is reasonable to assume that the business of the council in Vedic times

1 'Arthashastra', Bk I, matraḥ kāra, p. 16. It refers to the avoidance of the disguised and despicable words 'prachchhanna' and 'amata' in line 1, p. 27.

2 At the time of consultation, let him cause to be removed idiots the dumb, the blind and the deaf, animals, very aged men, women barbarians the sick and those deficient in limbs—'Manu, VII (S.B.E.), 49. (The aforesaid) despicable persons, I likewise animals and particularly women betray secret counsel or that reason he (king) must be careful with respect to them.' Ibid. 150.

[Cf. 'Bh' Vana parva, ch. 130, shlo. 44 (Hopkins, J.A.O.S., XLIII, 103)].

3 'Animals', i.e., parrots, starlings and other talking birds (Kull, Gov, Ragh. Nand) 'for such creatures divulge secret plans' (Medh). Ibid. 149 fn.

4 'S' sun sātāmṛgaṇaṁ paṇḍānchhāṇaṁ vai sūri śastathā' 'Kaṁk Purāṇa' ch. 84, shlo. 106, and v. Varjayan mantra gehe tu mānushyaṇ vīritam śastha. Ibid. 107, 1st l.

(Children, monkeys, eunuchs 'sakas', 'mannis, and deformed persons should be removed from a council room).

5 'Arthashastra', loc. cit., pp. 26, 27.

6 'MBh', Udyoga parva ch. 39, shlo. 38, 39.

7 Madh' pramādaḥ kamascha supta pralāpitaṁ cha,

Bhīdanti mantram prachchhannāḥ kāmīnyo ramatām tatha

'Agni Purāṇa', ch. 74, shlo. 6.

8 The divulgence of political secrets has been made the subject of capital punishment in the 'Kautilya', loc. cit. p. 26.

9 Kāmandakiya', sarga 11, 6,

was general deliberation on policy of all kinds and legislation so far as the Vedic Indian cared to legislate of which however little or no evidence is directly available perhaps as a result of the nature of the texts.<sup>1</sup>

More light is thrown by later literature upon the programme of work of the council in subsequent times. The details of work given by Visālākṣha as quoted in the 'Kautilya' are (1) 'anupalabdhasya jñānam' (knowledge of the unperceived), (2) 'upalabdhasya nischaya abalādhānam' (making certain of the perceived), (3) 'arthadvaidhasya samsa yachchbedanam' (removal of doubt, regarding a subject susceptible of differences of opinion), (4) 'ekadesadrishtasya seshopalabdhīḥ' (inference as to the whole of a subject, a part of which is perceived).<sup>2</sup> According to Kautilya himself, the agenda comprises deliberation as to the following five items — (1) means of commencing operations (karmānārambhopāya), (2) providing men and materials (puruṣadravyasampat), (3) distribution of place and time (desakālavibhāga) (4) counteraction of disaster (vinipātpratikāra), and (5) successful accomplishment (kārya siddhi).<sup>3</sup>

These five aspects are to be duly considered in regard to every item of work put before the council for consideration, the councillors being questioned both individually and collectively,<sup>4</sup> and their opinions being always accompanied by reasons.<sup>5</sup>

#### THE BUSINESS ACCORDING TO THE Agni Purāṇa AND Kāmandakiya

The continuance in later times of the traditional list of duties of the council is evidenced by passages in the 'Agni Purāṇa', and 'Kāmandakiya'.<sup>6</sup>

1 Macdonell & Keith's 'Vedic Index', II, 431.

2 'Arthashastra', loc. cit., p. 27.

3 'Arthashastra', loc. cit., p. 28.

4 'Arthashastra', loc. cit., p. 28—'tanekāikasah prachchhet samas āmscha.

The commentator of the 'Kāmandakiya', (Bibl. Indica) quotes this very passage from Kautilya in support of sarga 11, shlo. 69, and verse, viz., pravīset svahitānveshi matameśhām prithak prithak.

5 Mr R. Vyāma Sāstri has translated the word 'mat pravivekan' (Ib. d., p. 28) differently. I think it should be translated 'individual opinions', 'praviveka' meaning 'separateness' (see 'Monier Williams' Dictionary).

6 'Agnyaṣṭasya vijnānam vijnāṣṭasya cha nischayah;

us for ready reference the prices prevailing in the years in question in the villages concerned of commercial crops like jute. In view of the facts that the price of the jute sold was a very important item of the calculations relating to income and also that the price of jute is liable to large fluctuations it is unnecessary to labour this point. In the case of rice and paddy (unhusked rice) Mr Jack has quoted the rates adopted for the conversion into money but he does not tell us whether the rates were for retail or wholesale transactions. It is in any case unfortunate that the inquiry synchronised with a period of very high prices but for this no blame can possibly attach to Mr Jack. These explanatory matters are followed in the appendix by four tables namely (1) population, (2) income by families of Hindus, Muslims and others in four broad subdivisions, (a) in comfort (b) below comfort (c) above indigence and (d) in indigence, (3) debt and (4) village taxation.

The author begins the introductory chapters with a very readable account of the physical features of the district of Faridpur and the life of its inhabitants. He brings out very clearly the preponderantly agricultural character of the district and the advantages derived by the population from the work of its numerous rivers which are still depositing valuable silt on their shifting banks. The description of the life of the people is very useful so far as it goes though we should have welcomed a reference to problems that a perusal of these pages would naturally suggest to any thoughtful mind. There is no indication as to how far the people are satisfied with their present condition and whether they are ready and willing to adopt new or improved agricultural methods or staples. Have any measures been taken in this direction by the Government or the people themselves? Some data are furnished regarding the substitution of jute for rice but comparative figures dealing with periods of years would have been useful to the student. Possibly such figures are available in the annual bluebooks of the Agricultural Department of the province but what is needed is a presentment of them in relation to the other economic facts contained in the work. Mr Jack has drawn attention to the absence of roads and communications in the greater part of the district and the difficulty, amounting almost to impossibility in some cases of transport in seasons when the rivers and waterways are low and dry. It is a moot point specially in view of the fact that in normal years 41 per cent of the rural population live on bought food for two months (page 85) what will happen if on any occasion by reason of a flood or failure of the rains the rice crop fails. Other important inquiries that arise from the facts set forth in the work are the reasons for the export of all the commercial produce of the district in the form of raw material without any kind of preliminary treatment in the district itself so far as can be gathered from Mr Jack's account the jute produced locally is not even pressed or baled before export, but we may be wrong. Mr Jack also tells us that the people of the district have no share in the transport of goods that pass through the district. What are the obstacles to the establishment of mills and presses for the treatment of jute for the actual consumer? What prevents the wealthier individuals in the district from taking their due share in the business of selling and exporting jute and jute products? These are questions which Mr Jack does not discuss but they should be seriously considered by our countrymen if they wish

to take full advantage of the results of the investigations of Mr Jack and his collaborators. There are many other points which the figures put together here would suggest to a thoughtful mind but we have not the space to refer to them. It is no disparagement of Mr Jack's excellent work to mention that his descriptive statement is marred by several hasty and faulty generalisations which we trust will be amended in subsequent editions. Economists should by now be sufficiently alive to the dangers of the omission of qualifying phrases especially where a statement is likely to be used by the general public for controversial purposes. In page 19 occurs the statement that 'nobody in Bengal, whether a cultivator or engaged in any other occupation lives in a hired house. It may be noted that Calcutta is within Bengal and also that in many of the small towns a very considerable proportion of the population do live in hired houses. Other opinions expressed by Mr Jack in the course of his introductory chapters illustrate how very often the British administrator however intimate his knowledge of the externals of Indian life may be fails to seize some of the fundamentals. At page 30 we are solemnly told that 'the womenkind spend most of the day inside the house, but their comfort and their tastes are little considered by the men; and if they were, the women must improve them by the light of nature for they are not permitted to visit the houses of their neighbours.' It is unnecessary to mention to anyone with the slightest real knowledge of the family and social life of Hindus as well as Mussalmans in rural Bengal that everyone of the statements of fact made in this short sentence is inaccurate and that the conclusions are almost grotesque.

According to Mr Jack 'the time table of the cultivator, when his land is unfit for jute shows three months hard work and nine months idleness, if he grows jute as well as rice, he will have an additional six weeks work in July and August. These are not conditions of which he can reasonably complain.' We can hardly credit that this is the matured opinion of Mr Jack and it is perhaps more charitable to assume that the fascination of picturesque writing has betrayed him into a general statement which is simply contradicted in his own detailed description of the life of the Faridpur peasant. In the first place Mr Jack interprets the employment of hired labour for the harvesting of the rice crop as a sign of laziness or mistaken pride. Now, according to Mr Jack himself no such hired labour is utilised in the harvesting or subsequent treatment of jute and it was worthwhile for him to inquire whether there was any economic reason for a different practice at the rice harvest. He would then have found that it involves considerable loss and waste to leave a fully ripened field of rice unharvested for any length of time especially with a strong wind blowing at the time. Consequently the harvest operations have to be 'crowded into a few short days' and the peasant is compelled to secure outside labour wherever available. Fortunately the climatic conditions mature the rice crop in the western districts slightly earlier than in the eastern tracts and inter-district co-operation becomes possible then again, as Mr Jack informs us—during the dismal period of the rains, from July to September and also in the winter when he has finished harvesting his own rice and can no longer find employment in harvesting operations in neighbouring districts the cultivator spends much of his time in fishing or mending his

fishing gear Mr Jack gives a very vivid description of the arduous and at times risky nature of much of the fishing in the swollen and rapid streams of the district and elsewhere he also impresses on us what a large and nutritious part fish plays in the food economy of the Faridpur agriculturist and yet he reckons the time thus spent either as comparative idleness or as devoted to amusement. Apparently Mr Jack is also unable to count as labour in the economic sense the time spent by the peasant in repairing or building his dwelling place or cattle sheds (page 63) or in gathering fodder for his cattle (page 43). There is further evidence in the book itself (pages 74 and 83) that there is a great deal of subsidiary employment. We may be permitted to doubt whether even the visits paid by the cultivator at all seasons of the year to the neighbouring markets on market days can really be described as an amusement (page 46). In another portion of the book we are told that the main crops of the peasant are sold by him in dribbles and evidently the custom of a forward sale of the whole crop to firms of large exporters has not yet penetrated into the interior of the district. The economic advantage secured by the peasant by selling his produce at different market prices through the year may be debatable but it would seem that many of his visits to the markets are not unconnected with the sale of his main crops or of his dairy produce, bye products fruit and so forth (page 74). Moreover in the conditions depicted by Mr Jack the peasant cannot possibly ascertain the varying market rates or the trend of market demand without frequent visits to the markets of the neighbourhood. A similar form of amusement will be found among all agricultural peoples and to our knowledge it is encouraged in normal peace times in the agricultural districts of England by the issue of railway tickets to market towns at reduced rates to agriculturists during all seasons of the year.

In giving us the time table of the cultivator for the whole year Mr Jack has made a notable omission. He has not told us how much time is on the average spent by the peasant in bed when disabled by malaria. Indeed in a description of the economic conditions of a tract of country which according to all accounts has been seriously affected by malarial fever the absence of any reference to this phenomenon except in a casual or incidental manner is inexplicable. The only passages in which we have discovered any allusion to the scourge of malaria are two in number. At page 92 Mr Jack speaks of the 'ravages of malaria which has always made great inroads upon the colonies of sedentary weavers'. At page 127 in discussing the backward condition of Faridpur with respect to local conveniences the author states that 'doctors are fewer and less qualified than in neighbouring districts although fever and other diseases have taken such a heavy toll in some parts of the district as to reduce the population materially'. In view of this latter statement the reader is naturally entitled to ask how far the laziness of the peasant (if there is any laziness at all) is the result of the ravages of malaria which he has not the power to resist and for the scientific treatment of which he has not any facilities. One is also tempted to speculate whether the food available to the peasant provides sufficient nourishment to give him the required power of resistance and whether he has the means to avail himself of any remedial facilities that may be provided by central or local authorities.

From the foregoing paragraphs it will be apparent that in view of the facts set forth by Mr Jack himself we are unable to accept his dictum on the laziness of the Faridpur peasant or the periods of idleness enjoyed by him. Whether with a higher physical and mental efficiency and with improved methods of agriculture and an improved organisation of credit sale and purchase it will not be possible to find fuller and better distributed employment for the peasant and thus increase the produce of the district enabling the peasant at the same time enhanced facilities for recreation and spiritual culture is another matter.

In the second and third chapters the author analyses the figures of income that are tabulated in the appendix and attempts to frame an average actual budget of the annual expenditure of each of the four classes into which the agricultural population of the district has been divided. We have already commented on the methods adopted for the calculation of the figures relating to income. According to Mr Jack the information collected yields the following results. The income of an average family of 3.6 persons among agriculturists was found to be

In comfort (49 per cent)	Rupees 365 per annum.
Below comfort (28 per cent)	rupees 233 per annum
Above indigence (18½ per cent)	rupees 166 per annum

In indigence (4½ per cent) rupees 115 per annum. In estimating what these figures actually mean, it must be constantly borne in mind that they were collected in years when jute, the principal commercial crop of the district, was selling at prices which were considerably in excess of those that had prevailed a few years before and also that (so far as we can understand) they include the expenses of cultivation normally incurred by an average family. The figures will lose much of their statistical value should there be any marked change in the relative value of jute and rice.

With these very important qualifications the average income per head of what Mr Jack styles a family in comfort comes to rupees sixty per annum. At page 59 we are furnished with the budget of the annual expenditure of such a family. This comes to Rupees 50 per head so there ought to be ample margin for error and also for saving. But we confess that although the budget figures are said to be based on actuals ascertained in selected families we are unable to understand many of the items and entertain grave doubts about the economic value of the figures. In the first place Mr Jack starts in the budget with the assumption that unhusked rice cost two rupees a maund but at page 149 it is explained that in the calculation of income unhusked rice was valued at Rs 3 per maund as an equivalent for the rice consumed and for the pulses, vegetables, fruits, dairy produce, bye products, tobacco, bamboos, reeds and grasses. (It may be noted in parenthesis that very little allowance if any is made for these items on the corresponding side of the budget). These admittedly arbitrary assumptions make all the figures more or less conjectural. Then in the budget although such items of the normal expenses of cultivation are included as rent, purchase of cattle and boat we find no mention of other necessary items such as hired labour, seed and interest on capital borrowed. As only the annual cost of cattle, boat and house repairs has been allowed for in the budget, the interest on the original investment which is in all probability made with borrowed money cannot be neglected. Turning to other items in Mr Jack's

average budget we find that £1 13 4 or Rs 25 are allowed in the year for the clothes of a family of five. We shall be surprised to hear that even the most humble menial servant in Mr Jack's household in Bengal can clothe himself for the whole year at five rupees. If such calculations are estimated to cost the magnificent sum of one rupee a year in a family of five living in 'comfort' Mr Jack says that the expenditure on household utensils is merely the renewal of cheap earthenware jars and pots as they break. We always understood that the fact that every peasant household in India can now boast of a fair stock of metal utensils was one of the signs of the diffusion of prosperity. Mr Jack's own description of the contents of agricultural households, Hindu and Muslim, contradicts his budget assumption. The estimate for domestic festivals and entertainments is for the family of five, fifteen rupees a year. Mr Jack explains that this figure is based on the assumption that the lifetime of a generation is thirty years during which there will be one birth one marriage and one death per head of population. We should have liked an authority based on census statistics for such an assumption specially in a country like India with a large death rate high infantile mortality and a comparatively early marriage age. Mr Jack has further allowed within this item the sum of three rupees per year per head to cover the cost of hospitality which we suppose also includes charity, a virtue according to Mr Jack himself much practised by the Faridpur peasantry. After examining these budget figures we do not wonder that Mr Jack in the instructions to his staff defined comfort as 'body sufficiently sheltered from the weather, stomach sufficiently filled with food and limbs decently covered with garments.' In our own view this may be existence but not living. We have no doubt that Mr Jack is familiar with the following observations of Professor Marshall (*Principles of Economics* Sixth edition 1910 page 529) but they are worth quoting for the benefit of the general reader.

'For there is a certain consumption which is strictly necessary for each grade of work in this sense that if any of it is curtailed the work cannot be done efficiently. The adults might indeed take good care of themselves at the expense of their children but that would only defer the decay of efficiency for one generation. Further there are conventional necessities which are so strictly demanded by custom and habit that in fact people generally would give up much of their necessities, strictly so called, rather than go without the greater part of these. Thirdly there are habitual comforts which some though not all would not entirely relinquish even when hardly pressed.'

We may be permitted to doubt whether the principles thus enumerated by Professor Marshall were fully realised by Mr Jack in proclaiming to the world that half the rural population of a typical Bengal district lived in 'comfort'. It thus seems unnecessary to examine the figures or conclusions of Mr Jack regarding the other half who are below comfort or in indigence. We do not know whether Mr Jack is really serious when he assures us (page 3) that there is no starvation even in the indigent class among the people whose income per head is 23 pence annually because if a man does not earn enough to buy his food he can always beg it. It is to be noted that the person from whom he will beg is only three rupees a year for hospitality and

We have not left ourselves space for a reference to the author's analysis of the figures relating to the non-agricultural classes or to his comments on the professions of land agents, lawyers, doctors and traders nor is it possible to examine in this review his general observations on the economic condition of the 'bhadralok' class, too large a proportion of which according to Mr Jack (page 87) lives in grinding poverty. We have already suggested that all persons interested in Bengal economics should carefully read and digest the facts contained in the work though we cannot honestly recommend the acceptance of all the conclusions that Mr Jack himself derives from them.

In the last two chapters of the book, the author deals with the problems of rural indebtedness and taxation and makes constructive proposals on these subjects. We have no hesitation in saying that in the matter of indebtedness neither Mr Jack's presentation of the existing situation nor his suggestions will commend themselves to persons who have practical experience of the problem either in Bengal or elsewhere. With regard to the figures themselves we have already expressed our suspicion of an underestimate and the detailed figures given by Mr Jack indicate a very uneven distribution of indebtedness. Anyone who has had any thing to do with the preparation or checking of the *hissyat* or status statements of co-operative societies in different parts of India knows how unreliable the figures relating to indebtedness prove to be when they are first recorded even by the members of the committee of a society. Assuming however that the total indebtedness of the agricultural classes is less than a million pounds or Rs 55 per family as calculated by Mr Jack, we see no great cause for alarm. The net value of the annual produce of the district is estimated at four million pounds sterling (page 88). It would be very unusual for an agricultural population to carry on their work, including the purchase of plough cattle the purchase of materials for houses boats and other implements besides annual payments for seed labour etc., without a certain amount of borrowing. Indeed even a higher amount of indebtedness would not be disadvantageous if it meant the sinking of larger capital in permanent improvements. Without a detailed examination of the tenure conditions and of the possibilities of improvements in agricultural practice in the district it is not worth while expressing any opinion on the subject. Moreover the indebtedness of small farmers everywhere fluctuates considerably during the year according as the figures are taken in the middle of a crop season or after the harvest has been reaped and the surplus sold. Without information as to the period to which Mr Jack's figures refer or whether they were all collected at the same time of the year, it will be entirely unsound to deduce any conclusions from them. Nor do we attach any great importance to the general statements of our author regarding the origin of the debts being in most cases due to improvident expenditure upon domestic ceremonies. The word 'improvident' is a relative term and following the definition of the standard of comfort enunciated by Professor Marshall which we have quoted above the organisers of the co-operative movement all over India official and non-official have wisely recognised a standard of expenditure on such occasions which does not vary to any appreciable extent from the customary standard of the locality, or the community.

The real criterion therefore is whether the debts were the result of an expenditure above this custom

any standard. We have no evidence whatever on this point.

The constructive proposals made by Mr Jack on the subject of indebtedness are (1) the employment of a very large staff by the Government to organise and to manage co-operative credit societies all over the district, (2) the "settlement" of the existing accounts between borrowers and lenders by state officials and (3) the inculcation of thrift by teaching the peasant, again through the influence of government officials in the co-operative department, to attain a higher standard of living, e.g., by the improvement of their homestead and of the quality of their livestock. We are not aware whether Mr Jack has had any real practical experience of the management of a credit society among the villagers of India but we can assure him that all the measures suggested by him are foredoomed to failure. We have no knowledge whether the actual rate of progress in the organisation of credit societies in Faridpur could not be accelerated to a certain degree but the task of the establishment of true credit societies in every village of a district is not so simple as Mr Jack seems to imagine. Complex problems of finance, audit, higher supervision and co-ordination with other rural developments arise which can be solved only in the course of a long term of years. If Mr Jack would study the history of co-operation in countries far more intellectually advanced than India, such as Ireland, Germany or Denmark, he will find that the movement has progressed much more rapidly in India than it did in those countries in the initial years. The employment of a huge government agency might create credit societies in every village in Faridpur, say in five years, but they would not be co-operative societies. We recognise to the full the utility and the potency of co-operative societies but we want real progress in his direction and not an artificial growth. The leaders of the Indian co-operative movement, official and non official, have now the advantage of considerable experience and we believe that they agree with a remarkable unanimity with the views expressed on the subject by the Madras Committee. As for Mr Jack's second proposal, those who have had experience, either in connexion with co-operative work or otherwise, know how difficult and complicated is the business of effecting a truly equitable

settlement of accounts and also how ephemeral the results are unless the peasant can be restricted from re-starting similar accounts either by enlisting him as a member of an unlimited liability society or by prohibiting the alienation of his holding. The suggestion that thrift should be encouraged by raising the standard of life is sound in principle but it will be found a wiser and more practical method to do so by persuading the peasant, first through co-operative credit societies and then through non credit agricultural societies to increase his income. In view of the fact that not even one half of the agricultural population at present enjoy the absolute necessities of existence which Mr Jack is pleased to call comfort, to attempt to raise the standard of life by suggesting new items of expenditure only is to put the cart before the horse.

With his remarks on the subject of local taxation we are glad to say that we are in substantial accord. Without entering into a discussion about the incidence of local taxation in various countries or about the merits or demerits of the permanent settlement of the land revenue of Bengal, specially at the time when it was made, it is sufficient to say that we have always felt that no progress can be achieved in rural development in Bengal or for the matter of that in any other part of India without the expenditure every year of a considerably larger amount of money than is at present available and we do not see any objection to the raising of the additional amount required from local sources. Provided that the people who are thus taxed have a substantial voice in the policy and also in the administration of the funds raised, all thoughtful persons will be willing to co-operate in a bold and comprehensive scheme of rural betterment in its various branches, education, sanitation, medical relief, communications, and agricultural development. The details can be easily worked out if there is agreement about fundamentals.

We have taken up much space in our notice of Mr. Jack's book. Our apology is that the subject matter of the book is both interesting and important and that many of the statements of fact contained in it have to be received with much qualification while the inferences drawn by Mr Jack himself are often erroneous and may prove mischievous unless challenged.

I C S

## LADY SYBIL'S SHOE-BUCKLES

By C. J. HAMILTON,

AUTHOR OF "A FLASH OF YOUTH," "THE DISAPPEARANCE OF LUCY DONOVAN," &c.

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"YES, they certainly are lovely," cried Lady Sybil, as she held up a pair of dainty greensatin shoes, adorned with antique diamond buckles. "Aren't they?"

"They are rather fetching," said her

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elder sister, Lady Clare, holding up one of the shoes to the light, and examining the buckle through her pince-nez, "and if the diamonds are genuine—as I suppose they are—they must be most valuable."

"Of course the diamonds are genuine,"

cried Lady Sybil pettishly, 'do you imagine that Ernest Vandeleur would give me anything that was not genuine?'

"Are you quite sure they came from him?"

"Perfectly sure—certain. He asked me the last time I saw him to give him a small piece of the satin from the frock I am going to wear at the Hadfield ball, as he wanted to see the exact shade of green."

"And you gave it to him?"

"Why not?" said Lady Sybil, colouring. "Why shouldn't I give it to him? I have known him so long played with him as a small child in the vicarage garden, when he was making believe to be Robin Hood and I Maid Marian."

"Yes, I remember," said Lady Clare, thoughtfully. "That was when he was the fourth son of a poor vicar and now—now he is an Australian magnate though we never know when these magnates may suddenly collapse."

"Not much fear of his collapsing," said Lady Sybil, pointing 'he has thousands of acres they say, but it doesn't so very much matter to me, he is an old friend, and, of course, he may give me a pair of diamond shoe-buckles if he chooses. I am charmed with these, they just match my Empire dress."

As Lady Sybil spoke she stretched out one tiny foot, encased in an openwork black silk stocking. The beauty of Lady Sybil's feet was famed far and near. Rather narrow, with high, arched insteps, they had been modelled by a sculptor as the perfection of shape and form.

And when Lady Sybil had danced a saraband in short skirts with sandals laced up far above her beautifully turned ankles, she had been the centre of admiration. Verses in praise of her beautiful feet had been inscribed to her by a rising minor poet of the day, and she had been called 'The Atalanta of the moment'.

"Men do talk such nonsense about Sybil's feet," said Lady Clare, who was three years older than her sister. "They certainly are very well shaped, but her face is not a bit prettier than mine, and her nose is inclined to turn up at the end, 'tip tilted like a flower,' they may say, but other people are not quite so complimentary."

Lady Sybil was still examining her green satin shoes and counting the diamonds on the buckles. "Twenty seven in all," she

said. "They must have cost a pretty penny, those diamonds with the yellow shade in them are always expensive. But Ernest Vandeleur was never one to count the cost of anything he gave away; he is absolutely lavish about presents."

"Well here he comes," said Lady Clare, looking out of the window. "so you can lecture him as much as you like. I'm off to a bridge party at Lady Ryton's."

As she went out, Ernest Vandeleur came in. He was a tall, sunburnt young man of twenty nine, with bright blue eyes and a clean shaven face.

Lady Sybil rushed up to him, holding the green satin shoes with their glittering diamond buckles, high in the air.

"I must scold you," she said, with a blush, "you are too extravagant, but," in a lower tone, "I love you for it all the same."

He caught her in his arms, green satin shoes buckles and all.

"As if anything in the world could be good enough for dainty Sybil. Your green satin dress ought to be strewn with diamonds, they ought to glitter in every hair of your beautiful head."

"Don't be ridiculous, Ernest. As a matter of fact, I have very few diamonds. You see, there were six of us girls, and father isn't at all a rich man—almost a pauper in comparison with others."

"But four of you are married, and you know quite well, Sybil, you have nothing to do but to name the glad day, and Lady Sybil Scarsdale will become—"

"Lady Sybil Vandeleur," she exclaimed, clapping her hands. "Doesn't it sound awfully well? I love the name of Vandeleur. It is ever so much prettier than Scarsdale. But I want to have a little bit more fun before I am tied up for life. There is this fancy ball at Hadfield, when I shall come out in my green satin gown and my green satin shoes with these lovely antique shoe buckles," she said, looking down at them again. "I am to be the Empress Josephine, or Pauline Bonaparte, I forget which."

"Pauline Bonaparte, it must be, you are too young for an Empress. 'My love she's but a lassie yet,'" added Ernest, humming the old Scotch line.

"She's a lassie that knows her way about pretty well," said Lady Clare, demurely. Then turning round, she shyly "Ernest, I haven't thanked

half enough for the shoe-buckles and the lovely shoes—for the thought you took as well as for the value of the things. It is only love that thinks, love that watches, love that waits!"

"You darling!" he cried, seizing her hands, but she escaped from him.

"I must go and get ready," she said shyly. "You must take me for a nice long drive in your new motor. I have to wrap up well, and that takes a little time."

He let her go, and waited behind, walking up and down the room, and looking out of the window.

"Will it last?" he thought. "Can any man have such a treasure as this, without something happening to snatch the cup of bliss from his lips?"

## II.

The fancy ball at Hadfield was in full swing. Lady Sybil, in her short Empire frock, with her green satin shoes and diamond shoe-buckles, was the belle of the evening. Crowds were round her as she danced, and her feet came in for an unusual amount of attention. Ernest Vandeleur was not among the dancers; he had never learned dancing when he was a boy, and now he did not care to acquire the art, so he stood with his back against the wall lazily watching the revolving figures as they flew along.

It was on Lady Sybil that his eyes were principally fixed, and as she met his glance, a smile, swift and full of meaning, passed between them. Two men came in at the door—business men they seemed, and they also were much attracted by Lady Sybil, and specially so by those twinkling feet of hers; those feet, which,

"beneath her petticoat,  
Like little mice, stole in and out,  
As if they feared the light."

"I said them buckles were the same, Bill," said one of the men. "Could be no mistake about it. Those were the very diamond buckles that were stole out of Mr. Mettheimer's case a week ago last Toosday."

"Quite sure?"

"Quite; the diamonds are the very same; worth a good bit, I can tell ye."

"And how did they get on her ladyship's feet, eh?"

"Why, that 'ud be tellin', but I can give a guess, Sam, my boy."

Bill, who was the shorter of the two men, and had eyes like a ferret's looked in the direction of Ernest Vandeleur, who was now moving away to meet Lady Sybil.

"I knows him and his pal," he whispered. "The pal was among the lot that broke open the case at Portman Square. He hooked it pretty smart, and now we've got a clue. If them there shoe-buckles aren't the very ones we're searching for, you may call me a Dutchman."

"And whatever do ye mean to do?" asked the other man.

"Nab our man if we can git hold of 'im. There he is now, the tallest of the lot standin' agin the window. I've got the warrant all right."

So, as Ernest Vandeleur was strolling up to Lady Sybil, he was confronted by the two men. The one called Bill stopped, him and said;

"Mr. Ernest Vandeleur, I b'lieve."

"Yes," was the languid response. "What do you want of me? Some begging application, I suppose. Be quick about it!"

"'Tisn't that exactly, my lord—I mean sir—but it's along of them there diamond shoe-buckles her ladyship over there's wearing. How did ye come by them?"

Vandeleur reddened angrily. "How did I come by them? Why, bought them, of course. How else should I come by them?"

"Well! you see there's a bit of trouble about it, 'cos they're stolen property, that's how it is."

"Stolen! Who stole them?"

"Ah, that 'ud be telling. Anyway, they were stole out of a glass case in Portman Square. No. 98. Know anything about that?"

"How should I know? Do you take me for a thief?"

"You'll have to come along to the police-court to-morrow morning, that's all. There's bound to be some looking into this. Them shoe-buckles are stolen property, along with a lot of snuff-boxes and loot of other valyble articles belonging to Marcus Mettheimer, Esquire, M.P."

"Go and hang yourself! I refuse to be questioned about the matter at all."

"I thought as much. You've got a pal, Mr. Crosbie—Loftus Crosbie."

"Well, and what if I have?"

"We expect he knows a bit about this here business. We've got information from headquarters. You gave Lady Sybil them there shoe-buckles she's got on. There's no

denying of that. "Everyone knows it. Lady Sybil spoke of it herself."

"Hush, don't mention her; don't speak of her, she is not to know about this."

"She's bound to know; it will be all in the papers to-morrow evening."

"Then she'll think I am a thief."

"Just so, unless you can prove the contrary."

Vandeleur, with a reluctant glance at Lady Sybil, left the ball-room. Her bright brown eyes searched for him anxiously, but he did not return. A vague sense of apprehension—of alarm—of danger—crept over her. She danced no more that night.

"Why, what's this, Sybil?" cried Lady Clare, when the two sisters were alone in their room. "I am told Ernest Vandeleur is accused of stealing those shoe-buckles you have on!"

"Nonsense! Ridiculous! It's some enemy of his has spread the report. Fancy an Australian millionaire stealing a trumpery pair of shoe-buckles!"

"But they are not trumpery, they are most remarkable—most valuable. I told you they were."

"Yes, I know. He would not give me anything that was not valuable."

"You may say what you like, but I was told on the best authority that he is charged with theft. Those diamond buckles were part of Mr. Marcus Metzheimer's property that was stolen out of his house at Portman Square last week. They have been identified; there can be no mistake. You have been actually wearing stolen goods! You, an earl's daughter, it does sound funny. You are actually engaged to be married to a man suspected of theft!"

"It may sound funny, as you say, but I am convinced Ernest will find some way of clearing himself. I should think even you would hardly accuse him of breaking into Mr. Metzheimer's house and abstracting his property."

"One never knows," replied Lady Clare oracularly as she left the room.

Lady Sybil sat for some time with her feet stretched out and her eyes fixed on the glittering diamond buckles.

"It couldn't be," she thought, "no, no, it couldn't be!"

And yet there was something mysterious in the way Ernest had disappeared from the ball-room with the two common-

looking men, who had been staring at the buckles on Lady Sybil's green satin shoes with such intense interest. Could the buckles have been stolen? And could Ernest Vandeleur have had anything to do with the theft? If so, he must be given up.

### III.

The magisterial inquiry lasted long. Ernest Vandeleur underwent a searching examination. Where did he get the diamond buckles? He admitted having given them to Lady Sybil, but he absolutely refused to tell where they had come from, or how he had obtained them.

"I got them," was all he would say. "I got them for her. I paid for them."

The rooms he occupied in Albany Street had been searched, and underneath a fur rug two of the antique snuff-boxes, valued at several hundreds of pounds, had been found. He professed to know nothing about them, to have been perfectly ignorant how they came there.

He was told that he would be committed for trial.

"Very well, commit me," was his answer. "I am innocent."

Released on bail, he went back to his rooms. He still held his head high, but he noticed that some of his friends whom he passed on his way through Piccadilly hurried by without even a glance in his direction. They cut him dead.

"Not pleasant to be taken for a thief," he thought; "quite a new experience for me. Poor, but honest, I once was considered, now the tables are turned, it seems that I am rich, but dishonest. Of course, I know the real culprit, but I was always loyal to my friends, and so I mean to be now." Turning round the corner he nearly fell into the arms of a slight, boyish-looking young man who was coming in the opposite direction.

"Why, Loftus, my boy," cried Vandeleur, "are here you going?"

"I—I don't know," stammered the other—"going to give myself up, or thinking of it. Did you peach on me?"

"Not I—I'm not one to betray a friend. But all the same it's deuced awkward for me; and Sybil"—his voice shook slightly—"Sybil may give me up. Not surprising if she did. Women fight shy of a thief, at least women in good society."

Loftus Crosbie flinched. "You must not lose her, old boy, you *shan't*. Wait till to-



morrow, and I'll confess—I'll break away. It wasn't my fault that I joined with Roberts and the others. They said they only wanted me to climb through the ivy and open the window to them, and there I was, let in for the whole blooming show!"

"I know you told me something but I bought the shoe-buckles from you in thorough good faith without knowing how you came by them—they were so quaint, I knew Sybil would like them. I gave you five hundred for them."

"Yes, I know you did, you've been a brick all through, and I've been a low thieving cur, but I'll make amends, never fear."

It was getting dark as the two men turned into the house where they shared rooms. Vandeleur opened the door with his latch-key; a slight, girlish figure was standing by the fire. She turned round suddenly.

"Sybil!" cried Vandeleur, hoarsely. "Sybil! Can it really be you?"

"Yes," she answered dully, "it is I. The porter let me in. I came to bring you back these." She handed him a small parcel done up in tissue paper.

"I brought them back," she said without looking at him. "You see I can't wear them again, people say such things."

"And you believe them, Sybil?"

She gazed up at him.

"No, no, not really—not when you look at me like this, Ernest; but, oh, what is it that is so wrong? Tell me, tell me, I want to believe in you."

"He won't tell you," cried Crosbie, starting forward; "he is too loyal for that, but I'll tell you. It was I who helped to break into that house at Portman Square. I was driven to it. I was desperately hard up, glad to do anything. It was I who got the diamond buckles as my share

of the loot, and Vandeleur bought them from me. That's the honest truth, Lady Sybil! Make what you like of it."

"Thank God!" she exclaimed. "I knew Ernest, you couldn't have been the thief; and yet, forgive me, I doubted you once or twice."

"And now?"

"Now," she cried, throwing herself into his arms, "I believe in you more than ever. I love you ten times more than I ever did. I adore you—I worship you for your loyalty to your friends. It was noble, splendid of you not to betray him."

"And shall he be punished, Sybil? Shall I round on him now?"

"No, I am going myself to Mr. Marcus Mettheimer. I have met him, I will give him back the shoe-buckles, and ask him not to prosecute. He has got the other things, so he will not suffer."

"By George! Lady Sybil," cried Crosbie, "you're a good plucked 'un. You've saved me this night, for if you'd chucked Vandeleur, I should have given myself up. And now I'll get off to Australia, and turn over a new leaf; it wants turning, goodness knows!"

The public never knew the mystery of Lady Sybil's diamond shoe-buckles.

Everything was discreetly hushed up. Mr. Mettheimer received back the stolen goods, and there was no prosecution. But it was remarked at the wedding at St. George's, Hanover Square, that the beautiful bride wore a pair of white satin shoes with wonderful diamond buckles. They were the gift of the bridegroom, and had been copied from those in the case of Mr. Mettheimer's house in Portman Square by special permission. Many thought they were the same as she had worn before, but not those who were in the secret.

## RABINDRANATH TAGORE IN AMERICA

**D**URING his last visit to England and America, in a series of addresses delivered in London under the auspices of the Quest Society and also at Oxford, Harvard, New York, Chicago and

Illinois, Rabindranath gave to the west his views of the great problems of life. These addresses were largely attended everywhere and created a very deep impression on thoughtful minds. They won for

poet certain admirers whom even the 'Gitanjali' had not succeeded to win so completely, e.g., the philosophical circle at the Harvard University, the members of the Quest Society, men like Mr Bilson, and others. Of course, the 'Gitanjali' had prepared the way for a deeper understanding of the poet's view of life and a fuller acceptance of it by the earnest and thinking minds of England and America.

It is a commonplace mistake here, in India, to think that Rabindranath's 'Gitanjali' created such a sensational and record impression in England and elsewhere, either by reason of its novelty and strangeness, in its being characteristically Indian, or by reason of its perfect rhythm and colour of words, its "trance like beauty" as a reviewer in the "Aetheneum" beautifully phrased. Simply the novelty of sentiments, or the delicate beauty the rhythmic atmosphere of the poems would not have given such a shock of surprise. The charm of novelty is short lived, the charm of words still less. The power of 'Gitanjali' was owing to two chief reasons. (1) As Mr Yeats himself says in his introduction, it is 'not their strangeness but the perfect simplicity and clarity of Rabindranath's poems in the Gitanjali which impressed. "He concentrates and clarifies what a less sure spiritual vision catches only in glimpses and records haltingly," says a reviewer Wordsworth, Tennyson, Patmore, Whitman, Traharne, Herbert, Vaughan, F. Thompson, Yeats, A. E. and a host of other poets were brought forward by these English reviewers to show that Rabindranath had deeper affinities of spirit with them than with any mediæval or ancient poet or seer of his own land. But he was more simple and much clearer than all of them and herein lay his power. (2) The second reason was, what Mr Lascelles Abercrombie pointed out in his review. 'The poems of Rabindranath could not credibly come except on the crest of some large and vital impulse moving through a nation, the *milieu* for such a work as this must either be the youthful vigour of a new civilisation or else an ancient and refreshed civilization achieving again some positive ideal mastery in life."

The first reason gained ground as work after work of Rabindranath began to be published. More resemblances with modern poets were noticed, greater simplicity and clarity of spiritual vision and conse-

quently greater power. The second reason was at first dimly and vaguely apprehended. Mr Abercrombie was one who apprehended it, possibly Mr. Yeats was another. They found certain qualities in the poems of the Gitanjali which had the air of marking a new Indian epoch. Mr Stopford Brooke was profoundly interested and impressed by the autobiography of Maharshi Debendranath Tagore and he clearly perceived that many elements in Maharshi's soul, the poet had passed through in his own soul, had 'reshaped' them there and 'given them a new form in his poems'. But behind the Maharshi was a great movement and the movement was itself of a complex character. The epoch, if the poems of the Gitanjali marked any, was not merely a literary epoch but an epoch of renaissance, of national upheaval.

In Rabindranath's addresses, during his last visit, therefore, there were a few people who felt that he was not speaking as an individual poet standing on an isolated rock of his own imagination and susceptibilities, he was voicing the inarticulate yearnings surging deep in the heart of a whole people, a whole civilisation. They found out that he was an oriental profoundly impressed by European thought, yet they found at the same time that he was oriental first and last. There was the oriental mystical apprehension of the infinite, the sense of mystery behind life in what he said. There was also the occidental quick grasp of life and the sense of the immediate value of life, in all his utterances. In the 'Gitanjali' as in the 'Sadhana' this is what forcibly struck the western readers and reviewers.

The difference between the former visit and the recent one to America seems therefore to consist in this that this time Rabindranath went as the bearer of a distinct message of India and Indian civilisation. He went as a fitting representative of the East, of India, of Bengal, and not merely in the capacity of a poet. It is not to be supposed, however, that this phase of Rabindranath has been a new development, it was there, only less pronounced when he had visited America before. The burden of his message has remained much the same, only the recent war and certain new circumstances have lent a new color, force and import to it. He has been more strong, more direct in his appeal, more concrete and bold in his choice of illustra-

tions than before. I have with me two cuttings from two very best papers about Rabindranath's addresses during his last visit at Oxford and at Rochester Congress of Religions, New York, where he was invited to speak on 'Race-conflict' along with Rudolf Eucken, the great savant of Jena University, Germany. Concerning the address at Oxford, the impression of a writer in the *Christian Commonwealth* ran as follows —

"Nor were the expectations of the large audience disappointed. At the close of Mr Tagore's address on 'Realisation of Love, one felt that the whole problem of modern social life had been lifted on to a plane higher than is usual, and had been dealt with in a most moving spirit of mystic insight. One saw, at last the thinness of the modern money made, and money making, civilisation in the piercing light of Tagore's gospel of the radiant joy of life and the wonderful unity between mankind and the universe. In words that reminded one forcibly of Prof Royce's highest expressions of 'Loyalty to the Community,' or, again, of Bosanquet's plea for the greater self, Tagore told his audience that sin was an attitude of life that regarded its goal as finite, and its own little self as its chief aim and object of affection. The utter failure of all civilisations that look on man as a machine and not as a spirit was certain. No civilisation could long sustain itself by 'cannibalism' of any sort, physical, mental, or spiritual. If one suffered then all must suffer. If one part of the community lived at the expense of the other part, the whole community was in peril. All separateness, all selfish exclusiveness, is doomed to die, it can never be made eternal. But the spirit that becomes one with the whole, and in harmony with the laws of the whole, that spirit cannot die.

Concerning the address at Rochester a reporter in the *Inquirer* said :—

The whole subject was lifted to a higher and universal standpoint while Mr Rabindranath Tagore, the Hindu scholar and poet, who was an honoured guest of the Congress, treated of race distinctions and race conflicts in the light of universal religious principles. With a singularly felicitous use of the English tongue and literary distinction, Mr Tagore held up to the meeting (says the *Christian Register*) the high, social ideals and reverence for the divine in the human which alone can permanently solve this question.

This time, Rabindranath chose the same subject, as above, in the course of his lecturing tour in the United States, only treating it more comprehensively, adequately, and forcibly than before. He gave five lectures altogether in different places in America, besides readings, conversations, etc. The subjects of the lectures were: "My School at Shantiniketan", "The Second Birth", "The Cult of Nationalism", "What is Art" and "The World of Personality." The lecturing tour was organised by a famous agent, James R. Pond,

who accompanied the poet wherever he was fixed for an address.

How has America received him and his message? Let the papers of different places speak for themselves.

No wonder that the personality of the poet should have exercised a fascination and a spell over many. The reporters seem all to be eloquent on his tall and graceful figure, his soft and luminous eyes, the 'eagle like nose,' 'the waving masses of grey hair,' and particularly this time,—his dress—"the long woollen robe embroidered on its edges with a quaint design"—the strangely fascinating personality with a hint of remoteness and aloofness that invested him with an unconscious authority.

An English paper remarked that Sir Rabindranath Tagore's lecture tour in America was inspiring even the reporters to poetry. One description ran as follows: "Bells ring, leaves whisper, light kisses; air murmurs, all in Sir Rabindranath's musical syllabic utterance."

Rabindranath had the warmest sort of reception when he arrived at San Francisco. A gorgeous dinner was given him by the Bohemian Club. In the *San Francisco Bulletin*, it was announced :—

"As a compliment to the famous East Indian poet and philosopher, the entire red room of the club will be transformed into an East Indian palace. Amadee Joullin, the well known artist, whose Oriental pictures won him fame, is in charge of the decorating, and is using all his art and knowledge of the Far East, learned through his long residence there, in making the room into a proper setting for so distinguished a guest."

In San Francisco, he had to speak twice, on the same subject, as at the first meeting many people who had come to hear him went away disappointed finding the hall packed to overflowing. But of his lectures and their tremendous impression all throughout America, we shall speak afterwards.

From the various newspaper cuttings, one can easily draw out certain outstanding impressions of the Americans concerning the poet, and the most prominent one among them, was the richness of Rabindranath's culture, his wide sympathies, his blissful unconsciousness about his greatness, his brilliant powers of conversation, his 'intense humanity' and his wonderful practical sense. For instance, in the *San Francisco Examiner*, his impression of western music was published and

very much appreciated. He heard Paderewski play at the Cort Theatre. It was a marvellous performance. Rabindranath liked the Bach and rejoiced in the Beethoven and when asked what he thought of western music, he said —

'That is a question I have often asked myself. At first, I must admit your western music jarred upon me. I heard Madame Albani sing a song in which there was imitation of the nightingale. It was so childishly imitative of the mere externals of nature that I could take little pleasure in it.

'And what food for musical inspiration would a Hindu find in the song of the nightingale—the questioner demanded.

'He would find the soul state of the listener. He would make music in the same way that Keats wrote his ode.

'It seems to me that Hindu music concerns itself more with human experience as interpreted by religion than with experience in an every-day sense. For us music has above all a transcendental significance. It disengages the spiritual from the happenings of life. It sings of the relationship of the human soul with the soul of things beyond.

Just this—this beautiful interpretation of Hindu music, as compared with western music,—could never have been given by any ordinary cultured Indian. He might have talked and talked for hours on empty politics and policy of British Government, or on the husks of Vedanta Philosophy—the ordinary platitude talk—but never could have interpreted the soul of the East to the soul of the West in the above way, establishing thereby the possibility of a better, a truer understanding between the East and the West.

In another San Francisco paper, there is the report that he inquired of the Lick Observatory, which institution he said 'by its discoveries, has broadened the world's ideas of our universe.' In Portland, with Dean Collins, whom he granted an interview, he discussed farm methods. The reporter of it writes

'He talks in a thoroughly practical manner that disposes of the idea of the average occidental that the famous Bengali master is a new species of mystic with his head forever in the clouds. For instance, he discussed the possibilities of effective establishment of the wholesale machine methods of farming that are used in U.S.A. in the fertile farmlands of Bengal. "The only method," he said, "that suggests itself as feasible is the installation of these methods in co-operative farming communities."

Thus Art, Music, Education, Religion, Philosophy, Literature,—he talked about everything and with the greatest illumination. This is the secret how he could create such a very great impression everywhere in the United States during his recent tour. It

is again, not merely the imposing appearance, the grace of his person, but his culture and refinement, his broad sympathies that attracted people towards him.

Judging from this general impression of Americans, it is quite easy to imagine how his message would be received by them. The Americans would be tolerant even if he criticised them severely at times, for he had made them feel that beneath all his criticism, there was a thorough sympathy, a deep understanding and appreciation of all that was best in the Americans. This quality of culture and sympathy, as I have hinted already, has been the secret of his success. In various towns, from San Francisco to New York, he addressed on the subjects I have already mentioned in another place. He read particularly everywhere his brilliant address on 'The cult of Nationalism' which, this time, conveyed his entire message to America. It was in substance the same as his former lecture at Rochester on Race-conflict and its solution. But it was more powerful, it was a thousand times more appealing and more prophetic, I must say. And so is the impression of most of the American papers with the single exception of one paper in New York, which most emphatically cried down the poet's message.

I shall quote from an article contributed by Prof. A. R. Seymour Ph.D. in the December number of the *Hindustani Student*, in which both a brief synopsis of the address as well as the professor's thoughts and comments about it have been admirably set forth. Thus writes the professor —

'What he saw from his distance was nation pitilessly destroying nation in a fury of greed. All the splendid achievements of science and invention, all the wealth and power of wonderfully organized and developed countries were madly dedicated to the god of destruction. He saw how the nation had become a splendidly efficient machine, how nationalism had become a cult turning whole people to selfishness and sacrilegiously invoking the blessings of heaven upon their gigantic egotism.

'A nation, he says, is an organized gregariousness of gluttony, that is it is a political and commercial machine, inhuman without soul. This nationalism has got hold of the people. It extracts the humanity from them and makes them parts of a great machine whose only use is to become more powerful. And the people of western nations accept the mental slavery of nationalism because of their nervous desire to become more machine-like than the other nations.'

He points out how the West lives in an atmosphere of fear and greed and panic, due to the preying

of one nation upon another for material wealth. Its civilization is carnivorous and cannibalistic, feeding upon the blood of the weaker nations. Its one idea is to thwart all greatness outside its own boundaries. Never before were there such terrible jealousies, such betrayals of trust, and all this is called patriotism whose creed is politics."

Better than this, it seems to this poet, incomparably better than these nations writhing on the altars of ambition and going down to physical and moral ruin, is India, the country of non nation, India, the simple, patient, strong in faith, the spiritual citadel of troubled times.

It is not, therefore, as the representative of a defeated land that he speaks to America to day. Though pressed beneath the heel of nationalism, and pierced by its fang of cruelty, India still can claim a soul, her children can still glory in her spiritual sublimity. It is re-education of this truth that has brought Rabindranath Tagore to our shores again. The poet has given up for a time his birthright of quiet and leisure, and, putting on the robes of the Prophet, has undertaken to bring to us the unchanged message of the East.

It is a simple message that he brings, familiar to us all,—it is better to keep one's soul than to gain the whole world, it is better for a people, to keep its soul than to gain the whole world. Rabindranath Tagore, the Poet Prophet of our time, has a message so simple that some may miss it. It is nothing new to western ears, but never before in the world was it enforced with such potent argument as now flows in upon us from the far reaching battle fields of Europe.

In this war he sees Europe "reaping the reward for that organized greed called nationalism. The death struggle of nationalism has begun. This war is the fifth act of the tragedy of the unreal. There is a moral law in this world, a moral law that has its application to organized society as well as to individuals. We may forget truth, for our own convenience, but truth does not forget us. Prosperity can not save itself without moral foundation. Until man can see the gaping chasm between his full store house and his humanity, until he can feel the unity of mankind, the kind of barbarism which you call civilization will exist."

"In India and China spiritual civilization is a living thing. India and China tried to live lives devoid of politics, aloof from the quarrels of the world. But the nations of the West have driven their tentacles deep into their soil, and the government, as seen in India, is an applied science as free from human feelings as an hydraulic press and as effective." "Japan, too, was a people; Europe with cannon and machine taught her to be a nation. And now English and American complain that Japan is becoming too aggressive. Why should they complain? Why should they not rather rejoice in her proficiency instead of preparing to act against this apt pupil?"

"You of the west tell us," he says, "that we should organize ourselves into a nation and so be able to protect ourselves. I would listen to you if you came and told us to live better lives, to love God more deeply, to practise a deeper abnegation of self, but when you come with your machinery and your wealth, and your cold intellectualism, and prey upon us because we are helpless, and therefore easy victims, I say that it is time for the East to rise and deliver the message that I bring to you."

Rabindranath tells us that the sudden calamity that has come upon Europe "is the direct result of

the unsound foundation upon which European civilization rests." Much in this mechanical age that is of great inherent power for good has become perverted through the greed and base ambitions of nations so that what ought to be constructive has become destructive.

We are warned that the United States is on the same road as Europe, but there is more hope for this country, since its people are of open mind, seekers after truth. We, too, are a land of no nation, but we are so because we are a land of every nation living as one people. The hope of the Western world is in this Melting Pot where all peoples mingle and it is most easy to forget differences of race and country, and accept man as man.

An editorial in the *Detroit Times* commenting on the recent address of Rabindranath Tagore in that city declares that the people of the United States "are beginning, just beginning to realize that there is a world outside of their own boundaries, that human beings in other countries may have as much appreciation of justice and truth as they have, that there is something nobler for a man to do than pounce upon his weaker neighbor and take from him whatever he can fitch, that we are not merely animals fighting for existence, but moral beings with human responsibilities—in short, that patriotism is a narrow ideal compared with the love of humankind."

It is very evident, from newspaper reports, that America, the immature but unchildlike, the grasping but generous, is listening soberly to the words of this stranger. The American looks upon him as more than a curious and impressive figure in an oriental garb delivering an old fashioned message. He listens, he is touched with awe; he calls him prophet, messiah. That is very well, yet, lest we misrepresent him, let us call him simply a friendly soul, a lover of life, to whom it has been given in a bitter time of hate and wrong, to sing the praise of God and the enduring power and the eternal triumph of the soul.

Nothing reveals more clearly the motives of this teacher than that most wonderful moment when at the end of his lecture on the Cult of Nationalism, he allows the Poet Prophet to stand forth in utter simplicity and dignity as he reads from his own poems, repeating and repeating his message.

"My Master bids me stand at the roadside of retreat,

And sing the song of the defeated,  
For she is the bride whom he woos in secret."

"Those who walk on the path of pride  
Crushing the lowly life under their tread,  
Spreading their footprints in blood

Upon the tender green of the earth,  
Let them rejoice, and thank thee, Lord,  
For the day is theirs

But thou hast done well in leaving me with the humble,

Whose doom it is to suffer  
And bear the burden of power,  
And hide their faces and stifle their sobs in the dark.

For every throb of their pain  
Has pulsed in the secret depth of thy night,  
And every insult has been gathered

In thy great silence,  
And the morrow is theirs."

In all American Cities and especially in

Boston and New York and the University-towns, this lecture made a tremendous impression. Rabindranath carried city after city by storm, he read the lecture before bankers and millionaires and those "who came to scoff remained to pray." So crowded were the audiences everywhere and raised to such a high pitch of enthusiasm and admiration, that they were almost electrified by the galvanic shocks of the noble rage of the poet at the outrages done to humanity by nationalism. Hundreds of American papers are full of this great news, the news of the fall of the American cities one after another, at the feet of this great Master. In a famous American paper, we find the following report of the lecture on the Cult of Nationalism:

ORIENT AND OCCIDENT MEET IN TAGORE'S  
WONDERFUL TALK

'Haloed in silver and garbed in dull gold against a background of pale blue sky. Sir Rabindranath Tagore, first in the series of Fine Arts offerings spoke Monday night at Macaulay's Theater.

"It was an audience unusually representative. It was beyond that an audience of exceptional of tense and earnest attention. And most of all it hesitated to disturb with applause utterances so strangely poetic, philosophic and of the day. For he it noted most of all the Oriental was so thoroughly well posted in all that concerns the Occidental world in its yesterday no less than its today that one felt that here was a dissector carving out our foolish boasts and our smug comfortabilities into their essentials and finding, for the most part little or nothing.

It was done without a trace of pose. It was done in the most natural way in the world unconsciously almost and inevitably beyond a word. Thus we are no doubt naked. And if we are not ashamed, it is our own fault. Why? Well principally because we have not known how to use—still less how to improve—the heaven sent opportunities. We have been content and happy in our snobbish consciences. Remember—Sir Rabindranath was speaking for the most part of Anglo Indians or of English as yet foreign to India—that he has not found them living up to their own ideals.

The Poet who is a Philosopher is not frequently met. The Poet who is a man of politics and affairs that is Hugo and—how hard to keep away from him—it is inspiring, too. But these were men essentially practical and one might almost say, commercial. Tagore is practical because he is human real vibrant. Commercial, he is not.

We do not regret it. His indignation burns. His wrath sears. His sense of the unseemly and the scandalous is a benediction for the sole reason that it is conviction. How paltry are the things we tolerate. How dirty. It is refreshing to meet this manly man of an outside world very near to us and more valuable, by far, than it is near.

E. A. J.

*The Morning Oregon* thus gives a report

of the same lecture delivered under the auspices of the Drama League at Portland.

'The attendance at the lecture completely filled the auditorium and took up all available standing room. The intensity of the spell under which the audience was held was indicated by the breathless silence that followed the regal chant of his poem of peace with which Rabindranath Tagore closed his lecture—a silence that continued it seemed for minutes before the spell was broken in the hurst of applause that followed the retiring master.

A nation is a thing in which society is organized for a mechanical purpose. A nation is the organized self interest of a whole people, where it is most selfish and least human.' This definition of nation by Rabindranath and his firm conviction and contention that 'it is the continuous pressure of the dead human upon the living human that is destroying humanity,' that "the nation is the greatest enemy of nations," and that 'the war of nations to day is a war of retribution' may provoke the west to this criticism, (as it has already provoked only a few Japanese and American papers), that while admitting and accepting all the poet's statements as true, it has yet to be seen whose position is really good and sound, the position of those peoples whose basis is nation and conflict, or the position of those people whose basis is non nation and peace. For, it may be argued, that those who have built their civilisation on the basis of peace, have utterly lost the dynamic element of civilisation and the creative force. The dynamic, creative individualism has merged there in a static social order and a static code of duties, as has been the case in China. India could still develop a sort of anti social type of religious emancipation, the type of the sansculott or the Sannyas., for instance, but considering the sum total of social progress, the achievements of India for centuries have been little. The good of nationalism is in giving birth to a mass life and mass-consciousness, and making that consciousness the real guide of society in place of classes or castes, kings or priests of the old order, as still prevails in the East. For, national consciousness implies that the ceaseless action and reaction of each and all in the nation, the endless resistances, co-operations, agreements, disagreements in the mass life of the nation, are ever at work and are ever lifting society and state to

planes of more effective realisation. Society and state are organically allied, although their functions are different.

The Nation and its consciousness have up till now been confined within very narrow limits. The conflicts of nations with nations, and nations with non-nations have therefore become painfully acute and it is to be hoped and fervently prayed for that Nationalism should develop sooner or later into cosmic humanism. The whole trend of Rabindranath's address seems to tend to this solution, although he has not offered any solution at all. He has painted for us the darkest picture of nationalism, he has shown what horrors and catastrophes are within it. And he has shown, moreover, the absolute insensibility of the nations with regard to the grim and awful sufferings of a large body of humanity, who form the non nation, and at whose expense the nations grow and prosper. And he has done it most powerfully. His utterance, therefore, has become one of the noblest utterances of man in any age or in any country. He has delivered his message for the modern age.

Finishing this hasty report of America's impression of him and of his message, we may fitly ask ourselves, what has been Rabindranath's impression of America? In the *Evening Post*, New York, an interviewer thus writes about it:—

"It is very oppressive to me here," Mr. Tagore says, wearily "It is very difficult I want to get away as soon as I can. Besides the strenuous part of the life there is no leisure, no space for the recuperation of the soul. I have not felt like a human being. I have felt like a bale of cotton being transported from town to town. These houses you live in are frightful," he said, thoughtfully as if forgetting an audience. "These houses are not for human habitation," he said, pointing out of the window to the skyscrapers all around. "We are not Titans to live in such houses defying Heaven's light and air. There is no grace, no beauty, just bulk ... From port to port I have seen the strides of the great giant of ugliness crashing out the green world of God ... This is a sign of failure, this lack of grace and beauty."

He has now come back to his own country, the country of sunshine and green. His work is done. Should it not now be the duty of our country to give him a fitting welcome for all that he has done to elevate his motherland and humanity through her?

LITERATUS.

## WHEELS WITHIN WHEELS

BY FRANK HOWFL EVANS,

AUTHOR OF "FIVE YEARS," "THE CINEMA GIRL," &c.

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[Our readers are informed that all characters in this story are purely imaginary, and if the name of any living person happens to be mentioned no personal reflection is intended.]

### CHAPTER V.

FRIENDS AND RIVALS.

"YES, that's mine, and that and that. I don't know whether they'll all go on a taxi, but at any rate we'll have a try. There's one! Hi! you, driver! All right, porter, I'd better give you a hand with this box; it's rather heavy."

A tall, brown-haired young man in a light lounge suit pointed to his luggage on the crowded platform of Charing-Cross Station, and seized hold of one of the

handles of a big trunk to help the porter put it on the taxi.

"Don't you trouble, sir, I can do that," said the porter, as with a heave and a lift of two mighty arms he picked up the box as if it were a feather's weight.

"Well, I thought I was pretty hefty, but you knock me, porter! By Jove! it was worth half a crown to see you lift that! Here you are. Why bless my soul, it's Harry—Harry Raymes!"

"Great Scott! if it isn't Jack Guardene!"

Harry Raymes, in the uniform of an hotel porter, had been busily going up and down on the platform amongst the passengers who had just arrived from the Conti-

nent, asking if there were any for the Hotel Gramont, one of the latest of the fashionable new hotels, for which there always seems to be a demand in London. He wore a peaked cap with a red band round it on which was the name of the hotel, a long sleeved, thick, short, jacket, and dark trousers, and he pushed back his cap and stared in astonishment at the young man whose luggage he had just attended to.

"Jack Guardene! Well, I never!" he repeated.

"No—it's well I never! said young Guardene. "What on earth are you doing here as an hotel porter, Harry? I'm staying at the Gramont. Come up to my rooms and see me and have a jaw will you? My cab is anxious to move on the policeman's watching it."

"I've got one or two more passengers to attend to I think, sir," said Harry, politely touching his cap, but with a wink at Guardene, "and I'm not allowed up in your room at the hotel. But I go off duty at ten, and I'll be in plain clothes at the corner of Tardon Street just after then this evening."

"And what on earth are you playing at now, Harry?" asked Guardene when just after ten, he met him at the appointed place. "When I saw your silly old mug with those eyebrows under that red banded, peaked cap I thought I should have dropped. What are you doing it for, old chap—a wager, or what?"

"No, I'm doing it because I must," answered Harry with a grin. "But come in here."

The two men turned into a snug little public house in a quiet passage, and when the drinks had been ordered they sat down at a table in a corner.

"I'm glad to see you again old man," said Guardene putting out his hand impulsively. "You're a beggar never to have written though. And who's got my old ranch? Goodness, what a mess I made of it! But I didn't know anything and I thought I was going to make a fortune. We had some good times together didn't we Harry? I've never regretted it."

Guardene a few years before had tried his hand at ranching in Canada, his property lying next to the Wenmerring Ranch. Here he had met Harry Raynes and the two had become inseparable friends until Guardene with that irresponsibility which characterised him, decided that ranching

wasn't his game, and that he would try something else, for he rather thought there was a good thing to be got out of flying. And now here they met the reckless, dare-devil young peer and the young rancher now a railway porter.

"But there, old man," went on Guardene. "I'm talking about myself all the time. What is it? What does this portering mean? Tell us straight out, old chap. I'm not exactly broke, though I'm always beastly hard up—I can always manage to find enough to live on, and half of what I've got is yours. I can't forget the old days, you know, when you've helped me with my riding and shooting such a lot and prevented my making an ass of myself."

"Old man" said Harry, "I'm earning a living and that's all I want at present."

He sighed a little and tried to pass it off but Guardene was too quick for him.

Look here, sportboy, there's something on your mind," said the young peer. "Now go on, spit it out, tell us all about it."

"All right so I will, Jack. It'll do me good. You know the governor sold the ranch some time ago, he decided to retire. And then—then this happened."

And then Harry told the tale of how Mr. Traynes will had been seen in the papers and how old Raynes came to England to dispute it. He told Guardene everything from the visit to Kirton Square right away down to the time when he walked out of the Allendale Hotel after having quarrelled with his father.

"I told the old man I was ashamed of him, Jack," concluded Harry. "Perhaps I ought not to have done it, for I suppose he thought he was doing the best for me, but I hated the idea of marrying for money, of having that woman, Lady Dalmaine, chucked at my head like that, and it being suggested that I should make love to her because I wanted her money. And that other girl—I couldn't help thinking of her. I just simply had to go back and apologise, you know. I've never forgotten her face and how she looked. And the plucky letter she wrote to the old man too. Jack, old man, I tell you what, I can see that girl now. I shall never forget her. Well, there's my story. I've quarrelled with the governor and I've got to earn my own living, and I'm not going back to him. So here I am outside porter at the Gramont, and mak-



ing a decent living at it, too. It's my muscle got me the job. Jack, old man, I often think of that girl, and wonder what the guv'nor's done and what she has done. 'Why, what's the matter? You look queer. Don't you feel well?'

Guardene answered in a small, strangled sort of voice; his face was white and his hands trembled.

"Old man," he said, "there's more than fate or coincidence in this. That girl you've been speaking about, Miss Tremayne, d'you know I've come over here on purpose to see her. I wrote to her more than two months ago asking her to—marry me, and she's never answered my letter. And now you tell me of this! Isn't it strange, more than strange? Good Lord, if anything's happened to her, if your father has turned her out or taken her at her word!"

"And you, you, Jack, you love her? And does she love you? Had you told her? Had you said anything to her?"

This time it was Harry's voice that was a little husky.

"I didn't dare to say it to her face; I couldn't pluck up, old man, so I wrote it. I just put in the letter what I felt as well as I could, and I've waited all this time, eating my heart out for an answer, but none has come."

"You—you love her?" repeated Harry. "Yes, and I always shall, till the end of my life. But you? I say, Harry, you're not in the same boat, are you, old man? We're not both—in love with the same girl?"

"She's the only woman I ever saw that I've ever thought twice about," answered Harry, simply. "I don't know whether it was love at first sight, or what, but I'd just simply die for her. That's how I feel, and I only saw her once. And you, you knew her, knew her well! No wonder you love her, Jack. Well, I must get back now if I want any supper—I sleep in the hotel, and everything's cleared away by eleven o'clock."

"Well, we're not going to leave things like this anyway, Harry," said Guardene as they walked out into the street together. "We're rivals for the same girl, old man, but we're pals just the same, aren't we? Isn't it strange that we should both be in love with her—with her?"

Jack Guardene said the words softly as

if he were breathing the name of a saint, and Harry just simply put out his hand.

"It's all right, old fellow, we understand each other," he said. "You go in and take your chance. Even if she has to give up all her money to my guv'nor, you'll have enough for the two of you to scrape along together somehow. I'm just simply a pauper, just a working man, that's all. I couldn't make love to her in my porter's uniform, could I? And my other suit is very shabby, for I walked out of the Alledale Hotel with just what I stood up in. And I was jolly lucky to get this berth in a couple of days. Besides, you've known her, Jack, you've walked, talked and been friends with her, and I—well, I've only seen her once. Just fancy that—to see a girl once and fall in love with her!"

"I don't wonder, old chap, I don't wonder. But we're going to play the game in this. You've got to chuck up this hotel porter business and come and live with me—you can have half what I've got—then you'll be able to go and do your courting." Jack Guardene's white teeth showed in a pleasant smile beneath the gaslight. "So we can start fair together."

"By Jove, you are a good fellow, Jack! But that won't do. I'm not going to sponge on another man while I've got my strength and health, thank you. You go and get your answer—I'm sure it'll be the right one for you—and make her happy. Lady Guardene! She would suit the title well, Jack."

"Bosh about titles and all that sort of rot! I know it costs me more than I can afford to be Lord Guardene, for I'm nearly always broke. But there, I don't like this, Harry, your going in at the servants' way and I at the front. But I'll tell you what I'm going to do to-morrow. I'm going to call at Kirton Square to see her, to find out what is happening, what steps your father has taken—"

"And also to get your answer, eh, Jack? Well, I wish you luck, old man."

And Harry slipped down the little turning that led to the servants' quarters of the hotel, while Lord Guardene, with a little sigh, went up to his own room in the guests' quarters and smiled rather sadly as he looked at a portrait of Gladys in a silver frame that he always carried about with him and which now stood on the mantelpiece. It was just a little ama-

tear snapshot taken by himself of her standing in a wind-blown attitude with her hand to her hat; she was smiling, and seemed to be smiling directly at him, and he took up the lifeless card and reverently pressed it to his lips.

"God bless you, darling," he said to himself "I wonder what your answer will be? Ah but there's poor old Harry!" He put down the photo again. "It seems hard on him. Well, good night, darling. You carry two men's hearts in your hands, if you only knew it."

And if Lord Guardene had only known it almost at that same moment Gladys worn, tired, nearly faint with exhaustion was dragging her weary limbs from street to street, wondering what the end would be, and almost hoping that it would come quickly.

The next morning between eleven and twelve Lord Guardene called at the house in Kirton Square and asked for Miss Tremayne. The bell was answered by the same old woman who had been interviewed by Gladys.

"I don't know anything about Miss Tremayne," she said in the same sharp irritable manner. "She called here herself once, and I had to tell her that she couldn't be admitted without an order from Mr. Raymes, and she couldn't take anything away either."

"What? What? What's that you say? She called here once and you turned her away? Did she say where she was going? Did she leave any address?"

"Oh, I don't know anything about her! My orders are just to keep the house clean and tidy and let no one come in. That's all I can tell you."

And she banged the door in Jack Guardene's face leaving him on the steps speechless with astonishment, anger, and even fear—fear for Gladys.

Gladys had called there! She had been turned away! Where was she then? How was it that old Raymes had come into possession of the house? Oh, of course there was the letter which Gladys' lawyer had sent to old Raymes, of her own free will giving up everything! She had done it then, she had kept her word, she had given up the house, the property, the money. But yet, why should she then have called at the house and been turned away? The reason for that must be ascertained. Old Raymes must be seen.

So Jack hailed a taxi and drove off quickly to the Allendale Hotel, which had been named to him by Harry, only to find that Mr. and Mrs. Raymes had left, no address being given where messages or letters might be sent.

"Strange that they should go away without leaving any word at all," said Jack to himself as he walked away. "And I'm sure the old man was fond of Harry too. I'll go and see Hampton and Marsh."

Hampton and Marsh were Lord Guardene's family solicitors, and to the senior partner he put the whole case.

"It's interesting, it's more than interesting," said Mr. Hampton. "It's quite a novel in itself. I don't see what we can do, Lord Guardene. What do you wish us to do?"

"Do? Why, find out what has become of Miss Tremayne, of course! Find old Raymes, make that old woman at the house open her mouth a bit wider, take the whole matter up, go into it thoroughly."

"I'm afraid we can't do that. You have no right to interfere any more than we have. We should be laying ourselves open to actions of all kinds if we took any steps. To put it plainly, Lord Guardene, it's not your business, and it couldn't be our business."

Lord Guardene bounced out of the office swearing that lawyers were the biggest fools in the world, and he repeated the same information to Harry when they met again that same night.

"That settles it," said Harry grimly. "Father's taken everything, taken everything she's got, and given instructions that she's not to be admitted to the house. I wonder, I wonder where she is? Well, there, old man, our rivalry is at an end. Whatever romance there might have been waiting for one of us—and I think it would have been you, Jack—has all vanished, gone like a dream. Well, there's nothing for it now but to try and settle down, and try and forget what might have been and just simply think of what is."

"Yes I suppose that's the best way to look at it. But, like you, Harry, I wonder where she is and I hope she's coming to no harm. Oh, but she couldn't, she couldn't! Yes I think we'd both better make up our minds to the crusty old bachelors, Harry. Now, are you sure that I can do nothing

for you, Harry? I have to go up to that old shanty of mine in the North to-morrow, and may not be back for some time."

"Nothing, thanks, Jack. I suppose I shall be here when you come back. I don't expect you're likely to run across my father or mother. I wonder what my mother thinks about me? You needn't say you've seen me if you do happen to come across them. I want to forget my father, to forget what he has done."

And so the two men, the lord and the hall porter, parted. The next day Lord Guardene left for his impoverished estate in the North, and Harry, the alert, capable outside porter of the Hotel Gramont, was left eating his heart out in silence, without even the solacing comfort of a friend.

"A letter for you, Harry," said the night watchman at the servants' entrance, when Harry returned after saying good-bye to Guardene.

The man took a letter from a rack and handed it to Harry, who looked at it curiously, wondering who could be writing to him, for it had evidently been addressed by a woman. He opened it when he got to his little cubicle at the top of the hotel and read the words in astonishment.

"Dear Mr. Raymes (it ran),—

"I really could hardly believe my eyes this afternoon when I saw you take my luggage down from the hotel omnibus that was sent to the station for me. I am staying here. Isn't there anything I can do? Please let me do something. Let me see you. Forgive this hurried note. Do write and tell me what has happened.—Yours very sincerely, Eva Dalmayer."

Lady Dalmayer! Harry remembered the name at once, of course. She was the woman his father had suggested he should marry. Lady Dalmayer and her money!

He read the letter through again, hesitated for a moment, and then tore it up into little pieces, and opening the window scattered them to the wind. She was Lady Dalmayer, he was just Harry Raymes, hotel porter; let it stop at that.

Lady Dalmayer waited for a week for an answer to her letter but none came, and she was almost angry. She felt slighted. She was still a good-looking woman, a wealthy woman, and an hotel porter had not condescended to answer her letter. And with the slight there came a still more eager desire to see Harry, to look again on that handsome, rugged face with its dark

bar of eyebrow; to hear again the voice that had ever been singing in her ears since she heard it call out the sharp words of command to the stockriders on the Canadian ranch.

For Lady Dalmayer had long ago confessed to herself that she had fallen in love with the stalwart young rancher, and she counted it to herself one of the happiest days of her recent years when she had come face to face with him in the hotel. And then he had suddenly disappeared. She had questioned his father, who had been silent. And now she had seen him at the station as hotel porter. And as she thought of him again a little thrill ran through her; surely now, with her money and her position—

And so impulsively she sat down and dashed off the letter to which she received no answer.

Lady Dalmayer looked at herself in the glass one night after a week had gone by and she had received no answer to her letter. There was not a fleck of grey visible in her hair; it was only in a very strong light that the tiny lines on her face could be seen; her teeth were still perfect; her eyes needed no artificial stimulant to increase their brightness, and a little touch of colour came into the pale cheeks as she nodded at her reflection as if making up her mind to something.

She had made up her mind to leave the hotel the next day. She had visits to pay, she was only passing through town.

And the next day, when her boxes were packed, she spoke to the maid.

"Send some one up to strap these boxes, will you? Who attends to that sort of thing?"

"The outside porter, madam. I will have him sent up as soon as possible."

Lady Dalmayer's heart jumped a little, for her plan was succeeding; she wanted to be face to face with Harry.

"Better send for him now," she said, trying to speak calmly. "I want to see them strapped before I go out, and I also wish to point out how one of the trunks must be carried—in one position only."

"Very good, madam."

It was part of Harry's duty to attend to the carrying of the guests' luggage, so he was not at all surprised to receive a call to number thirty-one.

"I want you to be very careful with that trunk," he heard a voice say as he

entered the sitting-room. "The others are in the bedroom. Why, it's—it's Mr. Raymes, isn't it?"

Harry looked up in surprise. He had not particularly noticed the woman who was standing in the shadow when he entered the room, but now that she stepped forward he saw that she was Lady Dalmayer.

"I thought you would have answered my letter," she went on. "I—I hope you weren't offended? I am afraid I expressed myself clumsily, but—but—well, I—I felt so—so sorry to see you—to see you—"

"To see me as an hotel porter? Oh, it's an honest living, and there is nothing to be ashamed of in it. But pardon me, I must attend to my work. You wish to give me some instructions about the trunk I believe?"

"No, no, I don't!" Lady Dalmayer spoke quickly, and took a step forward which brought her closer to Harry. Her breath came and went in short gasps. She was going to do a very reckless thing, but she did not care, what did it matter? She was in love, she knew that, and love sometimes burns more fiercely with a middle-aged woman than it does with a young maiden. All her life she had never been thwarted; she wasn't going to be thwarted now. She thought, in the selfish ignorance of her soul, that money could buy everything. Her wealth, her position, surely—well, she would put it plainly to herself—surely they would tempt him. And so now, desperately strung up, she was going to risk it all, to put it all to the test.

"No, no," she went on, "I didn't want to give you any instructions. It was only an excuse to get you here. You would not answer my letter. But I wanted to see you, I wanted to make you understand that it hurt me to see you working like—like this. I wanted to make you understand that I would do anything, anything to help you—anything."

She moved a little closer, her hands were half outstretched, her face was very near to his, her lips were half parted, her eyes swam; there was in her whole bearing invitation to be taken, to be claimed.

Harry flushed. He felt uncomfortable. With the superb unconsciousness of his own good looks, of his attraction for a woman, he could not realise that she was

making love to him—that she was practically asking him to marry her.

"You can't—you can't stop here like this, Harry." His Christian name came with a sudden rush. "Can't you see—understand? It's so hard for me—for me to say it; it seems so hard for you to understand. Harry, Harry, you needn't stop here, you needn't! Won't you—won't you meet me—meet me just a little way? Harry, don't—don't make me say it all! Just—just—oh, just ask me if I—if I love you. I have everything, everything I want, except just one thing, and that's love."

She stood there before him, almost pleading, and there was an air of curious enchantment, of fascination about her. She was handsome, undeniably handsome, and her face shone with a strange light, her cheeks were suffused with a becoming colour, and Harry saw then, realised, that she was offering him herself—everything; that he had only just to say one word, just to ask her to marry him, and she and everything she had would be his.

A little trickle of perspiration stood on his brow: he felt awkward and humiliated to think that a woman should be making love to him. And yet there was a charm about her that could not be gainsaid. She was older than he was, and his reason told him that he and she were not a match, and yet—and yet—well, he felt as if he must succumb to her, as if he must say the words she wanted to hear. It seemed as if she had cast a curious spell around him. He was young, he had been but little amongst women, and here was one with money, with a title, and with all the nameless fascination of a woman of the world, of the high world, offering him her love.

He drew his hand across his forehead mechanically, and tried to pull himself together. Lady Dalmayer stood opposite to him, her hands now openly stretched out, her face inviting a kiss.

But in that same second there came before him the face of Gladys. It stood out in white purity beside the handsome features of Lady Dalmayer, which now seemed hard and unequal. The scales dropped from his eyes; he saw age and wrinkles in the face opposite him; he saw himself unworthy, mean, debased, if he took advantage of a woman's infatuation

for him, if he married a woman he could not love.

"I—I'm afraid we're making a mistake in speaking of things like that," he said stammering and stuttering and sidgiting with his cap, "Won't you let me take your luggage now?"

The words seemed banal, foolish almost to him, but Lady Dalmayer seemed not to heed them, for she came a little, just a little, closer, and her hands, slim and long, were lifted as if she would like to place them round his neck. She just gently laid them on his shoulders, her face was close to his, and her voice came low again.

"I never—never thought I could speak like this," she went on, "I never thought I should offer myself—ah!—"

She broke off suddenly as a key clicked in the door, and the manager, making his usual morning inspection, half entered the room by means of his pass-key.

"Oh, I beg your pardon!" he said hastily. "I thought the room was unoccupied. Raymes, get to your work. Take that luggage down at once."

Harry shouldered the luggage, relieved at the termination of the unpleasant situation. Once it was on the omnibus for the station it was no further concern of his, for he only met incoming trains. And so he saw Lady Dalmayer no more.

An hour later he was sent for to the manager's office, and the manager, a dapper little Italian, spoke to him not unkindly, but to the point, in his perfect, almost too perfect English.

"I say nothing, Raymes, for we all have our weaknesses, but I think you are too good-looking for this place. Oh, I know it isn't always our fault! The ladies, they are also to blame sometimes. But that sort of thing doesn't do for servants, especially hotel servants. Oh, no! So you must go, you understand! I give you a week's wages instead of notice. A character? Oh, yes, why not? But I must say why you go. You understand?"

And Harry took his week's wages, delivered up his hotel uniform, and in his own rather shabby suit walked out to look for another berth.

And in the train that was bearing her away from London, Lady Dalmayer, the solitary passenger in a first-class carriage, was crying softly to herself, not from angry disappointment at being deprived of that upon which she had set her heart, not be-

cause for almost the first time she found that money could not buy everything, but because in her own selfish way she really loved this young man. She knew that she was much older than he, old enough to be his mother almost, but she put all that behind her, declaring that a woman is never too old to love.

"Oh, if only I could have done something for him!" she said to herself. "If only he would have let me help him, that would have made me a little happier."

## CHAPTER VI.

### AMONG FRIENDS.

"Good 'eavens, wot's this? Why, blow me' if it ain't a woman! 'Ere, come on, my dear, you ain't dead, are yer?"

A tall girl who had been walking with a sturdy, self-reliant stride down a little side street in Holborn, stopped as she saw a curled-up, rather shapeless figure huddled in a doorway on a stone step just as midnight was about to strike.

"'Ere, wot are yer doin' there?" she went on. "Ain't you got nowhere to go? Come and 'ave a cup of corfee and a 'ard-boiled egg. Come on! Look sharp, 'ere's a copper comin'! They won't let you doss 'ere."

"Oh, leave me alone, please! Let me die here! I thought I was going to die just now. I don't want to move."

"Well, you've got to. You'll catch your death if you stop there. Come on! Lumme, you do look bad. Now take my arm! That's it! Come on, there's a coffee-stall just down by the Viaduct 'ere. We'll soon 'ave you warm."

The huddled-up figure was Gladys Tremayne. She had walked, or rather dragged herself about for two hours on the night after she had left the Free Library at ten o'clock travelling she knew not where, until at length she had fallen, rather than sunk, into this doorway, hoping and praying that she might die soon.

"Oh, poor thing!" went on the girl as she supported Gladys with her strong arm. "You are in a state! Look at your clothes! And wot ever w's you doin' in that doorway? A lady like you didn't 'ave no right to be there, I know. But there, never mind about that now; just you come along 'ere and 'ave some corfee."

Down the steps that led from Holborn Viaduct there was a coffee-stall, a bright cheery-looking affair, well lighted, its clean

counter laden with huge piles of thick bread and butter! there was a basin full of cold hard-boiled eggs, and tea and coffee urns hissed merrily behind. It was just a typical example of the outdoor restaurant of late London life.

Gladys's new-found friend ordered coffee, bread and butter and hard-boiled eggs, and though Gladys's hands and arms were so numbed and chilled that she could hardly lift the cup to her lips, she managed to sip a little of the sweet, warm decoction, and gradually she felt a little better, and at length to her own surprise, she found herself eating the egg and the bread and butter.

"Now then, wot are you goin' to do?" asked the girl when the meal was finished and Gladys had refused to have any more. "You can't stay about in doorways like that all night. What is it? 'Ad a row with yer parents, or yer young man, or yer 'usband, or what? Don't tell me more nor you like to o' course, but you ain't goin' to walk about the streets all night so long as I can give you a 'and, I know. You're a lady, ain't ye?"

"Oh, you're very, very kind!" said Gladys. "You're really almost the first person I've spoken to since this morning. You're very, very kind!"

"Rats to that! I've been 'ard up meself, but I can always manage to find a bed and a bit o' grub, so you come along with me I live in Blackfriars. You feel as if you could walk now? Because it won't run to a cab, and the last 'bus is gone."

"Oh, yes, I feel ever so much better now, and happier, thank you. Would you mind if I took your arm? My leg hurts me rather."

Gladys still had the stout stick with which that morning she had left the hospital. Oh, what centuries, what an eternity it seemed since she had walked down those broad, stone steps! But now—well, she had found a good Samaritan, a friend, someone who was kind to her, someone to whom she could talk. And as they walked along slowly and carefully, Gladys explained simply how she had come out of the hospital that morning and had no money and nowhere to go; how she had once had money and a house, but now had nothing.

"It's too long a tale to tell you it all now," said Gladys, "but it means that I'm penniless and homeless, and if it hadn't

been for you I believe I should have died in that doorway."

"Oh, you poor, poor thing!" said the girl. "Well, never mind, you shall 'ave a good rest to-night, and then we'll talk about wot's goin' to be done for you in the morning. 'Ere's my drum!"

She stopped at a door which was evidently the side entrance to a shop, opened it with a latchkey, and, striking a match, guided Gladys up two or three flights of stairs into a bedroom, where she lighted a candle, showing a fair-sized room holding two narrow beds and just the very plainest of furniture.

"Now, you're nearly dead, my dear," said the girl. "You pop into bed as quick as you can, and we'll 'ear all about you in the mornin'. I know wot it is to be dead tired, I don't 'ave to be 'out till ten o'clock to-morrow. 'Ere, I can lend you a night-gown. Come on, I'll give you a 'and!"

The good-natured girl helped Gladys to undress, and no sooner was she between the rough, coarse, but clean sheets, than she was fast asleep without a thought of anything. And it looked like the sleep of death, so fragile and pale was she with her pretty fair hair spread on the pillow. The other girl bent over her and fingered a little strand delicately.

"Like silk, ain't it?" she murmured half aloud. "And ain't she pretty, too! Poor little thing! Fancy 'er there all by 'erself! Thank Gawd I came along in time!"

"Well, do you feel a bit more chirpy this mornin'?"

Gladys opened her eyes in strange surroundings and started, wondering where she was, to find a dark-haired girl, with round, rosy cheeks, sitting on her bed and looking down at her.

"Where—where am I?" asked Gladys, sitting up with difficulty, for she felt stiff and sore all over. "Oh, yes, yes, I remember now! You're the kind girl who brought me home last night. Oh, yes, I remember."

"Oh, that's all right!—Now I'm going to send you up some breakfast. And you needn't get up till I come back at three o'clock, unless you like. I've told the landlady to look after you. Wot's your name, by the way? What? Gladys Tremayne? My, ain't that pretty! Sounds like one out of a penny story-book. Mine ain't 'arf so

classy as that. Meg—Margaret, I suppose I was christened, but as I never knowed my father or mother I couldn't quite say. An old aunt brought me up; I lived with 'er till I was fourteen, then I 'ad to shift for meself. I've been all sorts of things, and now I'm in a fried fish shop just off the Noo Cut. The mornin' trade's done by just after two o'clock, so I generally come 'ome about three and 'ave a bit of a rest till the night work begins. A bit of luck last night, I 'ad a night off, and I was after another job, or I might never 'ave seen you. And now, my dear, I must get off. You'll 'ave your breakfast directly, and you can either get up or stop in bed, whichever you like. If you get up you can go and sit in the landlady's little room at the back of the shop. And you'd better 'ave some dinner, too, at about one o'clock. Oh, that's all right; I've told old Ma Giles that you're a friend of mine. Now good-bye for the present, at any rate."

She stopped and kissed Gladys, who put her arms round the strong neck and drew the rosy face closer to hers.

"I think God must have sent you to me last night," she said. "How kind you've been to me!"

"Oh, that's all right!" said Meg, rather uncomfortably, the rosy face seeming to grow rosier. "We all want a 'elpin' and now and again—I know I 'ave often. Now I really must go!"

And away she bustled out of the room, and Gladys turned on the pillow, and in a few seconds was fast asleep again, the sleep upon which Nature insisted to recuperate the worn frame, the tired and jaded nerves.

"One o'clock, my dear. You weren't awake when I brought up your breakfast and I thought it a pity to disturb you. Now, won't you sit up and have this nice drop of soup?"

A little, grey-haired woman, with lined, sunken cheeks, little bright brown eyes, and neatly dressed in black with a huge, white, spotless apron, was standing by the bedside with a basin of soup.

"I'm Mrs. Giles—Ma Giles that Meg always calls me," went on the old lady. "She asked me to look after you and told me all about you, my dear where she found you and everything. Just like Meg! She'd give her boots away. Now you drink this and see if it don't do you good. I'm noted for my soup, I am. Some of the funny customers downstairs call it Ma Giles's

Thickening Mixture. Ah, it sticks to their ribs I know! Now where are your boots? You must let me take them down and have them cleaned for you. And your clothes want brushing too, I can see. And what about hairpins and little things like that?"

Gladys felt that she had indeed fallen amongst friends. This brisk, capable little woman was kind, too, as kind in her way as Meg almost, and the soup was indeed delicious.

The boots were brought up cleaned, the clothes were brushed, and Gladys felt quite a different girl when she went downstairs to Ma Giles's little sitting-room to wait for the return of Meg.

"There we are then!" said Meg when she returned. "Looks as pretty as paint, don't she, Ma? And 'ow d'you feel now, my dear?"

"Oh, I feel very much better, thank you," replied Gladys. "I feel rested. The long sleep did me such a lot of good. And now—well, now I must be going. Thank you very much for what you did for me."

For Gladys felt that she could not stop there any longer; she had been given shelter for the night and food; that was as much as she could expect a stranger to do for her. But her heart sank as she thought of going out to the interminable tramp of the streets again.

"You think you must be goin', do you?" snorted Meg indignantly. "And where d'you think you're goin' to? A little slip of a thing like you out all by yourself without a 'alfpenny in your pocket—oh, yes, you 'ave got a 'alfpenny, 'aven't you! Where are you goin'? Goin' to call at Buckingham Palace and ask if they'll give you board and lodgin' for nothin'? Oh, yes, there's goin' to be a lot of goin, about you—I don't fink."

"But I can't—I can't stop here," said Gladys, flushing. "I can't impose on charity."

"Charity? 'Oo talked about charity? There's a lot of charity about me. Oh, yes! But you're goin' to stop 'ere along o' me till you get somethin' to do—for you've got to work for your livin', young lady. I'm not goin' to keep you in idleness, am I, Ma?"

Meg spoke with assumed fierceness, but the smile on her face belied her words.

"I daresay I can find you somethin' to do if I keep my ears open. It won't be

much, but a few shillin' a week is better than nothin', ain't it?"

"Oh, yes, work, work, that's all I want! Just something to do so that I can earn enough to keep myself."

"All right, you shall; just keep quiet for a couple of days and get your strength up. Now then, I've got to get back to work at six o'clock, and I generally have a blow on the tram or 'bus if it's fine, just to get a taste of fresh air, for I tell you that fish shop's a bit stuffy at times. You'll come along with me, won't you? Now then, pop your 'at on, and the breezes'll blow a bit of colour into yer. Back to ten, ma."

On the tram, which took them swiftly through Brixton, up the hill, and then down into the Streatham district, Meg told Gladys briefly but graphically of her work, and practically all about herself. She was employed in a fried fish shop as general attendant and waitress, her wages were twelve shillings a week—pretty good considering the line of trade, but the hours were awkward ones. Sometimes she had to be there at six in the morning to help prepare the fish for the day's cooking, other mornings she was there at ten helping to clean up the place and get ready for the trade, which started at twelve, going on till between two and three, when it slackened off, and at three she was free until six o'clock, when she had to return to the shop for the same routine, as the evenings and nights are busy times for fried fish shops. At twelve o'clock the place was closed, and her day's work was done.

"Yes, twelve bob a week, my dear, and if I go in the early mornin' I get a bit extra, but altogether I make a quid a week—a pound, you know—in this way. I'm a bit popular with the people as buys fish—oh, I don't mind sayin' it, I know I am; I always keep good order, and the Boss says I've helped to back up the trade since I've been there. So I get ten per cent commission, that's two shillin' in the pound, on every pound profit over four pounds that 'e makes in the week—and I tell you, my dear, that a fried fish shop business ain't to be sneezed at. It's makin' a solid eight pounds a week—that means four pounds more than when I went there, so I get the extra eight bob, which makes my wages twenty shillin' a week. Not so bad, eh? But I'm goin'

to strike for a bit more before long; I was after another job last night."

"But surely if he makes eight pounds a week profit he ought to give you more, if you're such a help to him?" said Gladys.

"Oh, 'e can't! 'E borrowed money to go in there. 'E's not a bad sort, and 'e's got 'is mother an' two sisters to keep. Besides, I'm gettin' a bit more than the usual rate of wages as it is. I know exactly 'ow the pay goes. I can manage nicely on a pound a week, but I suppose I'm greedy, because I'm—I'm—well, I'm tryin' to save up for the 'ome."

Meg's rosy face turned a little rosier, and she laid her hand on Gladys' as if wishing for sympathy.

"For the home? Oh, you're going to be married then? I see! How nice, how nice!" said Gladys.

And instinctively her thoughts flew back to the proposal of marriage which she had had, which she remembered then, with a pang of regret, of reproach, that she had never answered. She had left the letter in the little locked cabinet in the house in Kirton Square. Poor Lord Guardene; she might at least have answered his letter! And then it suddenly came home to her how rapidly things had moved. It was such a short while ago since she had been in evening dress in that comfortable house, reading his letter—and now? Well, here she was on a tram with a good-natured Cockney girl, who had practically saved her from starvation.

"You're going to be married! How—how nice! Oh, do tell me, tell me all about him," went on Gladys, with the true interest which every woman, even in the midst of trouble and sorrow, can give to another's love affairs.

"'E's a coster, goes about the street with a barrer with fruit and vegetables, and sometimes fish, accordin' to the seasons. Ah, but 'e don't do 'arf badly for on—as is just startin'." 'E's only two-and-twenty, and 'e's got forty pounds saved up, and I've got ten pounds in the bank too. And we've got our eye on a little shop, just a nice little shop in a good street, with room to live in; but it would cost us eighty pounds to get in there, and then there's the furniture as well, so we ain't goin' to rush it just yet. Oh, 'e's all right, is Ted. 'E ses to me the other day, 'Meg, 'e ses, 'we'll ave that shop before Christmas, you see if we



don't! You must see Ted. 'E generally calls for me o' Sundays. Ain't you got any young man?" went on Meg, with the sudden directness of her class.

Gladys shook her head, though she felt her cheeks crimson, and this time it was not of Lord Guardene that she was thinking, but of a young, stalwart man with a strong face and a voice musical in its rugged depths. She had only seen this young man once, she told herself angrily, and yet here she was blushing as she thought of him.

"Ah, well, 'e'll come along all right!" said Meg. "Now, then, we'll 'op off 'ere and take the tram back."

"Now you go to bed when you like," said Meg to Gladys after they had had their tea. "I shan't be back much before one. Still, I can lie late again to-morrow."

So Gladys sat in the little parlour behind Mrs. Giles's coffee-shop, which consisted of a long, rather low-ceilinged room with high-backed pews running down each side. By eight o'clock the shutters were up, and when the shop was swept and the kitchen closed down, Mrs. Giles prepared some supper for herself and Gladys.

A talkative, cheery little woman was Ma Giles, telling Gladys her whole history, how she could practically afford to retire now but the shop in which she and her husband had spent all their married life had become, as it were, part and parcel of her nature.

"I don't believe in idleness for anyone," she said. "I've got a good many years of lie yet, I hope, and when I can't toddle about and begin to forget what's the right change, then I'll give up and sit in the corner."

"I was thinking," suggested Gladys rather timidly, "that perhaps I could help in your shop if there's enough work for two girls. I saw your girl seemed very busy. You see, Meg wants me to stop here, but I've no money, and I can't impose on her always, you know. Don't you think I could pick it up, Mrs. Giles—the waiting, I mean?"

"Why my dear, that's a splendid idea!" said Mrs. Giles, delightedly. "I was thinking that I should have to have another girl. And my girl doesn't do badly, you know. I give her ten shillings a week and all the food she wants, and she makes quite another ten shillings a week, or a little bit

more, in tips. Oh, yés, there are tips even here in my coffee-shop! Some of the customers who come here are quite well-to-do, foremen on their three and four pounds a week. Why, Jessie—that's my girl—she's going to marry one of them. Now, I'll tell you what I can do. You shall have your bed upstairs with Meg in that room, and I'll give you your food and four shillings a week pocket money—that'll pay for washing and little things. And there'll be your tips as well. Why, I shall have them all fighting about you, I expect! Good job Jessie's engaged, or she'd be jealous. You see, Meg when she can get anybody to share that room upstairs with her—sometimes she has a friend with her, a working girl—pays me half-a-crown a week, and her friend pays me the same, and I don't make any extra charge to her when she hasn't got anybody there. So if you stop I shall look upon you as bringing me in another half-a-crown a week, see? And your food won't cost me much, so I think I'm getting a pretty good bargain out of you."

Which was, of course, not true, as even Gladys in her inexperience knew. She could see that Ma Giles was being kind to her, and tears of gratitude came to her eyes as she leant over and kissed the old lady's wrinkled soft cheek.

"Oh, you are kind, you are good to me! I didn't think there were such kind people in the world!" She said softly. "I don't know where I should have been but for Meg, and then you, too, have been so kind to me, and have come to the rescue."

"My dear," said Mrs. Giles, softly, "I remember reading once that God only lends us money and happiness and prosperity, that we may hold it as a sort of trust for those who are not so well off as ours lives and it's our duty to share it all with others. I think that was rather a nice way of putting it. If you can do a kindness, well, do it, and then very likely it gets passed on to someone else. Good gracious me, how we are gossiping! Why, here's Meg back already! Let me introduce the new waitress, Meg. She starts to-morrow."

"Well, if that aint's a bit of luck!" said Meg, delightedly. "I never thought of that. My, won't the young men be after you!"

And as Gladys lay awake for a while that night her heart was filled with gratitude for the way in which her miseries had

been lifted from her. She regretted not for an instant the life of luxury, the comforts, the money, the position she had left behind, for deep down in her heart there was still burning the fire of righteous indignation which had been kindled by the shameful proposal of old Raymes when he had suggested that she should marry his son, whom she hardly knew, that she should endow him with her money and property so that he could get on in the world, or else that she should be forced to fight for her belongings in the law courts and that he would strain every nerve to try and ruin her. Not for an instant did she regret

now the steps she had taken to relinquish everything. She had kept her pride unsullied, her dignity untouched. And yet—and yet—ah! there was always a yet or a but in her thoughts—the face of the man, the young man who had been held out by his father as a prospective husband, a husband to be forced upon her, was still in her mental vision, and Gladys tried to be angry with herself for thinking so much of him, but before she went to sleep the attempt at anger had turned to a smile, and when the moon threw a passing glimpse in at the window the smile was still there.

(To be continued)

## A WESTERN BIOGRAPHICAL STUDY OF RABINDRA NATH TAGORE \*

MR Ernest Rhys the Editor of Everyman's Library, was one of the little band of literary admirers in England who became devotedly attached to the poet Rabindranath during his last visit there. His intense admiration for the writer of the 'Gitanjali' has stirred him to the ambitious task of being the poet's biographer and critic a task which few of the poet's own countrymen here can venture to undertake even if they be fully equipped with all possible material. For the same difficulties which will confront a writer if he takes up a biographical study of a complex personality like that of Goethe or Browning, are present here also. It is extremely difficult for any one to take an adequate measure of the vast sweep of their intellect the penetrative insight of their imagination into the subtlest and obscurest workings of human nature, their cosmic sympathy with all Nature and life and all types of human culture and the complexity of their moods and emotions. The various phases and vicissitudes through which their life passed are bewildering to think of; at every step contradictions dog the path, the main thread is so often missed among the tangled skein.

That Mr Rhys has taken upon himself such an arduous task out of genuine admiration for his master and friend is certainly worthy of praise. But unfortunately his attempt is not a successful one. He has failed to fulfil our expectations. He is insufficient and incorrect in material, his views and reviews of many works of Rabindranath are one-sided and worked up. He has not even been able to give his readers a connected account of the poet's life or a chronological survey of his various works. This much at least could be expected of a biographer. For instance, there is hardly any mention of the poet's married life, of his relation to his wife and children

and friends. There is no mention whatsoever of his political and public activities, his share in the great National Movement of Bengal. The picture of Rabindranath as the saint with childlike simplicity and innocence keeping away from modern city life with all its excitements and restlessness and seeking shelter in Nature for peace and repose, seems to be obsessing throughout. It is however a one-sided picture. There may be a poetical softness and mellowness about it but it conceals the true picture and takes away a large portion of the stern manhood of Rabindranath whose militant figure has been too well conspicuous on many an occasion in Bengal to be so quickly forgotten. He has ever been a fighter and even now he is so. He fought hard against neo-Hinduism when he was almost in his teens. His cutting and biting satires were hurled against a host of Bengali writers who had spent all their energies in bolstering up social and religious superstitions and abuses under the protection of modern science or rather pseudo-science. He was hailed as the 'uncrowned king' and leader at the time of the Swadeshi Movement, when his utterances, no less than his songs were outspoken incisive, uncompromising and burning with love of the Motherland. And now the same incisive and penetrative criticism is being applied by him to the outstanding evils and abuses with which the present day society of Bengal is fraught for the poet has grasped this truth that there can be no political upheaval without a social regeneration. But in vain shall we ask ourselves 'where is this role of the picture of Rabindranath in Mr Rhys's biographical sketch? Except the short stories the very large amount of the prose writings of Rabindranath far far exceeding that of his poetry, has hardly been touched upon. His satires, his humorous writings, his art-criticisms, his social and political addresses have been altogether left out. Will any one from Mr Rhys's biography, know what a supreme art critic and literary critic Rabindranath is, what a master of humour and satire is, no way inferior to

\* Rabindranath Tagore: A Biographical study by Ernest Rhys published by Macmillan & Co. Price 7s. Nett

the very best satirists and humorists of the west, and what a powerful and thoughtful writer on social subjects he is? Mr Rhys has not given the slightest hint to his readers that in spite of being a poet of such superb type, as a historian, a political thinker, and a social philosopher, Rabindranath's position is great and unquestionable, in Bengal.

Of course, that Mr Rhys is an Englishman who has never been to Bengal and can have had no access to Bengali literature and journals not knowing the language at all, may justly entitle him to some allowances for all the defects mentioned above. He cannot possibly give his readers the atmosphere of either the outward nature of Bengal or its inward intellectual life, in which the poet has lived and moved and which has affected and been, in its turn, reflected by him. But he might have gathered more facts. He might have been more correct about the facts he has already used. In the chapter on 'Short stories' on p. 53, he happens to mention the 'Wednesday Review' and the 'Hindustan Review' as the most important periodicals in which the poet's short stories appeared. These two periodicals published translations of one or two of Tagore's short stories. As a biographer, who is supposed to have hunted up all possible sources of information, he should have known the name of the 'Modern Review', which is being published from Calcutta and in which a much larger number of translations of the poet's essays, social, political and historical short stories, novels, criticisms, etc., have appeared from time to time and very often serially. Then he might have inquired whether any criticisms or appreciations of Rabindranath's works could be got in Bengali literature and he might have persuaded some Bengali friend of his to translate them for his use. All these omissions are grave indeed, they have made the quality of his work suffer a very great deal.

Mr Rhys has not even correctly mentioned the names of some of Rabindranath's works—on p. 16, of his book for instance he desired evidently to mention 'Chitrangada' and 'Visarjan'—the two well known plays of Rabindranath but the names have suffered distortion at his hands as 'chitvargada' and 'visayan'. Mr Rhys would have done well if he had submitted his manuscript before sending it to the press to some one, thoroughly acquainted with the poet's life and his works. Similar mistakes in the use of proper names we have noticed in other places.

Rabindranath may have read Vaishnava poetry in his boyhood and imitated it when he first experimented at verse-making but to trace its influence and inspiration further into his works conjures up a fanciful semblance between Vaishnava poetry and Rabindranath's poetry, which in reality does not exist. The spirit of Gitanjali is as far removed from that of the songs of Chandidas and Vidyapati and the spirit of Nimai or Chaitanya Deva, (who however, was no poet, although he has been christened so by the imagination of Mr Rhys) as the Hebrew Psalms are with their central conception of a distant, far off God. The God of the popular Bengali Vaishnava poet is practically finite, he is incarnate in flesh. Rabindranath's God is infinite, but interpenetrating all finite forms and feelings, experiences and modes of life so that they become ever new symbols to express His infinitude. Like the poetry of religious sentimentalism elsewhere, popular Vaishnava poetry in Bengal also had the element of erotic and sexual passions wrought into the texture of its symbolism through and through so that the genesis of it must have been in the natural instincts of man.

But in the later process of symbolisation, the passions and emotions, or 'Rasas' as Vaishnavas call them, were raised to the transcendent, divine plane. Every devout and orthodox Vaishnava knows that Radha and the milkmaids and cowherds, yea, the whole paraphernalia of Vrinda forest, are parts of the Divine Lila or God's sportive energy. They are in no way counterparts of the human, or they have no human counterparts. They are spiritual abstractions and cannot be related to mundane life, cannot be vitalised into living experiences. Rabindranath's symbolism is entirely different from it. His emotions are the emotions of life. He fuses the moods, passions, susceptibilities, experiences, thoughts and intuitions of the psycho-physical life into one harmonious whole and lifts that whole to the plane of spirituality. Popular Bengali Vaishnava poetry, divested of the vesture of spiritual symbolism, degenerates into grossly sensual and voluptuous poetry. Its symbolism, on the other hand, makes it unhuman and abstract. Rabindranath's symbolism vitalises all human feelings and experiences and all thoughts, for the parts are seen, *sub specie aeternitatis*, in the light of the whole. Rabindranath is, therefore, more allied to the modern poets and seers like Browning, Whitman, Edward Carpenter, Francis Thompson, A. E. etc. than to the Vaishnava poets. Rather his kinship of spirit may be observed with some of the mediæval Indian religious poets like Kavi, Nanak, Dadu etc., with of course modern notes of difference, the difference chiefly consisting in having a greater sense of the real. Rabindranath's love songs, some of which have been translated, in the 'Gardener' (very feebly and inadequately we must say, stripped of the music and charms of verse and richness of imagery) have no affinity of any kind with Vaishnava poetry. They are intensely human and they are to be compared, if comparison is necessary at all, to the European love poetry of Shelley, Keats, Tennyson, Browning, Dante, Goethe, Heine, and Victor Hugo.

The very great moulding influence exercised on the poet by his father the great Maharshi is nowhere discernible in Mr Rhys's book.

The only chapters in the whole book, which are somewhat faithful and accurate, are those on short stories and on Shantiniketan. In short stories I think Rabindranath has been fitly and justly compared by the author with Flaubert and Turgenev, although he is far superior to either of them. He has the fine artistic execution, the delicacy of handling the theme of the French artists, but he is more imaginative, he goes deeper into the essentials of human nature, and consequently, he is more universal. He is imaginative and elusive like Poe and Hawthorne at their best, and evokes moods of the soul, longings vague and vast, in the very thick of a dramatic representation of life.

In another chapter, entitled 'the Playwright,' Mr Rhys has fallen into the commonplace error of most English readers that Rabindranath has written none but symbolical plays like the King of the Dark Chamber and the Post Office etc. The symbolical play series are almost the latest of his works. They are in a line with 'Gitanjali' and 'Sadhana'. In his earlier literary life, the poet wrote plays like the 'Raja O Rani' and the 'Visarjan' which were not lacking in ordinary stage effect. Some of his other former plays were lyrical and some of them were farces. But all these earlier plays were realistic, and dealt with living men and women with their passions and conflicts, culminating in a tragedy or comedy of life.

symbolical series are however absolutely new in India, and so Mr Rhys has made another mistake in thinking that the tendency which marks them is to be found generally in Indian playwrights. They owe their origin rather to modern western symbolical dramas. Rabindranath's individual stamp and depth of spiritual vision have moulded them of course to a new type of symbolical drama, the type of the drama of idealistic symbolism distinct from Maeterlinck and others.

The refreshing feature however, in Mr Rhys's book is his unbounded admiration and enthusiasm for his master and his book is a delightful read on that account. The author has sincerely striven to enter into the spirit of the East, the real life of Bengal. His book will therefore serve to interpret Rabindranath's message to the West for there are unmistakable signs in it that the author himself has been deeply inspired by the poet's teachings.

AJIT KUMAR CHAKRAVARTY

## FAITH

Trust all in His own hands your life on earth,  
And that vast future life now veiled from sight  
And He shall lead you into the way of peace

Ye shall be led with joy with songs of praise  
Through cloud and gloom your glad songs shall arise,  
And in the darkness ye shall see the light

The darkness breaks before the eyes of faith  
The light of morning shines upon the face  
Of those who walk in fellowship with God

They walk in confidence and radiant trust  
And ever, as the outward world grows dim,  
The inner light shines brighter day by day

As when at early dawn, the rising sun  
With glorious beams breaks through the shades of night,  
Calling all nature to awake and sing —

So in old age the children of the light  
Behold the first beams of the perfect day  
Of their eternal peace and endless joy

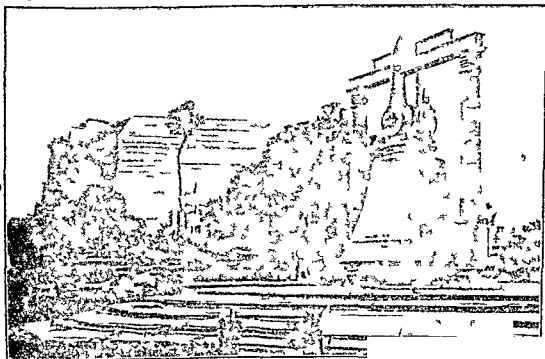
ENGLAND 1917

J E ANDREWS

## MANDALAY

**M**ANDALAY was the old capital of Burma. This town was first constructed in 1857 during the reign of King Mindon Min. It is about 386 miles by rail from Rangoon. This Railway line was first opened in 1889. The station building is thus old. Yet it cannot lay any claim to picturesqueness. As soon as we cross the station building a small

round garden with a few crotons around it comes into our view. On the left side of the road close to the station are situated the Dak Bungalow and the General Hospital the latter enclosed within a beautiful garden. The circumference of the town is larger than that of Rangoon. The town extends west from the old city or Fort Dufferin to the river bank, and



THE SHWEDAGON PAGODA AND MINGOON BELI

The huge bell measures 15 Outs de diameter—16 3 Ins de diameter 10 Outs de height 11 6 Outs de height 12 The weight of the bell is 80 tons

south as far as Shanzu the next station south of Mandalay where is the famous

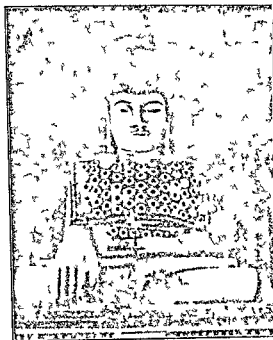
Mahamuni or Arahman Pagoda so called from the town in Arakan whence the lofty image inside was brought overland by King Bodaw Thaya in 1784. There are similar suburbs on the east and north of

Fort Dufferin. The Zayat Kyauungs graves and pagodas in all number twenty six. They have increased the beauty of the town.

On the way just after passing the Shanzu station I had a glimpse of many mango trees. I was told that these are the famous Hnetch mango plantations. In Rangoon the majority of the populace relish these fruits which are sold so cheap as at the rate of Rs 2 to 4 per hundred. Indian mangoes are also available in Rangoon but only the rich can afford to buy them. In fact vegetables are sold cheap at Mandalay and the production of paddy and other crops has been facilitated owing to the construction of the Mandalay Canal. A variety of vegetables, fruits and betels etc. are supplied from Madaya which is about 14 miles from



Burmese Idol Maker



Kyanktaw Gy (one piece of marble) Mandalay

Mandalay The Madaya rice is also famous in Burma. In addition to this the wooden boxes, chairs and other furniture, silk flowers and lacquer work articles are found in large quantities in the Mandalay Shadar Bazar which is situated in the heart of the town. Different stalls are allotted for the sale of multifarious articles and separate sheds are also used as fish, vegetable and meat markets. Many small shops are managed by the fair sex who display greater skill in business than the Burman male.

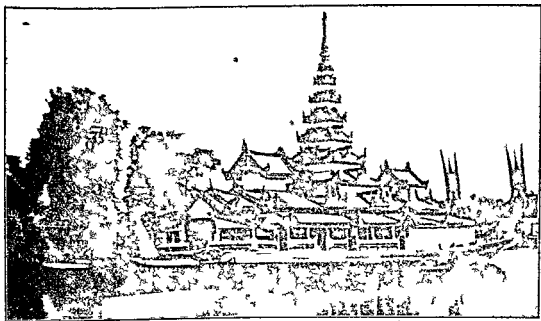
If we omit some of the Government offices and the B and C roads where big shops and other beautiful buildings are located, most of the houses are of wood and are scattered. To some of them their tamarind trees and grass plots lend a rural character. A few steps from the station is the electric tramway by which the Public offices can be reached. The Mandalay Training School was established a few years ago and the premises are worth seeing. Space will not permit me to describe fully the beauty of other important Government buildings.

Electric trams run from the station to the Court House  $\frac{3}{4}$  mile, to the Zaygyo

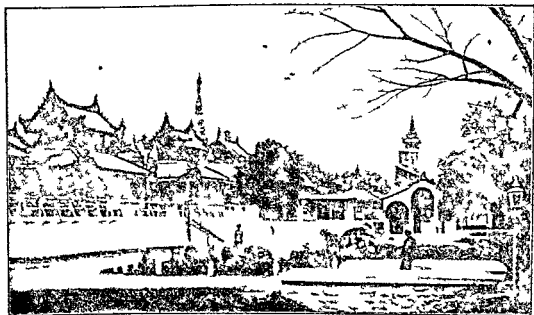
or big Bazaar  $\frac{3}{4}$  mile to the steamer wharf  $2\frac{1}{2}$  miles and to the Arkan pagoda 3 miles. Besides this there are carriages of different kinds used for various purposes. As the town is a big one the traffic does not seem to obstruct the thoroughfares anywhere. Most of the roads are metalled. The towers and pinnacles of the different pagodas and Kyaungs are noticed in many parts of the town. From behind the Courts the hills on the other side of the Irrawaddy can be seen uneven and grass covered. People say that during the Burmese suzerainty in the evenings magnificent spots glittering with gold and rubies were seen frequently appearing on the body of the hills for a few minutes as if to convince the people of the wealth and grandeur of this seat of the kings.

Different Clubs and Hotels are located in conspicuous places and arrangements have been made therein for the comforts of the visitors. The Hindu population has increased considerably. Many of the Ponnah Brahmans were brought from Manipur and Western Bengal to work as astrologers. They have by this time settled here for good. As usual in a big town like this the population is somewhat cosmopolitan. In 1886 there were only 6000 houses inside the Fort and 24 000 outside it and the population far exceeded that of Rangoon town. Owing to the rapid increase of commerce and trade Rangoon has now become the third seaport in India with a population of 2 933 316 whereas the present population of Mandalay is only 138 299.

Fort Dufferin is about half a mile away to the north east side of the railway station. Canals were dug out on all sides of the fort. In these canals a very great number of water fruits are grown every year and almost the whole surface of the water is spread over with leaves and roots of these water plants. The moat and the canals within the Palace walls were supplied from Yitana nadi canal (it is situated to the north east of Mandalay) and on its banks the king had a temporary palace built whither he made pleasure trips in the royal boats with his queens, the royal children and the state officials. The king also ordered many of the ministers and town officers to enclose gardens and make plantations on the waste land to the east of this canal. This was accordingly done.

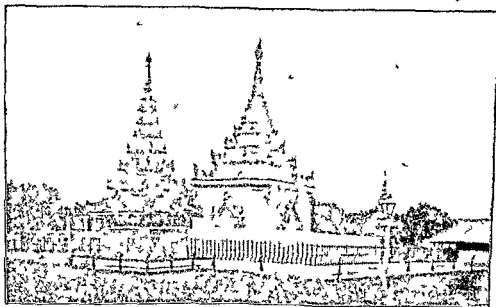


King Theebaw's State Barge



THE WATCH TOWER AND THE PALACE GROUNDS MANDALAY

The Watch Tower is on the right of the picture. King Theebaw used to watch the city from the Tower. He could not go to the palace for fear of assassins.



Mandoon M s To

and the fruit and other produce was regularly given to the monks of Mandalay. The former suspension bridge over the canal has now been converted into an ordinary bridge and a road has been constructed over it leading to the fort. The enclosure of the fort is surrounded by a high brick wall and piles of earth are attached to these walls so that cannon balls may not break the walls and make an entrance to the palace. One small hut was found over the wall just near the entrance of the fort which was constructed for the sentinels. The circumference of the fort is  $1\frac{1}{4}$  square miles. It has four gates. The old palace or "centre of the universe" was formerly surrounded by a wall and stockade about 3 furlongs square. The straight round wooden pillars which support the roof of the palace are about 200 feet high. The wood work on the walls and the pinnacles which are studded with gold are extremely beautiful and evince the artistic skill of the Burmans of that age. Now an English Club has been built on the right side of the road, and on the left side the ruins of the old palace carry back ones mind to the past. The palace is divided into many halls including the Durbar halls of kings and queens and lodgings of

U Khan Dee (Yathce)  
Mandalay Hill



their servants both male and female. Besides this there are the reading rooms, bed rooms, play rooms, private chambers, dancing halls and walking halls. Here and there small arch-like bridges and artificial reservoirs had been constructed and a pond of lotus flowers lies at a reasonable distance from the palace. The halls are vacant now. What seems to be strange is that the thresholds of some rooms are comparatively high and interfere to some extent with easy passage. The throne of the king is now kept in the Calcutta Museum. The raised brick seat on which the king used to sit was shown to me. Behind this seat there is a small door which was utilised as an entrance to the durbar seat from the inner chamber. The Durbar hall is big enough to hold several hundreds of people. The people were required to make *shiko*\* from the front gate of the durbar hall when entering the royal presence. The pinnacle of the palace has been broken; I know not

whether it has been repaired yet by the Archaeological Department. Every year a handsome amount is being spent for the repair of Pagodas and buildings of antiquity in the Mandalay Division. For instance in 1910-11 the Archaeological Department spent Rs 23,075 for this purpose. A part of the palace compound is now being utilised for the Commissariat office and Jails; and some officers are kept in separate quarters under the command of a Military Officer.

The grave of King Mindaon Min is beautiful. A white pillar with a fine dome stands over the grave. In the Museum the exact statues of kings, queens, commander-in-chiefs, ministers and their families and servants are kept as a relic of the past. A few separate statues which are not quite similar in appearance to the above with the dress of king and queen and the Commander-in-chief have also formed a part of this museum. The monument stands close to it.

Burma.

N. K. DAS GUPTA.

\* *Shiko* is kneeling down with joined hands

## H. H. THE MAHARAJA-GAEKWAR'S ADMINISTRATIVE RECORD \*

### II. HOW HIS HIGHNESS PREPARED HIMSELF FOR HIS LIFE-WORK.

IMMEDIATELY upon coming into power, at the end of 1881, His Highness the Maharaja-Gaekwar set out to prepare himself for the great work that Providence had entrusted to him. A little more than 35 years have elapsed since then. The ill-read, inexperienced youth of 18 is a grey-haired man of affairs whose knowledge and erudition command the respect of the world. But to-day as in 1881, His Highness continues to increase his efficiency as man and as administrator, with enthusiasm that has refused to be dulled by age.

The first step that the Maharaja-Gaekwar decided to take in order to prepare himself to govern his large and populous

State was to become personally acquainted with the land that belonged to him and with the people who owed allegiance to him. With characteristic vigour, he determined to go to the farthest corners of his Dominions, and to examine his territory inch by inch. With marvellous patience he resolved to know every race, tribe, caste, and class of his subjects in thickly populated districts and in jungle regions, and to learn in what conditions—material, moral, physical, mental, social and spiritual—they abided. He vowed that he would, as he went along, redress on the spot, all grievances that could be immediately removed and that he would bring back with him written and unwritten memoranda for mature deliberation and final action.

What a serious minded, conscientious, painstaking, and far-seeing young man His Highness must have been to formulate

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H. H. The Maharaja Gaekwar as he looked at the time he took the administration of Baroda in his own hands at the end of 1881 such a comprehensive programme for himself!

It was much easier to form such a high ambition than to realise it. The Maharaja Sahib was not a student. He was the ruler of an important State responsible for peace and order for the collection of taxes for dispensing justice for the care of existing public works and the building of others for the spread of knowledge among his people for the promotion of their prosperity and happiness. His power was not limited by any constitution and there was no legislative assembly elected or nominated to supervise the administration or even partially to relieve His Highness of his responsibility.

The Government of India of whom he was faithfully served had its Agent stationed at his Capital who was on the watch to see that the administrative machinery did

not become clogged or get out of order. Any one among His Highness's subjects who had a real or imaginary grievance was likely to find his way to the British Residency and to magnify a mole hill into a mountain.

Shortly after being invested with administrative powers the Maharaja Sahib took a momentous action that greatly increased his responsibility. Raja Sir T. Madhava Row who had carried on the administration under the supervision of the British Agent and with his assistance during the six years of the minority regime was worked out of his position and a new Premier (Kazi Shahabudin who at the time was Revenue Minister) was appointed in his place.



Kazi Shahabudin  
Premier of Baroda

It is said that Raja Sir T. Madhava Row was made to resign his high position because the palace party—as it was called—wanted to come into power and had therefore determined to get rid of him. There is an element of truth in this statement. I find that the Raja Sahib had offended many persons—unwittingly I believe by the manner in which he exercised authority and by his general behaviour. I have reason to think that His Highness

was himself among the men who had been thus offended

It was moreover charged against the Prime Minister that during the Ruler's minority he had permanently committed the State to certain arrangements with the British Government that ought to have been left for His Highness to settle after he came of age. It is not necessary for the present purpose to rake up old ashes in order to adjudge whether Raja Sir T. Madhava Row should or should not have made these concessions. It is sufficient to state that many influential persons in Baroda made great capital out of these commitments and their agitation was at least partially responsible for Madhava Row's exit from the State.

My own view is that had this great Indian administrator not made a single mistake during the minority regime and not made a single enemy he still would have had to go. The Maharaja Sahib was masterful at 18. He wanted a change in the administration because he wished himself to rule and did not want to have his State ruled by another person. From the enquiries that I have made it is quite clear that Raja Sir T. Madhava Row realised His Highness's ambition and that he was not altogether insensible to the generous settlement that the Maharaja Sahib made on his retirement from Baroda service.

Raja Sir T. Madhava Row had not been able to make any great departure from the traditional system of administration that centralises all power in the Maharaja or during his minority in the chief executive and makes it necessary even for responsible Ministers to ask his sanction before the smallest changes can be introduced or petty sums of money expended. As soon as he took the reins of government in his own hands the Maharaja Sahib had to give his attention to unending matters of detail which if left to accumulate would in the course of a short time clog the wheels of the administration. His Highness had therefore to evolve a scheme that would enable him to discharge his manifold duties while he was becoming acquainted with the land and people he ruled. Furthermore he wished to continue his studies to satisfy his craving for knowledge.

Fortunately His Highness possessed a vigorous body as well as ambition. He rose at day break and retired late at

night and crowded the intervening hours with examining State papers, interviewing officials and other visitors inspecting offices and public sites and studying books and human nature.

The Maharaja Gaekwar spent about a year at the Capital after he began to administer Baroda. During this time he learned every part of the machinery of the central government. He met high and low officials employed at Baroda, asked them all manner of questions and encouraged them to tell him their difficulties to point out defects and to suggest remedies. He also went to nearby villages to examine local institutions and to meet village officials and simple rural folk. His plain language and his gentle, kindly manner touched all hearts and made them all give him their confidence.

The Maharaja Sahib was anxious to know the working of all departments of State and therefore his inquiries embraced them all. His fine analytical mind separated the essentials from the non-essentials and he never rested until he understood the first principles of every matter that engaged his attention.

Finance seemed from the very first to arouse his greatest interest. He wanted to know every detail concerning each head of the State balance sheet. He never tired of inquiring into the history of each source of revenue. He displayed tireless patience in mastering the complicated system of accounting that was in vogue at the time. But for such labour His Highness would never have been able to carry out the financial reforms that he did in later years and without which he would not have succeeded in making his subjects contented and happy and in finding the money to develop education and sanitation to build public works to improve the pay and prospects of public servants to undertake costly surveys and to aid industry and agriculture.

Towards the end of 1882—less than a year from the time he had been invested with ruling powers—His Highness set out on an expedition to investigate conditions outside the Capital and its immediate environs. He went to Kadi Pattan, the northern Division (*Prant*) of his State. He visited all the places of historical and archaeological interest in which it abounds all the headquarters of the Sub Divisions



H. H. The Maharaja Gaekwar as he looked in 1886 during his first visit to Panshet

(Talukas) and a number of representative villages.

Wherever he went he carefully examined the administrative offices, works of public utility, schools and religious and charitable institutions. He looked into the records of the local officers and inspected the police force.

The leading members of the various communities in each town and village that he visited were invited to meet him and

he encouraged them to tell him their grievances, hopes and aspirations. He took special pains to ask craftsmen to show him specimens of their work and gave a dress of honour to every one who showed any signs of extraordinary talent. He rode out into the farming districts and conversed informally with the villagers.

When he came back to Baroda after spending two months in Kadi Pattan he had formed an accurate idea of how officials carried on administration and how the people lived and worked in that Division. He also knew what reforms were needed to make Government more efficient and humane and to develop its natural resources.

A little over a year after his return to the Capital His Highness went on tour in the Naosari Division. Here again he visited all places of interest, all subdivisional towns and many typical villages.

Some of the places to which he went were in the heart of forests which cover a considerable portion of that Division. The primitive people would flee in terror at His Highness's approach but finally by the persuasion of gentle manners the Ruler gained their confidence and they shyly approached him. He patiently drew out of them the story of their difficulties and handicaps and what he thus learned he carefully talked with personal observation of their life and methods.

During 1884 and 1885 His Highness visited parts of the Baroda Division that he had not seen before. His mode of investigation was just as searching and thorough as in the previous trips that had preceded this one.

Towards the end of December 1886 the Maharaja Sahib left Baroda for a month's tour in the portion of his territory situated in Kathiawar. He visited the Sub-Divisional head quarters and went into the country everywhere making careful enquiries in matters pertaining to the administration and the welfare of his subjects. He held many Darbars which were attended by local notables who were given the opportunity to speak to him. He went among the people and had informal talks with them.

Thus in five years from the time the Maharaja Sahib came into power he had visited every Division of his State and had seen with his own eyes how administration was carried on and how his subjects

lived and fared in every part of his Dominions. In many parts no previous Maharaja had been seen and the joy of the populace at seeing their Ruler was therefore unbounded. His Highness's democratic ways and his evident sincerity drew all hearts to him and in many places the subjects subscribed of their own free will small sums of money to welcome him.

These tours therefore served a double object. They enabled the Maharaja Sahib to see his State and subjects and at the same time they afforded the people the opportunity to see their Ruler.

His Highness has continued this practice of paying periodical visits to various parts of his State and observing the changes for the better or for the worse that have taken place. He has adhered to his policy of mixing freely with the people and encouraging them to tell him their tales of woe.

As years have passed by his manner of dress and speech has become simpler and simpler. One has but to compare the tours that he made in the eighties of the last century with recent ones to realize how completely he has divested himself of pomp and splendour.

When he went out on his first tour in 1882 he was accompanied by 2367 officers, nobles and attendants who took 910 animals with them including elephants, camels, horses and oxen. Large encampments were erected to house the party wherever His Highness went. The Maharaja Sahib's jewels and an extensive wardrobe were taken along. So elaborate were the arrangements made on this occasion that His Highness found a whole tent exclusively devoted to his footwear. Hundreds of pairs of shoes among them slippers that he had worn when he was a boy of thirteen or fourteen were arranged along the canvas walls. When he enquired why these cast-off articles had been brought, the simple-minded attendant replied that he had been anxious to provide against His Highness asking for something that had been left behind. During the three tours that he made subsequent to this, often 2000 persons moved about in his camp and 1000 carts were needed to convey three separate sets of camp furniture.

No such thing happens now. His Highness does not take any ornamental figures in his suite and the number of

officers and attendants is kept as low as possible.

When I accompanied His Highness on his visit to Amreli in 1911 there were less than a score of persons in the party, and the Maharaja Sahib wore the plainest clothes and no jewellery. His Highness was up every morning hours before I was awake and had ridden 20 or 30 miles into the country talking with the people he met as he rode along before *dejeuner* at 11 o'clock. After that meal was over His Highness received officials asking them searching questions and calling for explanations concerning mistakes that had been found by a competent staff that had been sent to investigate records or listening to complaints against local officials by word of mouth or written applications made by individuals who believed themselves to have been wronged. (In a prominent place outside the building where His Highness stayed was a large letter box in which any one could drop a petition addressed to the Maharaja Sahib who insisted upon every one being read out to him in whole or in *precis* form.) Later in the afternoon he gave audience to deputations local gentry and persons who had made serious charges against officials. He often saw persons or attended to other work in the evening after dinner.

Sometimes the routine was varied and the whole afternoon was spent outside opening a school or holding a Darbar in some town or village. His Highness spoke at these meetings in a simple unaffected manner that went to the heart of his hearers.

I shall never forget to the end of my days a gathering that he addressed in a small place some ten miles out of Amreli (Kathwar). His theme was education. He told the people that he had made primary education compulsory so that the rising generation would grow in knowledge instead of ignorance and learn to perform duties in a more efficient manner than did their parents and be happier. By homely illustration he impressed upon the audience the moral and material benefits that resulted from education. Then he went on to say that he was the Ruler of all his people and not of Hindus alone or merely of the high castes and that he wanted all his subjects without distinction of race, creed or caste to derive the benefits that flowed from education. He

eloquently pleaded that the so-called "untouchables" should not be deprived of these blessings because men who deemed themselves to be better born entertained prejudices against their sitting in the same room with them.

After His Highness had sat down, a lad belonging to the "untouchable" classes got up and read a paper in which he paid tribute to the Maharaja Sahib's efforts to raise persons belonging to the low born orders. I never saw his Highness more affected than by the gratitude shown by this member of a down-trodden people.

On another occasion, during the same tour, I heard His Highness speak to a number of young men who were being trained to fill the posts of village headmen (*patels*). He told them that Baroda was an aggregation of villages, and that unless the villages were justly and efficiently governed, there could not be good government in the State, and the people could not be happy and contented. It, therefore, rested very largely with these young men and others who would fill the positions of village headmen and accountants, to keep his subjects satisfied with the administration. The progress of his subjects depended very much upon the influence that the village officials exerted inducing the people to take the fullest advantage of the educational facilities that had been provided by the State, in promoting sanitation and works of public utility, and in developing the co-operative spirit that would impel the people to combine in organizations for their mutual benefit. Village officials, he added, could do much to induce farmers to use better implements and methods of agriculture, which would increase the yield per acre and improve the quality of the crops that were grown. They could also, he went on to say, influence the artisans to make improvements, and thereby increase their efficiency and, incidentally, their income. He expected them to take pride in the posts that they would soon occupy, and to make themselves centres of progress.

Six years have passed by since I heard these words uttered, but the impression that they made upon the audience is still fresh in my mind. It appeared to me that the Maharaja-Gaekwar had made these young fellows feel that they were going to be his fellow-workers in the responsible task of administering a large

State, and that he looked to them for help to make his efforts successful.

What greater motive-power than this can be made to bear upon the progress of any community?

I have taken pains to relate these reminiscences to show how the tours that His Highness made from time to time in order to become acquainted with conditions prevailing in various parts of his Dominions gave him opportunities to prepare his subjects for reforms and to popularise reforms, and that he always took the fullest advantage of these duties. His flow of language, his readiness of wit, and his earnestness have conquered opposition that might have proved stubborn if left to grow on unchecked.

To return to the topic of this article :

After His Highness had made a careful study of his own State and subjects, he took every opportunity that he could find to go to various parts of India to become acquainted with the people and institutions that existed there. Everywhere he went, he moved about in cultured circles, and asked for information on all manner of subjects, and for suggestions that could be applied by him in Baroda. It would take pages of this Review to jot down the names of the places that he visited in India, and of the persons with whom he conversed, and for that reason, if for no other, I refrain from burdening this article with such details.

A restless mind like that of His Highness, ever searching for knowledge, could never be contented with travel within the bounds of India. Indeed, even before he had taken the administration of Baroda into his own hands, he had formed the desire to cross the oceans and to see for himself the people and institutions about which his tutor had told him, and descriptions of which he had read in the books he had devoured. As years passed, and he travelled in his State and in India, this longing became intensified.

A generation ago, Hindu society entertained violent prejudices against foreign travel. Few Hindus belonging to the upper classes had crossed the black water. Certainly no Maharaja of His Highness's standing had journeyed to Europe or America.

When the Maharaja Sahib began gently to hint to his family and his attendants that he intended to go abroad, all sorts of objections were raised. All were united in

saying that he would lose caste, and some expressed the fear that he might become converted to Christianity. The ignorant believed that he would be held captive by the British, and never be allowed to return to his State.

His Highness has always known how to keep his own council and takes no notice of silly rumours. He said little about going abroad. When he was ready to go, he made arrangements for the conduct of the administration under the watchful eye of a very sympathetic British Resident, and sailed for Europe in May of 1887.

His trip to the West might have been deferred for years but for the urgent advice of his doctors that he seek change of scene and rest from administrative strain. In his zeal to study and to carry on the Government, he had driven himself so hard that even his strong body could not bear the pressure to which he subjected it. Indian and European doctors were consulted, but their medicine failed to effect a cure. The remedy that His Highness needed the most was rest and change, and that he could not obtain so long as he stayed in Baroda, or even in India. Off he went to Europe, therefore, with the double object of recruiting his health and gaining experience that would enable him to increase his efficiency as an administrator.

It is unnecessary to give his itinerary. Suffice it to say that he did not content himself with merely seeing sights. He closely examined political, social, educational, religious, charitable, and commercial institutions in Britain and on the Continent. He met many distinguished persons, and frankly asked them for information concerning men and matters. He kept in close touch with what was happening in Baroda, carefully read reports sent to him, and promptly communicated his decision on important matters that could not be settled without reference to him.

On his return to Baroda in February, 1888, His Highness yielded to the entreaties of his family and performed *praschit* (purificatory penance). He saw no harm in spending a small sum of money to feed a few persons and to pay them for mumbling set formulas. He gave allowances to every Hindu who had accompanied him to Europe to meet the cost of the same ritual.

The resumption of administrative work

brought on another attack of insomnia, and His Highness had to fly back to Europe shortly after his return from the Occident. He did not stay long, however, and on his return he did not perform any penance.

Illness again compelled him to go on a long sea-voyage in 1892. He returned to his State after a few months, but had to go back to Europe once again in 1893. He set his face homewards in less than six months, only to leave again towards the end of December of the same year. On this occasion he spent about 13 months away from home, not reaching Baroda until February, 1895. For during forty months between the end of 1887 and the beginning of 1895 His Highness was away from Baroda, either on the sea or travelling in foreign lands. But he did not spend his days in idleness, wooing back sleep and health. As he went about in Europe from country to country, he tried to gain an insight into the manners and customs of the various peoples, and into their mental and spiritual outlook. He took great pains to collect data that would enable him to reform his administration and to increase the usefulness and happiness of his subjects.

During subsequent years His Highness made several trips to Europe, and went once around the globe either in pursuit of rest and recreation, or for purposes of study and observation. No matter with what motive he went, he turned his tour to good account by widening his mental outlook and extending his knowledge.

The reforms that he ordered made in the course of these tours and after his return to Baroda show the beneficence of foreign travel. It is interesting to note that the necessity of making education compulsory was brought home to him by observing the benefits conferred upon Western communities by the diffusion of knowledge.

What His Highness has learned through travel has been supplemented by study of choice books and periodical literature. He keeps in close touch with the publishing world, and is a large buyer of books, reviews, magazines, papers and maps. He devotes his leisure to reading and when he is wakeful at night a reader sits beside his bed, reading by the aid of a tiny light that illuminates the pages of the book he is reading, but does not disturb the Maharaja Sahib.

His Highness is fond of asking experts

in various subjects—economics, philosophy, religion, etc—to deliver lectures to him, and invites distinguished persons to Baroda so that he may benefit from their company.

His questions are not easy to answer, and he has a habit of making you talk until in an hour he has learned from you what you may have taken years to acquire. He is often not satisfied with what you have told him, and asks for a written memorandum that he can study at leisure, and may be, later, subjects you to another grilling examination. I wonder if the man who can successfully conceal his ignorance from the Maharaja Gaekwar has been born!

In his middle age, he did not spare pains to improve his hand writing, which was very much neglected during his youth. He devoted an hour every day, for more than a year, copying mottoes in exercise books.

A Maharaja who could impose such a task upon himself after he had passed the thirty fifth mile stone of his life, would not spare himself to learn any subject that he believed might help him to improve the condition of his people.

My acquaintance with the world's great men and women is fairly large but I do not know anyone who has a greater capacity for taking pains, and who does not shirk any labour, no matter how exacting than His Highness the Maharaja Gaekwar. Had he not troubled to acquire an insight into human nature, and a grasp of human institutions and had he not devoted himself single mindedly to investigating conditions in Baroda and finding and applying remedies to improve them, the reforms of which I write in the articles that follow would never have been effected.

## REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF BOOKS

### ENGLISH

*PRINCIPLES OF TANTRA, Part II The Tantra tattva of Shriyukta Shrivachandra Vidyarnava Rhatlacharya Mahodaya with an Introduction by Shriyukta Baradakanta Mazumdar. Edited by Arthur Avalon. London: Furze & Co. 46 Great Russell Street. Pp. xxvii & clix & 417. Price Rs. 12.*

Evidently the doctrine of the Tantras is nothing but a pure Vedantic one which fully recognises the system of Yoga and ably reconciles the Philosophy of Kapila. Like the other Hindu religions in this it ordains the worship of Supreme Lord for one's emancipation. Thus the Tantric cult does not deserve to be condemned. But it is owing to its means of worship, i.e. the *pancha makaras* that there is a strong general abhorrence towards it. The *pancha makaras* technically mean five things the words for which begin with the letter m (म), viz. मद्य, wine; मांस, meat; मत्स्य, fish; मुद्गा, fried grains (and not

interesting of fingers as is generally misunderstood even by S. M. Williams in his Sanskrit Dictionary—“मृदा मूत्रमदविनी”—“*Urvasa Tantra* VI),

and मैथुन, sexual union. These are said to be the chief feature of Tantrikism. But this way of

practice was in one or other form even in the Vedic ritualism. The Preface by the Editor and the Introduction by the Translator shows the use of wine and meat in Vedic and other non Tantric works. Even the sexual union in some Vedic rites is to be found in Vedic texts instances of which can be supplied more than what the Editor has done. There however no evidence whatever has been advanced of the eating of fish but it can be included in that of meat. Nothing has been said either in the Preface or in the Introduction about the use of the fourth *makara* मुद्गा, i.e. fried grain in the Vedic liturgy. But Prof. Ramendra Sundar Trivedi, a profound scholar and true and sympathetic critic of Hinduism has pointed out in his unique Bengali work *Uchitaprasanga* (Various Topics) its counterparts in Vedic rites. According to him the *madura* of the Tantrikas is to be compared with the *parodasha* cake and fried and coarsely ground barley, etc. (परोदशा, पात्रा, कर्मा, etc.) the oblation of which are offered and then eaten by the sacrificer in the *doma yaga*. He further notices the practice of using those things with *Somaras* practically in the same form even in the Christian ceremony of Eucharist in which bread and wine is prescribed to be used.

It, therefore cannot be said that this practice of *pancha makaras* has found its place in the Tantric cult from some northern barbarous non Aryan people who blended with the Hindus of the age.

But how the above practice of drinking wine together with fresh fish and fried grains and of sexual



intercourse can lead one to one's emancipation is a quite natural question the reply to which is by no means an easy one. In order to escape this difficulty the *panch makaras* are explained by some allegorically. But generally they are taken by the unquestionable authorities in their literal senses. And as the learned Translator has pointed out, the underlying principle of the theory is thus enunciated in the following couplet of the *Kutarnava Tantra* (Intro cxli) —

‘मरेवे पतन इत्ये विद्विष्येन चोदिता ।  
शौकोऽयं चैव भवेत्तस्य महात्मना ॥

‘The great Bhairava has ordained in the *Kaula* doctrine that *siddhi* (spiritual advancement) must be achieved by means of those very things which are the causes of man's downfall.

This theory has also been supported and expounded to a considerable degree in a work *Subhashita-angraha* (Ed C. Bendall) pp 39-40 from which we make the following extract for general information —

‘येन येन हि वयस्ये जन्तो रोद्वन्मया ।  
सोपायेन तु तेनैव मुच्यन्ते भवन्मनान् ॥  
तस्मादात्मनो हि हि पापशून्यं व्यवस्थिति ।  
द्वयं रूपानि यस्मात् नपति यमपेतसमा ॥

\* \* \*

यद्येव विषयमुच्ये विषयमोक्षोक्तं भवत्यन् ।  
नेत्रं मुच्यते नाशो रोगमुक्तु जायते ॥  
तपश्च यमेन कथं यद् यद् वायै विगृह्यते ।  
साधिवैतयोमेन चित्तिर्नैव कारणात् ॥  
रामाग्निविषमृदा योगिना यमपेतसमा ।  
कामिता खलु कामिन्य काममोक्षलाभदा ॥  
यया खगद्वयं याता गाहिको विषं पिबन् ।  
करोति निविष साध न विषेषाभिभवे ॥  
कथं न जलं जलेनैव, कच्छनेनैव कच्छकम् ।  
रागेनैव महारागं उद्धरन्ति मनोविषम्

‘Desire is never extinguished by enjoying its objects but like the fire with 1 baton of clarified butter it increases more — This is what Manu (II 94) says and is followed not only in the doctrines or religions of the Veda Vedanta and Purana of the Brahmanic Communities but also in those of the Buddhists and Jains. Indeed this is the keynote of all the religions of India. But in Tantricism a quite opposite view has been taken. Though the Tantras too are of opinion that cessation of desire is the root cause of emancipation they do not teach like the other scriptures the non-enjoyment of the objects of desire for its cessation but advise to enjoy them on the contrary. As water is taken out from the ear by pouring water into it or as a thorn is taken out from the body by help of a thorn so desire (काम) is extinguished by

enjoying the objects of it and not by forcibly giving them up. Take a further example of poison as quoted above in the extracts of the *Subhashita-angraha*. One who perfectly knows the true nature of poison by drinking it not only escapes from its dangerous effect but from his disease also. Similarly by enjoying the objects of desire in the way prescribed in the Tantras one becomes completely diseaseless (निष्काम)

This is one of the most striking features of the Tantras which reconcile in the doctrine expounded by them both enjoyment and final liberation. And so it is stated in the *Ananda stotra*—where there is enjoyment there is no emancipation and where there is emancipation there is no enjoyment but both enjoyment and emancipation are surely at the hands of those who are totally devoted to the worship of *Shrividya* the Supreme Goddess —

‘यथास्ति भोगो न च तत्र मोक्षो  
यथास्ति मोक्षो न च तत्र भोगः ।  
श्रीसुन्दरी पूजेन तत्पराणां  
भोगश्च मोक्षश्च कश्चन एव ॥’

The Tantras which to use the phraseology of the learned Editor are encyclopaedia of all the sciences of all the planes have long been neglected by foreign scholars and their blind Indian followers. But now it is believed that through the unflinching zeal and energy of Mr Arthur Avalon these works will be rescued from obscurity and truly appreciated. The late Pradit Svarachandra Vidyanava with whom we had the honour of being acquainted at Benares was a great scholar and strict and devout follower of the Tantras. The Editor Mr Avalon and the Translator Sriyut Mazumdar have undoubtedly done a great service to the cause of Tantricism by bringing out an English edition of his *Tantratattva* the Principles of Tantra in which the readers will find the views of true Tantrika and of an Indian mind which is not affected by the prevailing Western thoughts.

VIDYASHEKHARA BHATTACHARYA

SELF-GOVERNMENT IN ANCIENT INDIA I  
VEDIC By Raosaheb A B Patil

A great body of European writers whose books have a wide circulation in our schools and colleges public and private libraries have been the chief source of mischief in undermining our faith in our past glories and achievements and our confidence in our present abilities. These writers were the victims of their colour prejudices and selfish interests. They could see nothing good in others in point of history character and capacity. They misrepresented our history our laws our institutions and abused our great national works. This was due to the perversity of their intellect and perhaps more so to their political cunning. Now the age of these writers is almost over. A new race of our own writers is coming forward and writing our books for us. They refute and repudiate the mischievous misleading and non-national theories of their predecessors.

Self government in Ancient India I ‘Vedic’, is the title of an essay contributed by the author to the Sanskrit Research Magazine. It is now printed separately in the form of a booklet. We can at once say that the title of the essay is not a happy choice. No one would deny that Vedic Indians had self government. They were a conquering race with a distinct polity of their own. We want to know what that polity was. The author wants to tell us the same thing. We want to know the forms of Government which then prevailed. The author tells us that the form of government was democratic and representative in which the heads of families and clans took part. His essay could have been better styled as the forms of government in Ancient India.

The attempt of the author is to be welcomed as it

is opportune. It is a happy sign of the times that Indian scholars are devoting themselves to the study of political institutions and political theories in Ancient India. To explain in detail about their working and to give their history must be their aim and object. Before this can be done, the whole of our literature published and unpublished will have to be sifted. Jain and Buddhist works will have to be gone into. European surmises about oriental government based on ignorance and prejudice will have to be upset. The colouring which they gave to our national history will have to be washed off. For we find that in most cases evidence does not support their theories at all. We have to discard these views by our study and research and to root out the mischief caused by notorious foreign writers and their servile imitators.

We have a good deal of historical material in every branch of human activity. But we have no scholars to work it out for the benefit of us all. Scanty materials gathered by Caesar and Tacitus on hearsay evidence were the bases of English historians to go into hysterics over the capacity of self government and the innate love of free institutions of their ment and the innate love of free institutions of their barbarian or savage ancestors. Our evidence is not so scanty or hearsay. Our own Rishis have painted our simple life and the simplicity of our ideals in our national and oldest treatise the Vedas. The evidence they embody is much more reliable and important than those contained in books of other nations of a comparatively recent date.

The author says that Vedic political institutions originated with prime time patriarchal rule. Family was the unit of society. Patriarchs represented families or clans being their heads. In the discus of the great sacrificial hall they were the responsible representatives. Religious, political and social matters were discussed there. In time three assemblies grew out of these meetings: Vidatha (विद्यथ) or sacrificial assembly, Samiti (समिति) or social assembly and Sabha (सभा) or political assembly of the people. Sabha consisted of members of advanced age ripe for deeds and words. They were presided over by the King, a person on important occasions. The King was elected by the people. He followed the advice of Samitis and Sabhas and so on.

In appreciating the Vedic evidence brought forward by the author and his constructive remarks thereon we must see firstly whether his interpretation of Vedic words and verses is correct, secondly whether the critical examinations of the whole evidence warrants his conclusions, and thirdly whether there was such a differentiation of national activities as stated by the author. These should be the guiding considerations before we value the evidence of the author and also his conclusions.

European historians neglect Indian history before the rise of Buddhism. Hence our author's attempt is in the right direction as he starts with the Vedas themselves.

The author is a great writer in Marathi. He has popularised the knowledge of India by a series of monographs written in Marathi on Hindu Empire (भारतीय साम्राज्य). He has written some books in English concerning India. His field is Ancient India. We sincerely welcome his attempts.

C. P. PENTAMBEKAR

GUJARATI

NIRGUNA LAKSHMI AND SADGUNA LAKSHMI AND OTHER WRITINGS by the late Mrs Vasantha Chandrashekhar Pandya printed at the Bombay Vaidika Printing Press Bombay, Paper cover, pp 127 Price Re 0-10-0 (1917) [with a portrait of the deceased lady]

In the introduction contributed by the husband to these posthumous writings he shows what a gifted companion in life he has lost in his wife. She was just entering on a career of public utility when she succumbed to a fell disease. The first long story in these writings is a fine adaptation of that well known Urdu domestic novel called the *Mirat ul-Arus* (the mirror of women). Several years ago it was translated by a lady gentleman and Mrs Vasantha has based her story on it. It is sure to be widely read.

ADHUNIK KALAVANI વાસ્તવિક કલેશવો by Hargolind Aji Bhatt published by the Bhat a Mitra Mandal Bombay printed at the Lakshmi Art Printing Works For bay, Paper cover pp 31 Price Re 0-4-0 (1917)

As its name implies this pamphlet contains an essay on Modern education. It is well stocked with statistics and figures and points out according to the lights of the writer the excellences and defects of present education. We do not know if he is connected with any educational institution.

STRIO ANE SAMAJ SEVA કૌમો અને મનાજસેવા published by the Phagani Samaj Bombay printed at the Jnan Mar dar Printing Press Ahmedabad Paper Cover pp 131 Price Re 0 6 0 (1917)

The newly established Bhagani Samaj works by means of lectures and writings towards accomplishing its objects. This little booklet which opens with a preface by Mr Gandhi contains short stories from the pen of Mr Bhongindra Divatia, illustrating the useful parts which women can play in the uplift of society.

We have received two books *Bhavi Itashyak* and *Jasma ni Garbi*. They are too old to be reviewed.

K. M. I.

SANSKRIT

CHANDRAPADA CHARITAM—The story of Kadambari written concisely in Banas on words by Pandit J. Anantacharya. Published by the author 30 Hurlington Road Chelputu Miras Pp 40 Price Rs 6

We are really glad to read the little volume lying on our table. The abridgment which maintains its style and flow is made principally in Banasbhatta's words occasionally supplemented by the compiler's own composition which appears to be defective in some cases. It is very simple and is intended for young boys in schools and has been approved as a Text book by the Director of Public Instruction, Madras. The authorities of other provinces too may do well by following the course.

There is another book of the kind known to as *vr-Tle Kadambari Sangraha* (The Kadambas of Shravanagum) compiled also in Banas' own words by

our friend, Pandit R. V. Krishnamacharya, Abhinava Bhakta Bana, who was a close student of the Kadambari for not less than ten years. The author is successful in keeping up in his compilation the elegance and charm of the original. The book is meant for advanced students.

VIDYUSHEKHARA BHATTACHARYA.

## A Correction

PICTURE RAMAYANA.

In the February number of the Modern Review, the price of the Picture Ramayana by Shrimant Pant Sahib of Aundh has been put down as 12 as. per copy, whereas the price of the book is Rs 12 per copy.

## STATE VERSUS COMPANY MANAGEMENT OF INDIAN RAILWAYS

OF all people the readers of *The Modern Review* are, or ought to be, most familiar as to how the question of State versus Company management of the Railways in India first arose: how Mr. Viraraghavachariar and subsequently Sir Ibrahim Rahimtoolla from their places in the Imperial Legislative Council moved their famous resolutions in the interests of the country to do away with the present promiscuous system of the Company management and to substitute for it State control over all the Indian Railways; and how the Government of India in a rather half-hearted manner prevailed upon at last, to refer the matter to some public bodies and associations mostly composed of European commercial interests, and also to the Local Governments and Administrations for the expression of their views on the question. The Local Governments, with the exception of those of Madras and Bombay, have now submitted their views on the subject and those views appear to be mainly, as was to be expected, unanimous, *mutatis mutandis*, in maintaining the status in quo with regard to the working of the Railways in this country, albeit they clash with the best interests of the country; because the arrangement, as it is, brings large returns to the pockets of the shareholders of the Railway Companies, who are, as a matter of fact, all of them Europeans and scarcely any of them *bonafide* Indian. The opinions of the Local Governments, and Administrations so far as they have come in, are summarised below:—

"While," the Governor-in-Council of Bengal notes, "the weight of commercial opinion is in favour of company management, his own opinion is rather on the side of State management, provided such

management is conducted on up-to-date business principles." At the same time he fully recognises the advantages which accrue from company management, "especially when accompanied by the existing conditions in this province, namely, that some lines should remain under State management and others under company management. The co-existence of the two systems is beneficial both to the public and to the railway administration." Opinion among commercial bodies is divided but generally speaking those in which the European element predominates lean towards company management, while those in which the Indian element predominates are biased towards State management.

The Chief Commissioner of Assam says: "All the interests concerned in this province have been consulted and the general opinion is that no change is called for in the present system of railway management, partly by the State and partly by guaranteed companies under State control." This system, he holds, "produces the best results from an administrative as well as a financial aspect, inasmuch as it secures," in his opinion, "healthy rivalry and flexibility together with central control, and, he adds, that "on the whole the weight" of responsible opinion is in favour of company management." At the same time it is recognised that "there must be railways under the direct control of the State."

In the opinion of the Government of the Punjab "there are advantages in maintaining both systems of management as at present." Any large extension of State management would, however, it says, "tend towards rigid and mechanical working."

'There are also obvious disadvantages," it says, "in having the great number of railway employees—well over half a million—as State servants, and the enormous interests involved all centralised under State management. The desire to increase the Indian element in the personnel could be," it says, "more easily effected under State than under company management." The State managed North Western Railway system on the whole, it says gives substantial satisfaction to the administration and the people, and for strategic and political reasons it is clearly undesirable that the management should be in other hands than that of the State. At the same time the Lieutenant Governor cannot help thinking that on more than one occasion he would have found a company more receptive of new ideas and more sympathetic to suggestions for improvements in the conditions of passenger and goods traffic.

The Lieutenant Governor in Council of Bihar and Orissa believes that 'the extension of State management to all railways in India would result in over centralisation and over departmentalism and that the elimination thereby of the competitive element would be a distinct bar to progress.' The opinion of the Bihar Landowners' Association which favours State management, is, the Lieutenant Governor holds, based mainly on political and non commercial considerations to which it would be unsafe in the interest of the tax payers to attach too much weight. In His Honour's opinion "the present composite system under which most of the State owned railways are managed by companies and the rest by the State is on the whole the best and should be retained."

The views of the Government of the United Provinces are, that while the very best company management is superior to Government control, on the other hand Government control is better than any except thoroughly good company management. On theoretical grounds, however the Lieutenant Governor is decidedly in favour of company management.

After stating that he considers the arguments against a change on the whole outweigh those in favour of it, the Chief Commissioner of the Central Provinces proceeds to say, that good will result from the present discussion if it is brought home to the railway companies that rate

wars are exasperating to the public and are frequently obnoxious to trade, and that the outcry against company management is likely to gather further force in the future if the interests of individual railway administrations are pressed too far in the matter of rate competition.

The Agent to the Governor General in Rajputana, states "The advantages from company management are only partially realised and there is one great disadvantage, that of the company's board being as a rule 4 000 miles away in London. But the tendency of the age seems to be clearly towards private management."

The Agent of the Nizam's Guaranteed State Railways says "Were it possible to dissociate railways from general finance there should be no practical difference between the two methods."

The Lieutenant Governor of Burma is of opinion that so far as he has been able to observe, apart from strategic considerations, company managed lines have rendered the better service to the public. His Honour recognises, however, that the financial aspect of the question, on which he is not fully competent to form an opinion, cannot be ignored in coming to a decision.

The views of the Anglo Indian press with regard to the matter, are expressed in the following words of the *Statesman*, which calls itself also the 'Friend of India'. Commenting on the above the Sir Oracle of Chowringhee in his usual statesmanlike manner observes—

As will be seen there is no hostility to such State management as exists. It is recognised that this method of administration has its merits and that it serves as a useful counterpoise to company management. But the proposal to abolish company management finds no support whatsoever. "But in our judgment the main ground for resisting any extension of State management in this country is the fact that this change has been openly demanded for political purposes. The aim of the mover of the resolution was to place in the hands of Indian politicians greater power of casting upon the employment of Indians and of regulating railway rates to suit industries in which they are interested. At present railways in India are managed on commercial lines and on the principles followed by successful railways all the world over. Any departure from this sound practice would ultimately lead to incompetent administration and financial bankruptcy."

All the arguments now set forth in favour of the dual system of control of Indian Railways by the several Local Governments and based, admittedly, upon the views of the

Chambers of Commerce and other European public bodies, were in detail, in anticipation, dealt with fully and disposed of finally in our previous articles on the subject; and it will be sufficient only to repeat now that if the Government of India can manage without the least difficulty and with acknowledged efficiency such other kindred departments as the Post Office and Telegraphs, surely they can, with reason and justice, be expected to undertake the entire management of Indian Railways without in any way impairing its efficiency, and in the name of efficiency no sane individual should, we think, advise the Government to lease out to private companies the working of Law Courts and Military Departments, for it is not unoften that we hear also the complaint of the mis-management of these other departments inseparable from the idea of a Government *per se*. In spite of all that is being urged to the contrary we cannot but insist upon the assumption by Government of the full control of Indian Railways and thus secure the entire revenue arising therefrom in the interests of the State and for the benefit of the people instead of its being allowed to swell the coffers of those who are other than Indians.

In our previous articles we have quoted in support of our view, the opinions of the Marquis of Dalhousie and those of Sir Guilford Molesworth, the latter the greatest living authority on the subject who was for a considerable number of years Consulting Engineer of Railways to the Government of India. Let us, however, see now what Colonel G. F. O. Boughey, R. E., for many years Manager of the Eastern Bengal State Railway System, who as a Railway expert is not a whit less competent to express an opinion on the question than any of the members of the Local Governments whose views have been summarised above, says in the matter. Writing recently to the London *Times* on the controversy *re* State versus Company management of the Railways in India this veteran Railway expert says:—

As this question has been discussed in your issues for the last three months, September, October and November, I venture to ask if you can find room for a few words in favour of State construction and working of all railways in India from one who was connected for a great many years with State railways in India, at first in the construction of one State railway and afterwards as the manager of more than one line

The Colonel then proceeds to dispose of the various questions raised, in the following manner:—

First, as to the provision of capital. It is stated that about nine tenths of the total capital of 366 millions sterling has been directly provided by Government. It seems hardly that in order to find the remaining one tenth it should be necessary to offer not only a Government guarantee both as to interests and repayment of capital, but also a share of surplus profit. Even assuming, as appears to be the case, that the proportion of capital supplied by companies is somewhat larger than that stated above, and that it could not otherwise be raised there are certain disadvantages connected with it that must not be overlooked. The existence of a body of shareholders in England with a keen interest in surplus profits requires a board of direction in England. The disadvantages and delay due to this are so obvious that Mr. Murray Robertson proposes that the boards should be transferred to India. This suggestion is easily disposed of by Mr. Brown, and if the delay of constant references to England be obviated by investing the company's agent in India with all the powers of the board it is difficult to see what functions could usefully be exercised by the board. As to provision for the supply of stores from England, that already exists in the case of State-managed lines, and the economy due to uniformity of type would be secured by all lines being supplied through the same source.

Continuing Col. Boughey observes:—

But there are other more serious objections to the existence of separate companies in connection with railways in India. The overwhelming interest of Government in most, if not all, lines demands a not inconsiderable expenditure in the supervision and general control of all lines, and in the duplicate audit on account of the company and of the Government of every item of expenditure, however small. This outlay must be added to the cost of the bonus in the shape of a share of surplus profits necessary to induce companies to raise capital for Indian railways. Again in the case of those company lines which are in the nature of branch lines worked by an existing State or company line—and there is at least one company line with a considerable mileage which is worked by a State line—it is necessary to keep the accounts of all earnings separately for the main line and the branch. This causes unnecessary expense and sometimes disputes between the Government and the company.

As to whether the working and management of an open line should be undertaken by the State directly through its own officials or be entrusted to a company, Mr. Murray Robertson uses some strong language in condemnation of State management in the past. This, however, is not the opinion of all among those who have been concerned with Indian railway policy more directly than by merely writing about it, or even of all the chambers of commerce in India. Sir Guilford Molesworth, perhaps the greatest living authority on the subject delivered a lecture on the subject recently before the East India Association, in which he advocated the construction and working of all railways in India by the State.

Touching upon the question of economy, the Colonel further observes:—

It is true that in the course of the discussion which

followed this lecture so high an authority as Sir Bradford Leslie brought forward figures which he said showed that the anticipated economy due to State construction, management, and working had not been realised in any respect. Figures it is said will prove anything. This is especially true of Indian railway statistics in considering which the remarkably different conditions attaching to lines in various parts of a vast country as India and which cannot be expressed in figures must be taken into account by those competent to do so. There is in point of fact no practical difference between the class of men by whom Indian railways are worked whether on behalf of a company or the State. But while the agent of a company has mainly to look solely to look to the interest of his shareholders the agent of a State line may have other matters to consider in addition to the immediate prosperity of the line in his charge. Sir Bradford Leslie on the occasion referred to alluded to cases in which guaranteed railways had been slow to realize the necessity for a reduction of rate. Though all lines whether State or company must be worked on strictly business lines it may well be that a company would hesitate to reduce a rate which might bring a large increase of traffic requiring a considerable capital expenditure in order to deal with it without increasing or perhaps while even for a time decreasing the shareholders' profits. But in India the conditions are not like those in any other part of the world. The State is the principal landowner, and the largest part of its revenue is directly derived from the land. The State therefore, in considering the rates on a railway might well consider a reduction of rate desirable in a case such as that referred to above when a company would not. It goes without saying that no practically possible amount of Government control could certainly deal with such a case.

Col Boughiey disposes of the alleged inefficiency of Government control by suggesting needful reforms and improvements in the following words —

The great interest of the State in the land and in the welfare of the millions who live on it and by it is one of the strongest arguments in favour of the contention that all the railways which carry much of the produce of the land for great distances often a thousand miles or more, to the ports for export to Europe should be in the hands of the State.

But to the minds of some there is the fear that political influence would be brought to bear upon Government, and that this alone is a sufficient reason why the railways should not be in the hands of the State. This is a serious matter for political pressure would be disastrous in the construction and working of railways. If and when all those who elected the Government of India and who were employed on its railways were voters it might be well for the Government to direct itself of its railway troubles but in the meantime steps might be taken to minimise the danger. In order to relieve the Executive Government of all unnecessary detail the immediate control of railways should be vested in a strong body with large powers representing professional trading and agricultural interests. The head of this body who should be an expert in railway working should represent it in the Viceroy's Council and the present practice of controlling the railways through a member of the Civil Service with no technical knowledge of railways, who is changed every five years and

through a technical railway board without sufficiently broad basis and without sufficient authority should be abandoned. Such a body as is suggested should be able under the general control of the Government to raise funds from time to time for an Indian Imperial Railway Loan on the security of the railway revenue without as far as is reasonably practicable being subject to the fluctuations of the annual Indian Budget.

### The Colonel concludes —

India is a country where it is particularly difficult to find new sources of revenue and the great and growing railway revenues should on no account be allocated to companies. Such difficulties and disadvantages as there may be in retaining the railways in the hands of the State should be boldly faced and adequately provided for seeing that on the whole the balance of advantage is in favour of this course.

Let us all, without passion or prejudice, read, mark and inwardly digest all that Col Boughiey writes above especially in his concluding and penultimate paragraphs and then compare his sober, and statesmanlike utterances with those for which *The Statesman*, for obvious reasons, shows so much partiality and preference, and see whether in asking for direct control by Government of the Indian Railways the Indians are asking for anything which is not in consonance with reason and wisdom and in the interests of the State and the people alike. "India for the Indians—and for England" was the motto aptly used by the late Mr William Digby, C.I.R., a patriotic Englishman and a true friend of India, and let not the wisecracks of the Anglo-Indian Press ignore in their ignorance, this wise maxim while discussing the question of the working of the Indian Railways. By the way, is it not somewhat ridiculously absurd, if not actually suicidal, on the part of the Heads of the Local Administrations in India to talk unblushingly of the efficiency of the Government control of the Railways and find fault with it? Surely it does not look well on the part of these highly paid State officials to condemn thus unhesitatingly the State management of Railways!

That Railways even in England, where the people of Great Britain itself are concerned in their working and earnings, are gradually coming, as well as the mills and mines, under the direct control of the Government, under the stress of the war, cannot be gainsaid, and this speaks for the efficiency of the Government control. In India the State control and

State management of the Railways are, likewise, absolutely necessary not only on the grounds of efficiency but also in the interests of the tax payer, as has repeatedly been urged by us

RAICHARAN MUKERJEE

## AMERICA'S WORK IN THE PHILIPPINES,

### II. EDUCATION

In the report of the Governor General of the Philippines for the semi-fiscal year 1913 (July 1 to Dec 31, 1913) and for the calendar year 1914 occurs the following paragraphs —

Mention is made in the report of the secretary of public instruction of the necessity of further appropriations for school purposes and in this connection attention is invited to the fact that in the year 1914 23½ per cent of all the expenditures of the Philippine government were for educational work, a record which it is believed is not surpassed elsewhere in the world. In the desire for continuation and extension of this vast program of educational work, both Americans and Filipinos unite. The educational work in the Philippines is a particular source of pride to the people of the United States, and moreover the political principles of all parties demand that as rapidly as possible the Filipino people should receive the most modern education to fit themselves for their future responsibilities. Filipinos are equally eager to carry on this great work of education and the Legislature votes with the greatest generosity all funds available for these purposes. Other Governors General have from time to time made mention of the desire of the Filipino people for education. The tremendous pressure brought upon the Legislature of the Philippines to appropriate funds for education can hardly be understood by one not on the ground and subjected to the influences which are brought to bear. The Filipino representatives of the people are under continuous pressure to secure additional appropriations for this purpose and at times it would appear that other functions of the government are in danger of being temporarily overlooked to make way for education.

That this desire for education is not artificially created is evidenced by the fact that in more than 150 municipalities throughout the Philippine Islands certain of the public schools are maintained wholly or partially by voluntary contributions of the residents of the municipality.

The secretary of public instruction calls attention to the fact that there are approximately 1,200,000 children of school age in the Philippines while the total enrolment for the present year will approximate 930,000.

#### *Spread of Education*

In the extract given above the total enrolment of school children is given as

630,000. There were besides 2,075 students in the University of the Philippines, bringing the total of persons under instruction to 632,075. The total population of the Philippine Islands was estimated at 8,937,597 in 1914. So more than 7 per cent of the total population was under instruction. The population of British India was 244,267,542 in 1911. In the year 1915-16, the number of persons under instruction was more than 7,617,000. Thus in British India more than 3 per cent of the total population were under instruction.

It is to be borne in mind that the bureau of education was established in the Philippines only 17 years ago.

#### *How Fast Education Spreads*

For comparing the rapidity of increase of pupils in India and the Philippines, we will take the figures for the most backward province in the latter, namely, the Mountain Province inhabited by the more uncivilised peoples, and, as regards India, we will take the figures for the two pre-war years, which are more favourable than those for the years covered by the period of the war. In the Mountain Province attendance in February, 1915, shows an increase of 61 per cent over the attendance in February, 1914. In British India, taking the figures for 1912-13 and 1913-14, there was an increase of 5 per cent, the rates of increase for the different provinces being Madras 7.9, Bombay 4.2, Bengal 1.7, United Provinces 4, Punjab 7.2, Burma 9.9, Bihar and Orissa 1.7, Central Provinces 8.9, Assam 10.7, North West Frontier Province 15.5, Coorg 6.5 and Delhi 14.7. Let us consider the figures for the whole of the Philippine Islands for the same two years 1912-13 and 1913-14. The annual enrolment for 1912-13 was 440,050, and that for 1913-14 was 621,030. There was, therefore, an increase of more than 41 per cent. The increase in

subsequent years is not expected to be so rapid, as more than half the children of school going age are already under instruction. In this description young men and young women of college going age are not included, as they are in India.

### *Education in the Most Backward Parts*

Regarding education in the Mountain Province, two paragraphs from the report of the secretary of the interior are worthy of notice. The first relates to the attendance of girls.

The increased attendance of girls is particularly gratifying as formerly almost the entire enrolment consisted of boys because the natives preferred to keep the girls at home for drudgery in the houses and fields. They now realize that girls should receive the same opportunities for education as their brothers and so send them to school.

The second is in praise of the young Filipino teachers.

The work of the bureau of education now being conducted among the mountain peoples deserves the highest praise. The excellent service of the American teachers is well known, but no one can fail to be impressed with the enthusiasm, genuine patriotism and painstaking effort shown by the young Filipino teachers who are engaged in helping their less fortunate fellows. It is probable that these qualities can safely be relied upon to bring about an eventual solution of the problem of the elevation of the mountain peoples in the scale of civilization.

### *Qualification of Teachers*

#### *Proportion of Trained Teachers*

It is necessary to have some idea of the qualifications of the Filipino teachers. We find it stated in the report of the secretary of public instruction that "there is no difficulty in obtaining municipal teachers. During the past school year 10,938 boys and 4,102 girls completed the primary [4 years'] course, while 3,643 boys and 1,052 girls completed the intermediate [3 years'] course. From this number an adequate supply of municipal teachers can, of course, be drawn." In December, 1914, there were 9,305 Filipino teachers and 192 apprentices. Of these, "the latest figures indicate that 4,196 teachers have finished the intermediate grades [corresponding to the middle school standard in India], 908 have finished one or more years of the secondary course, 337 are high school graduates [corresponding to our Matriculates], 10 are graduates of the University of the Philippines, 42 are government students returned from the United States, and 240 are teachers of the Philippine Normal School and the Philippine School of Arts and

Trades." If we took these last 240 and also the 42 government students returned from the U S A, to be all trained teachers, the number of trained men would be 282 out of a total Filipino teaching force of 9,497, or nearly 3 per cent. According to Mr. Educational Commissioner Sharp's educational statement for 1915-16, in India, "facilities for training teachers are still defective and 70 per cent remain untrained", which means that 30 per cent are trained. So in India the proportion of trained teachers is 10 times what it is in the Philippines. The education department in India should, therefore, be able to spread education at least as widely and rapidly as in the Philippines. In December, 1914 there were also 539 American teachers. If they were all taken to be trained men there would be 821 trained teachers in the Philippines out of a total of 9,940, or a little over 8 per cent. The position in India would still be far better than in the Philippines. The plea of the Indian education department, then, that one of the main reasons why education cannot be spread in India with sufficient rapidity is the small number of trained teachers, seems to be rather lame.

### *Industrial Instruction*

The secretary of public instruction writes in his report —

The industrial work in the schools continues quite satisfactory. Each year sees an increase in the number of boys and girls who have learned some useful art or trade and almost all pupils who have at one time or another been in the public schools have learned to make something with their hands.

### *Progress in Athletics*

The same officer describes the progress in athletics as follows —

The progress in athletics has been remarkable. Reports from every division in the islands indicate that fully 95 per cent of the boys and girls in the public schools are taking part in athletics or physical training in one form or another and thousands of people who have never attended the public schools are participating in games through the direct influence of the bureau's athletic program.

### *Aims and Purposes of the Bureau of Education*

The aims and purposes of the Bureau of Education are thus described in the report of the secretary of public instruction —

In determining aims to be achieved through the activities of the bureau of education definite recognition has been given to the principle that public schools



test for the purpose of giving to each and every citizen an education which will fit him for the freest and most efficient life possible in the sphere to which his activities will probably be confined.

Briefly stated the problem which the government must face is first, to give the great mass of the population a primary education second to give an intermediate education to those who will constitute the substantial middle class of the country and third, to provide secondary and higher instruction for those who are to assume leadership in thought and action.

### *Some Reasons why the American Teacher is still Needed*

The number of American teachers is being gradually reduced. 'The American teaching force is now [April, 1915] about 80 less than during the school year 1913-14.' Some of the reasons why the services of American teachers are still required are thus stated: "If all graduates of the University of the Philippines should enter the teaching service it would be a number of years before an adequate number of Filipinos were prepared to handle secondary instruction." But American teachers "are also needed (1) to give the people a common language to serve as a medium of the highest culture and as a factor in national unity, and (2) to bring the Filipino youth into contact with democratic ideals embodied in personalities, for no agency is so potent in the establishment of a democratic social order as personal relationships with those who, in thought and action, reflect democratic principles."

### *Pay of Filipino Teachers*

The secretary of public instruction lays down the correct principle that "The government should provide enough funds to pay Filipino teachers as much as they would receive if engaged in other occupations requiring similar qualifications and the same energy and ability", and says "In the insular teaching force we have been gradually approaching this very desirable situation."

### *The Schools as a Civic Factor*

Definite training for citizenship is given in the primary, intermediate and secondary courses. Various literary societies afford pupils practice in conducting meetings at which questions of interest to all citizens are discussed.

The public schools are making a notable contribution to the body politic. Of the 240,000 voters of the present time a considerable percentage who are qualified as voters because of education claim an education in English.

During the school year 1912-13 10,928 boys

completed the primary course and the next year the number reached 11,398. These primary graduates for only two years constitute approximately 22½ per cent of the present voters claiming educational qualifications. The graduates of the intermediate and secondary courses are of course still better prepared for citizenship. In 1914 3,540 boys and 1,045 girls completed the intermediate grades and from them will come many local leaders. In the same year 340 boys and 67 girls completed the secondary course, which fits them for leadership in a broad way.

### *Health of School Children*

A pupil completing the primary course has received instruction in the fundamental principles of hygienic living, the importance of cleanliness, of wholesome food of pure water of fresh air and of exercise. The work of the primary course is amplified in the intermediate course special emphasis being placed on sanitation for the Tropics and a regular course in physiology and hygiene being given. Largely as a result of this instruction the physical condition of the children of the public schools has greatly improved in the past few years.

### *The University of the Philippines*

The University of the Philippines includes the following institutions: College of Liberal Arts, College of Agriculture, College of Medicine and Surgery, College of Law, College of Veterinary Science, College of Engineering, School of Fine Arts.

In the College of Liberal Arts "a student council was organized in 1914 which produced excellent results in matters pertaining to discipline. In all of the disciplinary cases referred to the council its advice was followed."

Matriculating students were given a rigid medical examination which showed that the physical condition of entering students was conspicuously better than in previous years a result undoubtedly due to the emphasis placed upon physical education in the public schools. Careful supervision of the students' health and physical development was exercised throughout the year. The plan of requiring regular outdoor exercise was continued. Schedules of group games were conducted and the teams of the university were members of various leagues organized in Manila.

The secretary of public instruction is in charge of the bureau of education, the bureau of agriculture, the bureau of supply, the bureau of prisons, the bureau of printing, the University of the Philippines, Philippine Library, Public Welfare Board, and Sales Agency.

The extracts we shall now give are from the sixteenth annual report of the director of education, for the calendar year 1915.

### *Public Welfare Work*

One branch in which there has been rapid progress is the extension of public school work into the field

of social economy. It has become the belief among school administrators that expensive school plants and the efforts of thousands of teachers and hundreds of thousands of pupils should not be limited in their service to the community to the few hours of school session, but that they should do a part toward answering the social and welfare needs of the community. So the year has witnessed the extension of public welfare work including the playground movement, social activities, care of children, health and sanitation, athletics, public amusements and entertainments, the improvement of home conditions through various lines of school industrial work and the use of the schools as the social and civic centers of their communities. Much remains to be done before we can be satisfied with our achievements along this line.

A number of special features of this school year which the director mentions are clean up week, garden days, the corn campaign, the better-babies contest, and the exhibit of the Philippine Public Schools at the Panama Pacific International Exposition.

### Clean up Week

The advisability of improving the general appearance and condition of Filipino towns was again taken up in a definite manner during the past year in cooperation with the Board of Public Welfare in the form of a definite campaign which was known as 'clean up week.' It is no new feature of our work for the schools have from the beginning emphasized this same need. By making it a special campaign the active cooperation of other Government agencies was secured. A great deal of interest was taken in the work and at its close the Philippines were undoubtedly cleaner than they had ever been in all their history.

### Corn Campaign

The corn campaign resulted from the drought of 1912 and the necessity for quick growing crops to avert lack of food. The campaign has been repeated each year and has emphasized the advisability of increasing the variety of food for local consumption. It is responsible for enlarging the area of land planted with corn and for a wider appreciation of corn as a food. During the third year there was a decided growth in all lines. The campaign was so extensive and involved so many features that no detailed reports can be given.

### Garden days

The garden day programs were given special attention during this year in the endeavor to correlate more closely the corn campaign and the actual garden work. The following figures are of interest:

	1912	13	1914	15	1916	17
Enrolled in gardening			43,581	43,779		
Garden days held	89		300	1,423		
Papirs exhibiting products	2,948		8,772	28,064		
Farmers exhibiting products	37		816	7,722		

Geniassily garden days are developing into agricultural fairs in which the whole community takes active interest and from which great agricultural and industrial benefits result.

As an arbor-day feature which is celebrated each year, tree planting was continued. Emphasis was given to the planting of fruit and other economic trees throughout the year. Fruit and other trees and plants were distributed from school nurseries. This amounts to a fruit tree campaign which will have important results in a few years. The Province of Iloilo inaugurated a mango-planting campaign. A large number of mango trees were planted and it is reported that practically 5,000 of these were thriving at the end of the school year. An extensive mango planting campaign is being arranged for the present school year in the Department of Mindanao and Sulu.

### Better babies contest.

A better babies contest was one of the most recent movements designed to stimulate interest in the proper physical development of the individual. Contestants were limited to children between the ages of 6 and 36 months to be judged in six classes: (1) Girls between 6 and 12 months; (2) boys between 6 and 12 months; (3) girls between 12 and 24 months; (4) boys between 12 and 24 months; (5) girls between 24 and 36 months; (6) boys between 24 and 36 months. Three prizes of P25, P15 and P10, respectively, were offered in each class, besides a grand prize of P200 for the highest score. The winner of this prize being disqualified from competition for class prizes. [1 Peso—about Re 1.4]

Preliminary contests took place in the municipalities from 30 to 100 babies being presented for consideration in each. From the municipal winners 105 babies were found eligible for entry to the provincial contest. They were examined by committees of qualified physicians under the eye tests of the 'scoring card' of the American Medical Association. Each child was examined by two three or four physicians, and prize winning marks and those approaching prize winning were reviewed by even larger numbers. This contest aroused the greatest enthusiasm from its inception. Interest has been awakened in hundreds of homes where mothers are asking anxious questions about the welfare of their little ones. To meet these questions adequately, there is proposed a 'Little Mothers League' to work in connection with the milk service station of the Women's Club. It is believed that through these girls mothers can be brought together and given needful instruction in the care of children and in dietetics, not only for children but for entire families.

### The Exhibit at the Panama Pacific International Exposition

The director gives a most interesting account of the exhibit of the Philippine public schools at the Panama-Pacific International Exposition.

The exhibit was held in the Palace of Education and covered approximately 10,000 square feet of space. It was the largest single exhibit in the Department of Education. The splendid booths in which the exhibit itself was housed were distinctly and unmistakably Philippine—arcades of stately palmas brava porte surmounted by a striking top border of shell window work, rounded arches, beautiful barwood molding and carvings, and attractive columns and walls of suwal.

The exhibit consisted of wall charts, class written work, publications, reference books, statistics, models of various administration features, textbooks, models of signs and plans, research work, school library work, school museum work, scientific and technical displays, graded industrial courses, transparencies, kryptograph, lantern slides, moving pictures, an industrial working exhibit, a force of demonstrators, and a sales department of school-made industrial articles.

In the way of official awards by which the international jury of award of the Panama Pacific International Exposition recognized the merit of the various displays, the Philippine public schools not only received the highest possible award in their own department of education, but were awarded gold medals in the departments of social economy, liberal arts, and manufactures. A total of 75 awards were received in these departments, 51 being in the department of education, 9 in the department of liberal arts, 3 in the department of manufactures. These included 4 grand prizes, 15 medals of honor, 37 gold medals, 13 silver medals, 2 bronze medals, and 4 honorable mentions. At the head of this long list of awards stands the grand prize awarded to the Philippine public school system, then follow the grand prize awarded for embroidery, for lace, and for basketry and other handicrafts.

### *Importance of Primary Schools*

Regarding the importance of primary schools, the director observes:—

It must be stated here again emphatically that it is upon the primary schools that this Bureau places the first importance and that there shall be no decrease in the number of these schools is the greatest concern. Though in some regions unfavorable economic conditions, drought, storms, and locusts may make it necessary to close schools temporarily from time to time, such cases have first attention from the school authorities and the schools are reopened as soon as conditions permit.

Again—

It is interesting to note that in the United States the enrolment in high schools is reported to be increasing ten times as fast as the population. Here the policy of the Bureau has been to permit no reduction in the number of primary schools and to authorize the establishment of intermediate and secondary schools only where the demand was strong and the chances for offering efficient instruction were good.

### *The Three Phases of School Work*

In the Philippines, school work has three phases which are thus described:

It is now some years since the Philippine public schools have been enjoying a balanced curriculum with emphasis upon three phases—academic instruction, industrial work, and physical training—each conducted as a distinct and essential part of the regular eleven-year course. The term academic instruction explains itself. It refers primarily to such subjects as the three R's, geography, history, and certain cultural and professional branches. Industrial work is perhaps the most clearly defined form of vocational training. Not infrequently are these two terms confused; we take it, however, that vocational

training is that which fits the pupil for one career rather than for some other, be the career that of lawyer, doctor, machinist, laborer, or whatever it will. On the other hand, industrial work is that branch of vocational training which is intended primarily for those who must make their living by some form of more or less skilled manual labor. Industrial work is distinct from what is commonly called manual training, in that the former aims to give the fundamentals for a calling upon which one may depend in after life for his living, whereas the latter is but the manual training which is considered beneficial to a well-rounded education along cultural lines. Physical training, the third phase of the curriculum, includes those physical exercises taught and encouraged in the schools which tend to improve the physique and health of school pupils.

### *Physical Education*

Physical training is one of the three phases of the balanced curriculum prescribed for the Philippine schools. Believing it to be an essential part of the course of study, physical education has been so planned as to make it possible for all or practically all of the pupils enrolled in the public schools to receive physical training of some sort. Various forms of physical training have been prescribed in order to provide for the needs of every class of pupils. There are highly specialized sports like baseball, basketball, and track and field events, group games and calisthenics, in which every normal child may expect to make a creditable record if he devotes himself to them with diligence, color competitions which are noncompetitive, and various schoolyard games which not only have athletic value, but which possess a dramatic element as well.

It is from the standpoint of providing physical training for all that the program of the Philippine public schools is to be judged. It may be said that all children, except those who are physically defective, receive physical training in some form or other before completing any course of study and that at any time from 95 per cent to 100 per cent are receiving training which affects them vitally. It may happen in specific cases that the pupil does not receive sufficient training or that it may be lacking to a certain extent in effectiveness, but the correction of these defects is only a matter of time. The point is that instead of a selected few going through a course of exercises for the entertainment of the others, the great majority are receiving physical training for their own improvement.

### *The Good Results of Physical Education*

The director describes the beneficial results of physical education as follows:—

The general introduction of athletics in the Philippine public schools and their extension to every class of society has accomplished many things. There is increased regularity in attendance and practical elimination of tardiness. Out of it there has grown a school spirit which did not exist before. Athletic sports have enlisted the enthusiasm and support of thousands of people who might otherwise have taken little or no interest in our schools. There has been a noticeable change of ideals and a growing appreciation of the youth who are well equipped physically for life's battles. There is noticeable physical improvement directly traceable to athletics and there is gradually evolving in the Philippines a new physical type which should be very much superior to

the old Athletics have done much to displace amusements of lesser or doubtful value. The cock fight finds in them its most dangerous competitor. There has come into the youth of the Philippines a new spirit of sportsmanship which is turning out as a product a generation of fine upstanding young men who play the game for all it is worth and act like men whether in victory or in defeat. There has come partly as a result of athletics a new conception of the worth of the Filipino. Those who have denied to him the power to develop energy and enthusiasm must revise their judgments and the Filipino himself who has for years been accustomed to hear his value depreciated is coming to realize as he never has before the true possibilities of his people. Athletics have been used as a means to interest people in other civic movements and when the history of the first half of the twentieth century comes to be written athletics in the Philippines will be given much of the credit for the physical and civic betterment of the Filipino people and will take their place along with the academic instruction which has brought about a great intellectual awakening and the industrial instruction which has practically revolutionized the ideas of the people in regard to education and industry.

The effect of physical education on the girls has been very remarkable. The director says: "It gives girls and young women a new idea of what is healthy and proper in the way of exercise. It gives them a new confidence in their own strength, whether moral or physical and has brought about a very noticeable improvement in man's attitude towards woman. No mention need be made of the physical improvement of the girls and young women which is if anything, more marked than that of the boys and young men."

### *All embracing Character of Filipino Education*

It has already been made clear that in their schools Filipino children do not get a merely literary or bookish education. The many sided character of the education given to the Filipino boys and girls will further appear from the names of some of their schools such as Philippine Normal School, the Philippine School of Arts and Trades, the Philippine Nautical School, Philippine School of Commerce, the Central Luzon Agricultural School, School for the Deaf and the Blind, the Zamboanga Trade School &c.

### *Outline of Courses of Study*

The primary course includes such subjects as language (good manners and right conduct), conversational English, reading (including phonics), arithmetic, spelling, writing, music, drawing, phonics, physical education, civics, hygiene, sanitation, home geography, geography, industrial courses, and gardening.

The intermediate course includes, in addition composition and grammar, Philippine history and government, physiology, etc.

In the secondary course the pupils have literature general history, U. S. history, colonial history, commercial geography, economic conditions in the Philippines, algebra, advanced algebra (optional), plane geometry, solid geometry (optional), business English, physical geography, biology, physics, etc.

## THE PROBLEM OF TUBERCULOSIS IN INDIA

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*The wealth of a nation is in the health of its people*—RUSKIN

IT is our privilege to call attention in this paper to the general prevalence of tuberculosis in India, to the causes underlying the spread of the disease and to suggest some of the remedies that are likely to help in its cure and prevention. I visited India about three years ago

after an absence of twenty years, to investigate on the spot some of the problems connected with tuberculosis. Our tour extended from Bombay to Rangoon in one direction and from Nepal and Calcutta to Madras in another and we returned with the conviction which is

by the present visit that tuberculosis has made a considerable advance during the last twenty years

### I THE PREVALENCE OF TUBERCULOSIS IN INDIA

The impression one has gathered from the study of various sources and various parts of India is that the disease is more common at present in this country—especially in some of its principal cities—than in England. 25 p c of the bodies examined post mortem in Calcutta Medical Hospital showed signs of latent or active tuberculosis. It is one of the common fatal diseases in Calcutta. In fact the mortality in Indian cities like Bombay and Calcutta is considerably higher than in Glasgow, Birmingham and Manchester. Dr C A Bentley found evidence that in certain rural areas a heavier ratio of mortality is occurring from phthisis than that at present recorded in Calcutta. It is much more common among the female than among the male population owing to insufficiency of air and light in the zenanas and there fore more common among the Mohamedan than the Hindu females. Owing to damp poverty and insanitary conditions the disease prevails more among the dwellers in huts than those who live in brick buildings. All parts of India—Bombay, Punjab where variation is most marked, Calcutta and Lower Bengal, low lying and with moist heat. Central Provinces, Madras with great heat, high elevations like Cashmere, Nepal Nilgiris, Burmah, Malabar with big rainfall—all tell the same tale of widespread distribution of the disease throughout India.

The reports of the hospitals and dispensaries throughout the whole of British India go to show an increase from year to year both in the number of attendance by tuberculous patients and in phthisis mortality. The number of tuberculous persons treated in both indoor and outdoor, and private and state aided hospitals and dispensaries was 89,212 in 1911, 92,412 in 1912 (an increase of 3.6 per cent) and 96,350 in 1913 (an increase of 8½ p c). The annual reports of the Surgeon General, Madras, declare a steady increase year after year in the returns of tuberculosis since 1901. Taking from 1901 to 1903, the number of cases treated increased by

50 per cent, and from 1901 to 1910 by 100 per cent. The death rate from tuberculosis in the Madras General Hospital has doubled in 1913 as compared with 1912. The Government of Bengal report that tuberculous patients increased from 4,278 in 1914 to 4,426 in 1915. The deaths in British India owing to respiratory diseases steadily rose from 156,720 in 1902 to 261,149 in 1914. While these figures give us an idea as to the increase in the incidence of tuberculosis, they cannot be trusted to give any information as to the real extent of the disease.

It is unfortunate we have no reliable statistics as to the extent of mortality from tuberculosis for the whole of India. Many a case of phthisis (we use the term 'phthisis' as synonymous with tuberculosis though strictly speaking it is not so) is either missed or mistaken for malaria, enteric or other continuous fevers, bronchitis, broncho pneumonia, etc. More than half the total number of deaths in India (42,07,356 deaths from fevers out of 7,639,544 deaths in 1911) is attributed in the returns to 'fevers'. The classification in the registration of deaths is so vague and misleading and the term 'fever' is so loosely applied that large loopholes have occurred whereby many cases of tuberculosis have been certified under 'respiratory diseases', 'fevers', 'other than phthisis', 'pyrexia of unknown origin', 'other fevers than small pox', etc. Careful investigators like Drs Rogers (now Sir Leonard Rogers), Stewart, Proctor and Gail found that deaths reported as due to 'fevers' included cases of malaria, bronchitis, pneumonia, phthisis, diarrhoea, dysentery, cholera, small pox, diphtheria, typhoid and many other affections. Rogers and Stewart state that 9 per cent and another authority 10 p c of the so called 'fever deaths' is due to tuberculosis. So, basing our calculation for the whole of India on the latter percentage, under one item of 'fever' alone is brought to light 420,735 deaths (10 p c of 4,207,356) that has escaped official notice.

There are however, one or two sources of information which can be relied upon to give some idea of the extent of the disease. From the reports of the Oriental Insurance Company which has its policy holders in all parts of India we gather that tuberculosis claimed a mortality of 9 per cent in 1911, which steadily rose to 10 p c in 1912 and 11½ (11.6 to be more

What stunted growth would ours be if we never met or conquered grief or pain?

As the quivering leaf unfolds, it drinks in power and vitality from contact with the air and light. When the March winds blow roughly or the April showers press heavily, the blade of corn just bends before the blast or bows under the weight of the rain. When they have passed, it lifts again its bow up stem

bright with sparkling drops radiantly fresh and visibly grown. It is in harmony with the elements, drawing beauty and strength from their opposing forces.

It is by such resistance which is really non-resistance that we all grow strong. Each rung of the ladder resists our tread, or we could never mount.

## FOREIGN PERIODICALS

### Jack London the American Story Writer.

*Current Opinion* for January publishes an interesting account of Jack London whose book *The Call of the Wild* published near the outset of his career is regarded by many critics as the best of his tales, and the one which is his chief claim to immortality.

Curiously enough Jack London had little love for his literary work, all the love was centred, as he asserted himself, on the dollars that his work brought into his hands. He objected to being called an artist. In any case, his was not an artist's temperament, as the following lines clearly show. Said London:

I am nothing more than a fairly good artisan. You may think that I am not telling the truth but I hate my profession. I detest the profession I have chosen. I hate it. I tell you I hate it!

I assure you that I do not write because I love the game. I loathe it. I cannot find words to express my disgust. The only reason I write is because I am well paid for my labor—that's what I call it—labor. I get lots of money for my books and stories. I tell you I would be glad to dig ditches for twice as many hours as I devote to writing if only I could get as much money. To me writing is an easy way to make a fine living. Unless I meant it I wouldn't think of saying a thing like this for I am speaking for publication. I am sincere when I say that my profession sickens me. Every story that I write is for the money that will come to me. I always write what the editors want, not what I like to write. I grind out what the capitalist editors want and the editors buy only what the business and editorial departments permit.

The editors are not interested in the truth; they don't want writers to tell the truth. A writer can't sell a story when it tells the truth so why should he batter his head against a stone wall? He gives the editors what they want for he knows that the stuff he believes in and loves to write will never be purchased.

Jack London became a confirmed pessimist towards the latter part of his life. He admitted

"I am weary of everything. I no longer think of the world or the movement (the social revolution) or of writing as an art. I am a great dreamer but I dream of my ranch, of my wife I dream of beautiful horses and fine soil, I dream of the beautiful things I own up in Sonoma County. And I write for no other purpose than to add to the beauty that now belongs to me. I write a book for no other reason than to add three or four hundred acres to my magnificent estate. I write a story with no other purpose than to buy a stallion. To me my cattle are more interesting than my profession. My friends don't believe me when I say this but I am absolutely sincere."

How the hungry lad who had earned his own living since the age of nine, whose schooling was of the shortest and most intermittent type, acquired the ambition to become a great writer was once thus recounted by London himself:

In my fitful school days I had written the usual compositions which had been praised in the usual way and while working in the jute mills I still made an occasional try. The factory occupied thirteen hours of my day, and being young and husky I wanted a little for myself so there was not much left for composition. The *San Francisco Call* offered a prize for a descriptive article. My mother urged me to try for it and I did taking for my subject "Typhoon On the Coast of China."

Very tired and sleepy and knowing I had to be up at 5-30 I began the article at midnight and worked straight on until I had written 2,000 words. I hit the limit of the article but with my idea only half worked out. I continued adding another 2,000 words before I had finished and the third night I spent in cutting out the excess so as to bring the article within the conditions of the contest. The first prize came to me and my success seriously turned my thoughts to writing but my blood was still too hot for a settled routine.

### English Society during the War.

An American Correspondent presents a deplorable picture of the "smart set" in England in the pages of the *Outlook* which is in sad contrast with the general self

So little cause for carolings  
Of such ecstatic sound  
Was written on terrestrial things  
Afar or nigh around  
That I could think there trembled through  
His happy good night air  
Some blessed hope whereof he knew  
And I was unaware

The same note, and higher, is struck in what is perhaps the finest of his lyrics, the great hymn sung by the Pities in the last scene of *The Dynasts*

And these pale panting multitudes  
Seen surging here the r moids their moods  
All shall fulfil their joy in Thee  
In Thee abide eternally  
Exultant adoration give  
The Alone through Whom all living live  
The Alone in Whom all dying die  
Whose means the End shall justify I

And though the Spirit Ironie is given its right of reply—

I know  
Tis handsome of our Pities so to sing  
The praises of the dreaming dark dumb Thing  
That turns the handle of this idle Show I

yet the very last word of the great drama is not with Irony, but with Faith—

But a stirring thrills the air  
Like to sounds of joyance there  
That the rages  
Of the ages  
Shall be canceled and deliverance offered  
from the darts that were  
Consciousness the Will informing t h  
It fashion all things fair I

He is a poet because it has meant so much more to him than to the rest of us moved him more stirred him to more working both of heart and mind Like Wordsworth he brings so much with him that in his hands the ordinary at once becomes extraordinary, the small great the old new But he does not like Wordsworth 'avert his eyes from half of human fate His passion is sometimes joy —

A day is drawing to its fall  
I had not dreamed to see,  
The first of many to enthral  
My spirit will it be?  
Or is this eve the end of all  
Such new delight for me?

I journey home the pattern grows  
Of moonshades on the way  
'Soon the first quarter I suppose'  
Sky-glancing travelers say  
I realize that it for those  
Has been a common day

But even here joy trembles for the future, and the joy that Mr Hardy sees most often belongs to the past is become a memory at best, at worst a pain —

They bear him to his resting place—  
In slow procession sweeping by;  
I follow at a stranger's pace  
His kindred they, his sweetheart I

Unchanged my gown of garish dye,  
Though sable sad is their attire  
But they stand round with griefed eye,  
Whilst my regret consumes like fire!

So with the stanzas to Lizbie Browne perhaps the thing most exactly characteristic of Mr Hardy in this volume They are a man's words to the woman he had failed to make his own —

But Lizbie Browne  
I let you slip  
Shaped not a sign  
Touched never your lip  
With lip of mine  
Lost Lizbie Browne!

So Lizbie Browne,  
When on a day  
'Men speak of me  
As not you'll say  
And who was he?—  
Yes Lizbie Browne!

In half these poems the poet is living with the shadows of those whom he loved long ago and loves still —

I idly cut a parsley stalk  
And blew therein towards the moon  
I had not thought what ghosts would walk  
With shivering footsteps to my tune

If I like Shelley and in the course of a life almost three times as long he has found that to him life's cup has been dealt in another measure than that given to those who can live smiling yet he will make out of that another happiness which nothing can take away —

Let me enjoy the earth no less  
Because the all-enacting Alight  
That fashioned forth its loveliness  
Had other aims than my delight

And some day hence toward Paradise  
And all its bliss—if such should be—  
I will lift glad afar-off eyes  
Though it contain no place for me

### The Maxim Mind

Under the above heading the *Nation* publishes a short but interesting account of Sir Hiram Maxim based on his autobiography, whose machine of destruction will leave scars on the bodies of "an appreciable percentage of the male population of Europe," and when the war is over, the harvest of whose "neat little gun in killed alone may run into millions"

We are told that

Sir Hiram Maxim was a very vain man, and there was enough in his career to feed the robbest vanity He began life as a penniless and self-educated wood turner in a little village at the back of beyond in Maine He probably was when he died the only inventor except Edison whose personal life really figured in the plain man's gallery of fame All the monarchs of Europe lavished attentions on him, he had honors and knighthoods and wealth The severest critic would at least concede that in his own sphere he

showed very remarkable powers of intellect. It is not of any of these things that he was vain. He talks of the kings with hardly a trace of conceit. Of money he was careless, and he seemed to set no value on it at all. He does not boast of his fame, though in a simple minded way he clearly did enjoy it. What he really was proud of was his physical strength. It is one of the oddest paradoxes in civilization. Here was a man who apparently with a teacher had by his own quick powers of mind so mastered mathematics, physics and chemistry that he used to sit down deliberately and confidently to solve a problem in invention much as a student sits down to work out a problem in geometry. He had made a machine which enabled him with a touch to mow down men by hundreds in a minute. He had supplied the physical basis of conquest and dominion. He was the indispensable purveyor of force to every Great Power. But the thing of which he was really proud was that he could do what a microcephalous negro boxer or a Far West lumber man can do. His chief pride was that with his own fist he could knock most men down. It is really a gem and miracle of vanity. This man could with his brains slay men by the million. He was vain not of that but of the power of his unaided arm to knock them out one by one.

Sir Hiram certainly was on his own level a kind of superman but his super-excellence was consistent with an oddly limited outlook. He was bigger and stronger than most of his kind. He thought nothing of a sixteen hours day of hard physical toil. He was not so much the superman as the super mechanic. He could do better and quicker work with any given tool than any other craftsman of his day. He could turn wood or metal equally well. He could paint terraces with wonderful landscapes on their panels. He was vastly proud of making a perspective drawing of a machine which when photographed was mistaken for a direct photograph. He was in body and mind the climax of a race of backwoods pioneers who owed their survival to physical prowess and mental adaptability. He made his automatic guns in manhood precisely as he had made a blunderbuss for bears and a trap for mice as a boy. It was a purely mechanical genius and the oddest thing about him was that he evidently thought of his gun exactly as he thought of the sundry improved tools which he had made for other human uses.

### Japanese Economics and the War

Baron Shibusawa, the well known Japanese financier and banker, points out the economic result of the war on Japan in the pages of the *Japan Magazine* for February.

At the beginning of the war Japan believed that America would reap a great harvest from exporting supplies and munitions to Europe resulting in an industrial prosperity that would react favorably on Japan's exports to the

United States. But the opposite happened. There was a remarkable falling off in trade with the United States, especially in silk. As a consequence Japan was obliged to take steps to prevent a further fall in the silk market, and we are told, an association called the Central Guild of Silk Industry was formed for the purpose.

However

Within a year the silk situation quite changed for the better. The price rising to twice its former average. Other exports to America have made similar progress.

There has also been a steady increase in trade with Europe, especially Russia, caused no doubt by the diminution of output through mobilization for war. The exports of munitions to Russia from Japan has been enormous though far less than the exports sent by America. The orders received from Russia were executed partly by private enterprise and partly by the Government.

The biggest profits of the war have accrued to our shipping companies as ships have from the first been at a premium. From the time of the war with China Japan's merchant marine has been steadily expanding under the impetus of government subsidies. But great as had been the growth it was unable to supply the demand created by the present war. Japan is now full of *funanatikia* or men made millionaires by shipping.

Japan is glad to have this increase of wealth however for she has so long been a debtor country, suffering under the pressure of loans that she can now do something to free herself from this burden.

Trade during the present war has fortunately brought about a favourable balance in Japan, extensions taking place in all directions, more particularly toward the South seas to take the place of goods formerly supplied by Germany. The result of our increased trade has been a steady inflow of specie until now the gold holdings of the nation are more than double what they were at the beginning of the war. Japan has thus been enabled to redeem considerable of her foreign indebtedness and to invest in Allied securities.

There is no doubt that so long as the war continues Japan will go on enjoying a favourable economic position. With the conclusion of peace Japan may expect to enter upon the difficult task of retaining the markets she has secured during the war. This will be very difficult in view of the economic competition that is inevitable after the war. Japan is now devoting careful attention to what may be expected after the war and preparing to face the situation.

War is an abnormal and unnatural condition, not so trade, which is the normal condition of progressive society. It is as absurd as it is immoral to regard trade as war. If a man cannot raise his reputation by honest trade he should get out. He is unequal to the noble profession of a supplier of human needs. As a financier I protest against the word "war" ever being associated with commerce and industry.



## NOTES

## The Triumphant March of Freedom

During the first seventeen years of the twentieth century there have been both losses and gains to the cause of national freedom. Korea was annexed to the Empire of Japan in 1910. Tripoli was annexed to Italy in 1912. In April 1912 a treaty was signed at Fez by which the Sultan of Morocco had to formally accept the French protectorate. In the same year in November the right of Spain to exercise its protectorate in the Spanish Zone of Morocco was acknowledged. By various decrees from 1899 to 1903 the powers of local self-government which Finland possessed under its old constitution were taken away by Russia. From 1904 to 1909 the legislative powers of the Finns were restricted in several directions and by a bill passed in 1911 Finland was made to pay an annual contribution of £800,000 to the Russian Imperial Exchequer. Now that democracy has been established in Russia Finland will most probably regain her lost liberties.

Cyprus and Egypt practically formed parts of the British Empire even before the present war. The nominal change in their political status cannot therefore, be counted either as a gain or a loss.

Similarly until after the end of the war and the conclusion of peace, nothing definite can be said regarding the political condition of Belgium, Montenegro, Serbia, Armenia, Mesopotamia &c.

The gains to the cause of freedom have probably been greater than the losses. The island of Cuba became a republic in 1901. In 1905 Norway severed her connection with Sweden and became a separate and independent kingdom. This is perhaps the only instance in history of the formation of an independent kingdom without any fighting and without the help of any foreign powers. The Government of Russia since the year 1905 was in theory a constitutional hereditary monarchy but in fact the legislative, executive and judicial powers continued to be united to a great extent in the Emperor who continued to

bear the title of Autocrat till the day of his practically forced abdication last month. Under the Constitution granted by the Prince of Montenegro in December 1910 Montenegro became a hereditary constitutional monarchy with popular representation but it is now under German and Austrian occupation. Persia obtained a constitution in 1906 but up to the present she has not been able to enjoy the advantages of a settled orderly and progressive government. How far certain foreign powers are responsible for this state of things and to what extent the Persian people themselves are responsible it is not within the scope of this note to discuss. It is not certain whether the establishment of democracy in Russia will affect the future of Persia favorably or unfavorably. Probably it will be good for Persia. In 1908 Mithat Pasha's constitution of 1876 was restored to Turkey. Under it Turkey made some progress. But internal dissensions, the Balkan wars and the present war have created a very embarrassing situation for the Turkish people. On October 5, 1908 Bulgaria declared her independence. The self-governing Union of South Africa was constituted in 1909. Of the constituent provinces of this Union Natal and Cape Colony had been already self-governing British colonies but the Transvaal and the Orange Free State having been granted self-government after subjugation by the British Government, the creation of the Union must be counted a gain to the cause of popular freedom. But this is a gain only to the people of European extraction. The African population except a small number in Cape Colony are without the franchise and have been reduced by iniquitous land laws to the position of serfs in their own country. Portugal was declared a republic in 1910. The Portuguese dominions in India have been recently granted internal autonomy. The independence of Albania was proclaimed in 1912 but it is now under Austrian occupation. On February 12, 1912 China the oldest of monarchies became a republic. She has since had many internal troubles. Her

integrity too has been threatened from outside. But the establishment of democracy in Russia perhaps removes one source of her anxiety, as the Russian Republic—that is what it promises to become, is not likely to favour schemes of territorial aggrandisement by conquest and even if she does the inhabitants of the parts of China included in the Russian Republic are likely to enjoy the rights of citizens like other inhabitants of that republic. Since almost the beginning of American occupation the Philippines have enjoyed a great measure of popular self government. They have now been granted perfectly responsible government. Arabia was in great part under Turkish rule. Recently the Grand Sherif of Mecca has set up an independent kingdom in the province of Hedjaz and assumed the title of king.

In spite of reverses and retrogression here and there the cause of national independence and popular freedom has thus been marching triumphantly from victory to victory. The crowning event in this triumphal march is the latest—the assertion of the people's will in the Russian Empire. That empire had hitherto figured before the world as the typical autocracy. Its bureaucracy had been known as the most powerful, and the most highly organised in the world. It was more powerful even than the Tsar himself. But it has toppled to the ground like a house of cards as if at the mere breath of the popular will.

### The Revolution in Russia

The Revolution in Russia has been very sudden. It is now clear that the Tsar and his household had been kept in the dark by the bureaucracy about the real condition of Russia and Russian feeling. It is doubtful whether even all the bureaucrats had a clear idea of the strength of the democratic forces they had so long kept under control. But however sudden the revolution it was not unexpected. And whether expected or not the soil had been prepared for it by the blood of the martyrs to the cause of popular freedom and the sufferings of the other innumerable victims of the bureaucracy. They had done propaganda work in a thorough going manner. This has been going on for more than half a century. In the winter of 1861—1862 a high official wrote to a friend who had been absent from Russia for a few months

'If you returned now you would be astonished at the progress which the opposition—one might say, the revolutionary party—has made. The revolutionary ideals have taken possession of all classes all ages all professions and they are publicly expressed in the streets, in the barracks and in the government offices. I believe the police itself is carried away by them. (*Encyclopaedia Britannica*)

Such doctrines could not of course, be preached openly under a paternal despotic government but the press censure had become so permeated with the prevailing spirit of enthusiastic liberalism that they could be artfully disseminated under the disguise of literary criticism and fiction, and the public very soon learned the art of reading between the lines. The work which had perhaps the greatest influence in popularising the doctrines was a novel called *Shto Delati?* (What is to be done?) written in prison by Tchernishevski one of the academic leaders of the movement, and published with the sanction of the authorities! (*Encyclopaedia Britannica*) The revolutionaries began a propaganda among the working population of the towns and the rural population in the villages. The propagandists were recruited chiefly from the faculty of physical science in the universities from the Technological Institute and from the medical schools, and a female contingent was supplied by the midwifery classes of the medico-Surgical Academy. Those of each locality were personally known to each other, but there was no attempt to establish among them hierarchical distinctions or discipline. Each individual had entire freedom as to the kind and means of propaganda to be employed. Some disguised themselves as artisans or ordinary labourers and sought to convert their uneducated fellow workmen in the industrial centres whilst others settled in the villages as school teachers. (*Encyclopaedia Britannica*)

The revolution in Russia then is not so sudden as it seems. And it is not the revolutionaries alone who had worked among the peasants and other labouring people. There were various other movements for the moral and intellectual awakening of the people. There were many who did not originally start with nihilistic notions but whom official persecution had turned into nihilists. This process of manufacture of nihilists among

chists or revolutionaries of a similar character is well known in other despotically governed countries also

There is a widely prevalent notion that the Russian revolutionaries were all bomb throwers and assassins. That is not so. They were for the most part unselfish and high minded men and women who had devoted their all to the loving and peaceful service of the Motherland. Even some of those who eventually took to assassination were originally peaceful benefactors of the poor. The persecution of the Russian bureaucracy drove them to take to bloody ways.

It is the shortest and least bloody revolution of an important character recorded in history. But among those whose death has been directly or indirectly caused by the revolution and those who have suffered for it in other ways are to be included those who were rightly or wrongly punished as nihilists though they never ceased to protest against the term as a calumnious nickname. We take the following figures from the *Encyclopædia Britannica* —

The following statistical statement of the movement during a half year of its greatest activity (from 1st July 1881 to 1st January 1883) is taken from unpublished official records —

Number of affairs examined in the police department	1500
Number of persons punished	3046
These 3046 punishments may be divided into the following categories —	
Death	20
Penal servitude	128
Exile in Siberia	681
Exile under police supervision in European Russia	1500
Lesser punishments	717
	<hr/> 3046

From the beginning of the movement up to 1890 the number of Anarchists condemned to death and executed was forty eight and the number of persons assassinated by the Anarchists was thirty nine. There is no reason to suspect the accuracy of these statistics for they were not intended for publication. They are taken from a confidential memorandum presented to the emperor.

The ex tsar Nicholas II in whose abdication the revolution has culminated is himself a man of gentle and humane character. His wife too is a woman of the same disposition. They were under the impression that the people of Russia loved them and probably it was not an entirely erroneous impression as sometimes rulers of men are personally popular though

their administration may be unpopular owing to the autocratic or bureaucratic system and machinery. But frequently things are not what they seem. And after all though it is only too natural to feel some sympathy for the ex emperor and his family the cause of the freedom of the people and their welfare must always claim higher consideration than the position of individuals however high placed they may be. We speak of their position not their happiness for we believe it would be possible for Nicholas Romanov and his family to lead a happier life in the privacy of retirement than in the midst of the gilded splendours of their palaces ever guarded by an army of sentinels and detectives. Unwisely the head that wears a crown was literally true in the case of the tsars of Russia for more than half a century. In judging between Nicholas II and the people until lately under his rule we must also bear in mind that good intentions and sympathy cannot make up for the defects of a bad system and the hardship caused thereby. An autocrat however good is a mortal like other men and on his death his policy and methods are not unoften reversed. Democracy has its defects but it is the best of all forms of government so far evolved or devised by man and there is a far greater chance of continuous progress under a democratic government than under the best of autocracies. The greatest condemnation of autocracies and bureaucracies and the highest claim of democracies to the adherence and support of thinking persons lie in this that the highest good of men in their individual and collective capacities consists in the ability to do all needful things themselves in being self ruling self sufficient and self reliant, and whereas democracies increase this ability autocracies and bureaucracies have a directly opposite tendency.

### We Rejoice.

We rejoice that we have lived to see the enfranchisement of so large a portion of mankind. Our joy is not any whit the less keen or sincere because there is no selfish feeling in it. Because we have a human heart, we must rejoice whenever and wherever a brother man becomes free.

### The Effects of the Revolution

In speaking of the effects of the Revolution in Russia we do not refer merely to

the hastening of the termination of the war, though that may be one of its probable consequences. We refer principally to its more far-reaching consequences.

As we have indicated in a previous note, the nation was being prepared for the change for decades, nay, generations past, by the Russian leaders. Speaking of the programmes of these leaders, a Russian writes thus in *New India* :—

Those programmes are full of an unselfish spirit and sometimes of a keen understanding of complex social problems. Never will you find a narrow or selfish tendency, never the desire to grasp or to rule, or to have privileges. Never will you find formulae like "Russia for Russians," but always "Russia for all humanity." All who live on the Russian soil must enjoy the rights of citizenship without any distinction of race, creed or caste. In some programmes even the equality of rights for women was suggested.

These schemes may have been sometimes naive and impractical, but they are permeated by a wonderful spirit of humanity and self-sacrifice. Some of them ask for Home Rule for Poland, Finland, Armenia, and there are even suggestions that certain parts of the Empire might also enjoy perfect Self Government, Russia being at the head of a big Federation. Sometimes the question was asked by some patriots of the old style : "Well, and if several parts of the Empire simply split off and Central Russia remains alone? Will not then the very existence of Russia be in peril?" The glorious answer of the revolutionary leaders always was : "We do not believe in the peril; but even if Russia were to perish in this undertaking, better let her perish, than live and trample on the principles of justice and liberty."

The unselfish and self-sacrificing spirit by which the Russian leaders were actuated encourages one to hope that New Russia will not insist on the wiping out of any oriental or occidental power, but only on proper reparations, indemnities and guarantees for the future preservation of peace, as one of the peace terms. A real democracy ought not to have anything to do with the suppression, repression, exploitation and enslavement of nationalities. It is also to be hoped, therefore, that New Russia will have nothing to do with the dismemberment of Persia and China. It is also likely that democratic Russia will never in the future be considered a menace to India on its North-western frontier. And, of course, we expect that all parts of Europe and Asia now under Russian rule and occupation will share in the political enfranchisement and civic rights of the Russians. We expect that the Russians will prepare all backward peoples comprised in their State for exercising the full rights of self-govern-

ment as the great American republic is doing in the Philippines.

Let us now see and rejoice to see on how many races freedom has already dawned or is going shortly to dawn. Poles, Bulgarians, Bohemians, and other Slavs, Lithuanians, Letts, Latins, Rumanians, Greeks, Swedes, Norwegians, Danes, Germans, Iranians, Armenians, and other Aryans, Jews, Finns, Estonians, Lapps, Mordvians, Karelians, Cheremisses, Syryemians, Permiaks, Votyaks, Samoyeds, Turko-Tatars, Tunguz, Chuvashes, Bashkirs, Turkomans. Kirghiz, Sarts, Uzbeks, Yakuts, Karakalpaks, Kalmuks, Buriats, Mongols, Circasians, Mingrelians, Imereians, Lazes, Svanetians, Georgians and other Caucasians, Chinese, Japanese, and Koreans, Yukaghirs, Koriaks, Chukchis, Eskimo, Ghulaks, Kamchadals, Ainus, and others, inhabiting the empire, will be benefited by the establishment of democracy in Russia. A great many of them are Asiatics.

This shows that a State which is a compact whole consisting of territories situated in immediate vicinity to one another, is more likely to have the same progressive and enlightened form of government in all its parts than one of which the parts lie at great distances from one another. It is, of course, a wish impossible of fulfilment,—but how we could wish that Great Britain were located in the Bay of Bengal or in the Indian Ocean or in the Arabian Sea, forming an undivided and unbroken land-surface with India! It would then be impossible for the opponents of Indian Home Rule to maintain in our country a system of government different from and inferior to that prevailing in the United Kingdom. But men may act in a progressive spirit in spite of the absence of the geographical advantage we have referred to above. The United States of America is situated at a great distance from the Philippines. Seas and oceans intervene. But the spirit of democracy animates and governs the political affairs of both countries. The Americans are mainly of British stock. What they have done, certainly the original parent-stock is not incapable of doing.

There is also another advantage in being in immediate vicinity to an enlightened country. Knowledge of all kinds is diffused faster among countries between which there is easy intercourse by land than

among countries between which oceans intervene. But this disadvantage too can be overcome by human effort provided there be the will to do it. In any case the British people ought to see that Americans and Russians do not become greater political and intellectual benefactors of Asiatic races than themselves. No one yet knows which nation will succeed most in giving to Asia advanced political institutions and advanced scientific and mechanical knowledge. Our children will know, if not ourselves.

### "The Changeless East"

It is surprising how men unthinkingly subscribe to meaningless cant, unfounded theories and dicta which have no basis in fact. Europeans speak of the changeless East, the immoveable East, the unchanging East, etc. But in reality the East has changed as much as the West. That Westerners rule the roost everywhere in the East except in Japan is itself a proof of the change that the East has undergone. Tennyson wrote "Better fifty years of Europe than a cycle of Cathay." But he was thinking of Europe as she became after the introduction of the use of steam power for the purposes of locomotion and manufacture. Before the age of steam there was no difference between East and West as regards changelessness or changefulness.

Cathay or China which was to Tennyson the very type of conservatism or stagnancy has in recent years undergone two revolutions. Japan has changed and is still fast changing. Persia has changed. Afghanistan has changed though there is no outward mark of this change discernible yet. And now Russia which used to be formerly spoken of disparagingly by Western Europeans as almost an oriental country has passed through a great revolution. Of course it will now be spoken of as an occidental country pure and simple. But will the Ural range be obliterated or will the Asiatic possessions of Russia be included in the continent of Europe in new editions of geographies written by Europeans? It would be necessary in that case to include Japan, China and the Philippines in Europe or America. For is not there an immutable incompatibility between democracy and Asia?

### India Does Not Change

But whatever may be the case with the other countries of Asia or of the world India is considered unfit for and incapable of any change. We do not of course mean any unlawful change but only rapid ordered progress in the direction of democracy.

There is a popular belief that earthquakes may turn things topsy turvy everywhere else but they cannot cause even the slightest tremor in Holy Kashi or Benares, for that city rests secure on the trident of the white god Shiva. Similarly, the minds of the people of all other countries may be agitated by yearnings and aspirations political social etc. but the souls of Indians are proof against any such agitation. For does not their country repose in quiet resting in stable equilibrium on the bayonets of the white British soldiers and the pens of white British bureaucrats far beyond the range of transmission of thought waves from the rest of the world?

Still it would seem as if even India could bear some change—a change which would make the predominant position of British bureaucrats here secure for all time secure at any rate so long as the British connection with India endured. The Directors of the East India Company declared that there was to be no ruling caste in India, the Charter Act of 1833 embodied their views in that respect in a well known Section. The proclamation of Queen Victoria confirmed by her son and grandson declared that there was to be no distinction made in official appointments between Indians and other British subjects on the ground of race or religion &c. Mr. Lloyd George the Premier recently declared in the House of Commons that though the Irish could have Home Rule for the asking they could not clamour to impose Home Rule on Ulster. But the heaven born Public Service Commissioners we mean the majority of them superior in wisdom statesmanship and righteousness to the Directors of the East India Company and their contemporary British statesmen and to Queen Victoria and her successors have recommended that there should be a ruling caste of British stock in India that their number should be a minimum of three fourths of the whole force of rulers and that it is right to impose and perpetuate the rule of this

bureaucracy on India, because—well, because India is not Ulster.

This proposed, or rather recommended, change was warmly welcomed in the Viceregal Council by the Hon'ble Babu Bhupendranath Basu in a speech characterised by oriental stolidity and passionlessness. We make some extracts from it.

#### An unchanging Civil Service for the Changeless East

There was a cry, an insistent cry, from every part of India that we, Indians, were unduly unjustly kept out of the proper share that was due to us in the higher services of our country, and Sir, there was good and just reason for that cry. Rulers may come, and rulers may go. Viceroy may come and Viceroy may go. I speak of them with all respect, but they leave little impression upon the character, or the course, of our administration. Councillors may sit, and talk, and abuse each other, and they may be permitted to sneak away, but they also do not, as admitted to sneak away, much matter in the affairs of life present constituted, much matter in the great Civil Service of India, a body which lasts for ever. Men may come and men may go but, my friends, the members of the Civil Service, they will go on for ever with their traditions, of which they are justly proud. But, alas, they become hidebound and cast in a rigid mould. They are good men. They are guided by the one principle of doing the best that they can for the people of India. These are things which we readily admit. But they sometimes fail to see how their administration operates upon the people, for whose good they labour in India. Sir, for us, therefore not for the appointments, not for the handsome salaries it was for the purpose of putting in our claim in the higher machinery of Government, for putting in some wheel at least in that machinery, that we, Indians, have been pressing for a long time for the recognition of the great principle that Indians should have an adequate share in the administration of the country and be given facilities for admission into the Civil Service. Well, Sir, for this reason, we have asked for

#### Simultaneous Examinations.

Just imagine, Sir, if English lads were told to go to Kamschatka to qualify for the Civil Service of England, to learn, I don't know what language the Kamschatkans talk, their language, to pass examinations in their language, and then go back to England to rule, what would be the attitude of the Englishmen towards that arrangement. The same has been our case. I have taken an extreme case, by the well known principle of reduction, of the difficulty, should I say the absurdity of the present arrangement. You ask boys of India to pass difficult examinations in your language. Do you for a moment realise the great handicap that the language test imposes upon us, a great and pressing handicap? Why should we not be content with that, you are at a loss to know. You go farther. You are content with imposing on us the task of learning your language, or trying to learn your language, and it is one of the most difficult to learn; you ask us to go to your country for the examinations. We do our best to comply with your tests in your country, and then, if we are declared fit to be put on the same level as the

English youth, we ask, why not admit us. The report of the Commissioners says, that will not be enough. There are other considerations. I do not ignore them. You say "Not only are you to learn our language, but you must go to England to pass your examinations." Well, Sir, whether that is right or wrong, whether such a procedure can be justified in the higher court of humanity or not, we have submitted to it. We have submitted to it under protest, and we have agreed. If you think a sojourn in England is necessary to give the necessary experience to our youths aspiring to the public service, to our boys making this sojourn, let them go with the certainty that they will be admitted into the precincts of the Civil Service. Let them pass their examinations in this country under the same test. That is the point, Sir. The Commission have thrown these 20 bulky volumes at our heads. With what result? We could have competed we, Indians, could have ventured to acquire your language to some extent at least, if we had been given a chance, but the Commission sits in judgment on our claims, and says here is our judgment. "We have

#### Double barred the Gate

"We have reduced the age from 22 to 17, because 17 is the age that suits our boys who leave school. The time may not suit you, but it suits us. We have done more. We have said that previous to the examination, there must be a three years' residence in a public school in England. We have done yet more. We have scored out your

#### Sanskrit, Arabic and Persian

from the languages. Are you not content that, instead of this, though we have practically absolutely done away with the inconvenient scrap of paper the Queen's Proclamation, we have not taken away your chances altogether? We have given you

#### Seven Appointments

to be competed for in India. Are you not content? I ask you, Sir, I ask the representatives of the Civil Service, who are arrayed against me,—no, I beg their pardon, I will not say arrayed against, but in front of me, I ask them, would they expect any body of Englishmen in England to accept such an arrangement, if it was proposed in the case of English youths? But what they should not accept in their own case, would they expect us in India to accept? I have taken only one example, one prominent example from this blessed Commission, which has cost, I do not know how many thousands of pounds, and will no doubt bring decorations to the Commissioners. But Sir, is not one example enough? Very strong expressions were coming into my mind to clearly demonstrate that what the Commissioners have done is not acceptable to the people of India. It is

#### An Insult

to our common sense. It is a denial of right. If we were told in clear and unequivocal language that the Civil Service is closed to us, that we could have understood Plain language we can understand, but subterfuge we do not understand. I say it is an insult to the common sense of India. Why, Sir, what is the use of a Commission like this, what is the use of all this expenditure of money and energy for the sake of 7 appointments to be competed for

India? And these seven appointments to be given under what conditions? Not an easy open competition but by selection by our universities. Well, Sir, again you are trying to bring in an element of elimination. I do not wish to discuss the recommendations of the Commission in this Council at this stage. But I do rise to give a great warning that better, far better, abandon the report of the Commission, for the condition of things have entirely changed. The two years of the War have accelerated Indian conditions by nearly 50 years. The Commission is an anachronism. It is altogether out of date. Leave it alone. India will not be sorry. But if you worked upon this Commission without ascertaining the public feeling how far the recommendations of that Commission were acceptable to the masses of the people of India, and if I am incorrect in using the term masses, how far such recommendations were unacceptable to those classes for whom the Commission was meant you would be taking a grave risk. Indeed you talk of

#### Discontent.

My friend here forges instruments for the fettering of the body, but do not forge instruments for the fettering of the mind. You talk of discontent. You talk of disaffection, but do not take measures which will intensify and accentuate that discontent and that disaffection. Do not for God's sake do nothing which will create a greater distrust of the Government of India than the present arrangements would seem to justify. For, Sir, whether Home Rule comes or not, whether Self-government on Colonial lines comes or not, whether it comes in 20 years or 50 years, what we shall feel, what we daily feel is that whatever may be the future, if you give India a greater share in the higher administration of the country by including a larger number of Indians in the Civil Service, you will make, apart from other questions, you will make your system of Government more acceptable than it is. Therefore, Sir, I think it is a very modest request which my Hon. friend, Pandit Malaviya has made, namely, that no action should be taken upon the Report of this Commission before the opinions of the public bodies and of the members of this Council in open debate have been ascertained. For, after all, Sir, if you do not do that, what is it that the Commission gives? The members of the Civil Service get increased emoluments, increased facilities for leave and pension. It gives them an increased hold upon the services. It restricts in a greater degree the admission of Indians into the Civil Service.

Should you be the judges in your own case? You may be,—you are—honourable and honest men, but who is the man who would venture to sit as a judge in his own case, who is he, Sir, and in this matter in which practically the case is between the Civil Service and ourselves? Would it be right without the enlightenment which may come from public criticism and public debate? Is it right that you should be entrusted with the very serious power of deciding in your own case?

#### The People of India and the Russian Revolution

All men and women in India who have heard of the revolution in Russia and

understand its meaning and know of what a vast range of peoples it will affect the fortunes for the better, will have their minds filled with longings for political betterment and with a conviction that they themselves are not unfit to exercise political power and rights. One of the arguments used by our opponents to prove India's unfitness for home rule is the large number of races, speaking different languages, which inhabit India. The incomplete list of races inhabiting Russia given in a previous note is an answer to this argument. Intelligent, well informed and thinking Indians will not think that there can be or ought to be a revolution in India like the one which has taken place in Russia, for the circumstances of the two countries are different. But whatever the circumstances of a country, one thing holds good everywhere,—Nations by themselves are made. If we would have the rights of free men, let us be ready with the devotion and self-sacrifice which political betterment requires. The Russian revolutionaries have succeeded in spite of, not because of, the crimes and bloodshed and the assassinations rightly or wrongly associated with the revolutionary movement. We must shun all criminal methods. We must avoid the mistakes of the Russian leaders. We must work keeping the British connection intact. But we must be inspired with the devotion and self-sacrifice of the Russian leaders. They gave away everything for the sake of service to the Motherland. Are we ready with the offering of our time, energies, fortunes, careers?

We must continue to work along the line of action recommended by our leaders long before the Russian Revolution became an actuality. Nay, as there seems to be a small knot of Indian men inclined towards revolutionary methods, it is incumbent on all, whether officials or non-officials,—if only to counteract revolutionary activities,—to give the people general and political education of the right sort in the villages and towns and adopt all possible means to improve their material condition. It will not do to say, that, because the Russian revolutionaries taught their people, therefore we will not teach ours, or, because they gave medical and other aid to their people, therefore we will not render such aid to ours, or, because they helped in the political awakening of their

people or revived and encouraged cottage industries, we will in India have nothing to do with such things. No one refuses to light a fire to cook his food, because fire is sometimes used for other purposes. Rapid evolution along right lines is the only substitute for revolutions.

### The Rulers of India and the Russian Revolution.

Speaking in the House of Commons on the Russian Revolution, Mr. Lloyd George, the British Premier, said :

The Imperial Government was confident that the Russian people would find that liberty was compatible with order even in revolutionary times, and that a free people were the best defenders of their own honour.

The Premier added :

The Imperial Government is confident that the events, marking the world epoch and the first great triumph of the principles for which we entered the War, will not result in confusion or slackening in the conduct of the War, but in a closer and more effective co-operation between the Russian people and the Allies in the cause of human freedom.

It seems necessary to ask Mr. Lloyd George and other British rulers of India to bear in mind the dictum that *a free people were the best defenders of their own honour*, in connection with India, too. We would ask all British statesmen also to bear in mind in all that they would do in relation to India the declaration that the British people along with their Allies were fighting "in the cause of human freedom." The British rulers of India cannot be reminded too often of the declared "principles for which" they "entered the war."

When some months ago Mr. Lloyd George told the London correspondent of the Australian United Cable Service : "We stand at this moment on the verge of the greatest liberation the world has seen since the French revolution," we wrote in our February number :

Yes, we want to make his words perfectly and truly significant, and in order that they may not be mere hollow sounds empty of meaning we want that India also should be liberated and her sons also should have self-government. "The greatest liberation" will not be a liberation at all within the British Empire itself, if the most numerous nationality forming a component part of it be not given an effective control over their own affairs.

We did not make a wrong use of words when we used the words "liberation" and "liberated" in connection with India. We can cite the use of the words "a free

people" by the Premier to describe the Russians after the Revolution, in support of our use. When he described the Russian people after the revolution as free, he clearly meant to imply that before the revolution they were not free. Yet, before the revolution, Russia was an independent country, and the Russian people had their Duma, which was a parliamentary institution, though not as powerful and as fully representative of the many peoples inhabiting the Russian empire as the British Parliament is of Great Britain and Ireland. If a people inhabiting an independent country and having a parliamentary assembly with somewhat restricted representation and powers, required to be "free" in order to be the defenders of their own honour, and if this attainment of "freedom" by them, can be spoken of as "the first great triumph of the principles for which" the British people "entered the War," surely it would be right to speak of India as "liberated," if she, a dependent country without any parliament of any description, were given Home Rule ; and it would, of course, not be proper to speak of India as free until she got Home Rule and had a parliament. Lest some might think our provincial and imperial councils were parliamentary institutions in embryo, we would remind them that Lord Morley, who gave us these enlarged councils, vehemently protested that in doing so he was not introducing the thin end of the parliamentary wedge.

We hope we have established the two propositions that India is not free, and that in order to be consistent the British people should give us free political institutions. Otherwise their declaration that they were fighting in the cause of human freedom would not be correct. It may, of course, be contended that the Allies were fighting for human freedom, and that as Indians were not human beings, they need not have freedom. But no British man or woman has laid down such a cynical proposition. We do not therefore feel called upon to refute it. It may and has been contended that Indians are not fit for even the qualified freedom which Home Rule implies. For such freedom we have proved our fitness repeatedly, and some of the arguments in proof of our fitness have been brought together in our pamphlet "Towards Home Rule." So we need not repeat these



The growth of criminals is greatly stimulated where people are badly fed morally and physically unhealthy infected with any forms of disease and vice. In such circumstances moreover there is too often the evil influence of heredity and example. The offspring of criminals are constantly impelled to follow in the footsteps of their parents by the secret sprags of nature and pressure of childhood instincts. The seed is thrown so to speak into a hot bed where it finds congenial soil in which to take root and flourish.

According to this authority wherever crime shows itself it follows certain well defined lines and has its genesis in three dominant mental processes the result of marked propensities. These are malice greed and acquisitiveness and lust. The crimes due to these causes are often interdependent and overlap. The proportions in which these three categories are manifested have been worked out in England and Wales to give the following figures. The percentage in any 100 000 of the population is —

Crimes of malice	15 per cent
Crimes of greed	75
Crimes of lust	10

Thefts &c. due to hunger and want come under the second category and form the largest proportion of crimes.

It is unnecessary for our present purpose to pursue the subject of the genesis of crime any further. From what we have said and from the extracts made from Major Griffiths's observations it should be clear that poverty insanitary dwellings and environments disease lack of education criminal tendencies etc. largely give rise to crime. Just as in the case of diseases so in that of crime prevention is better and more important than cure. And how can we prevent crime? No practicable increase in the number of policemen no amount of vigilance on their part can prevent crime if the causes thereof be not eradicated. If large numbers of people have to pass their days in squalor poverty some of them will feel impelled to thieving and they will also necessarily be without any appreciable intellectual and moral education. So both their moral and material condition will combine to increase the number of thefts and other crimes against property. Poverty can be lessened by imparting to the people general and agricultural and other industrial education. Education is also a means of moral improvement. Hence education lies at the root of the prevention of crime.

Disease and insanitary homes and surroundings often make people vicious and vice leads to crime. If disease and insanitation two of the root causes of crime are attacked crime can be reduced. The physician and the sanitary expert can therefore do the policeman's work very effectively.

If the children of criminal classes or incorrigibly vicious people are early taken care of and removed from their evil surroundings are placed under proper guardianship and tuition recruits can thus be cut off from the permanent army of crime. The work of the Social Servant and educator can in this way lighten the labors of the police.

So we urge that if for no other reason than that the legitimate object of policing the country may be the better accomplished Government should see that all the boys and girls in the country are properly educated and thereby made intelligent moral and law abiding citizens that all preventable diseases are eradicated that the sanitary condition of rural and urban areas is improved and that by vocational education of different kinds and by giving encouragement to agriculture trade and manufacturing industries the material condition of the people is ameliorated.

To one class of crimes known as political Major Griffiths has not referred probably because England being a free and independent country there is no political crime there. There is reason to think that much of what in India passes for political crime is due to economic causes and can therefore be prevented by doing away with unemployment and improving the material condition of the people by this and other means. The more the political condition of India approximates to that of Great Britain the less shall we hear of the remaining number of political crimes.

There is no natural antagonism between ourselves our representatives and the police. An honest police officer who does only his legitimate duty the duty which is assigned to his department in all enlightened States is as good a patriot as any other man in the country. We want that the policeman should be the friend of the people. We desire that the teacher the physician the sanitary expert the agriculturist the Co-operator the social servant and the Captain of Industry should be his friends and allies. It is only when he degrades himself and becomes

what the police are in tyrannically and barbarously governed countries that we raise our voice against him

### Proposed Summer Conference at Darjeeling

Following the example of American and European Summer Schools and Conferences it is proposed to hold at Darjeeling from May 15th to June 15th a Conference with the following aims —

To bring together different sections of the community, Indian and European official and non official, women as well as men, in the comparative leisure and freedom of Darjeeling, for informal lectures and discussions on some of the Problems and Needs of India industrial and artistic, hygienic and educational social and ethical

The object of the Conference is to rouse interest in new points of view and to find a common basis of action to promise a better understanding by bringing together workers in different fields of thought and action, who have too rarely the opportunity of meeting and of knowing each other's needs and aims

Prof Geddes will give a series of talks on Biology in relation to Indian forms of life and on Civics in relation to Indian Villages and Towns He will endeavour to show that the principles of Biology and Sociology, not forgetting Psychology and Ethics, are of fundamental importance for the Arts of Life, Agriculture and Industry, Sanitation and Education, Government and Religion

Sir J C Bose, Dr P C Roy, Dr Brajendranath Seal, Sir Rabindranath Tagore, and others are also expected to give lectures and open discussions

The Lecturers are giving their services without fee, but expenses of organisation, &c., will have to be met It is hoped that these may be covered by the fees for Membership, which it is proposed to fix at Rs 30 for the whole month, with half a fees for Teachers and Students But a guarantee fund will have to be raised, even though it may not be necessary to call upon it

All are welcomed, and are meanwhile invited to send suggestions and offers of help to the Secretaries Summer Conference The Hon Secretaries *pro tem* are Mrs P Banerji and Mrs P Geddes 46, Jhantala Road Ballygunge

This is a highly interesting experiment, and should prove useful in stimulating thought along new lines and leading us to undertake social work in many directions which are now neglected We accord our hearty support to the scheme

### The War Contribution from India

The self ruling Dominions included in the British Empire have been contributing large sums to the war expenses As they are self ruling and can do or refrain from doing what they like with their money, their contributions are rightly considered free will offerings Had India been like them a self governing part of the Empire, she also would have made a spontaneous contribution according to her means Even in her present condition of subjection to a bureaucratic government, if the question of a contribution had been referred to the only, though partially, representative members in the Indian Legislative Council they most probably all or a majority of them would have agreed to a contribution being made, though the amount might not have been the same as fixed upon by the Governor General in Council in consultation with the Secretary of State for India But as the contribution of £100 millions was resolved to be made without the people of India or their representatives knowing anything about it before it was decided upon by their rulers, it is a terminological inexactitude to describe it, as some British statesmen have been doing as a free will offering of the people of India As we have no free will and no free controlling voice in the political affairs of our country, there is no opportunity for us to say either yes or no But as we have said before, if we had a free voice in the affairs of our country and of the Empire, we would have said yes Our objection, therefore, is not to any contribution itself, but to the description of it as a free offering of India India is not free, and we cannot therefore pass unchallenged any implication that she is We are not indulging in hair splitting or mere verbal distinctions India is entitled to political rights But it is a pity that her rulers have so little consideration for her feelings of self respect that they would not show her even the courtesy of a previous consultation even when the result might be considered a foregone conclusion and yet would call the contribution a free

gift. Men subscribe for many worthy objects they pay subscription to associations of which they are members often as a matter of course. But these contributions are not decided upon by others without the previous knowledge and consent of the members.

As regards India's contributions to war's victory before the present contribution was decided upon British statesmen here and in Great Britain have more than once described them in detail. Hence it is not necessary for us to dwell upon the subject. Regarding India's ability to make the latest contribution of £100 millions a comparison with Canada will make India's poverty quite clear. An Ottawa telegram dated March 25 tells us that subscriptions to Canada's third war loan of a hundred and fifty million dollars have closed. The minister of finance has announced that the loan has been a magnificent success. He estimated that the subscriptions would total two hundred and fifty million dollars. This means that Canada in this third war loan that she has raised wanted 150 million dollars but she has got 67 per cent more than what she wanted. In India Government want to borrow 150 crores of rupees. The subscriptions have not up to date (March 28) exceeded 5 crores.

It is probable that the greater part of the 150 crores required will have to be subscribed by British capitalists. As the interest will have to be paid by the Indian tax payers in the form of additional taxes there will be a further drain on the resources of India, unless we can subscribe the whole amount. As there is little likelihood of our being able to do so we should try our utmost to lend Government as much as we can. For thereby the additional taxes that India will have to pay will return to the pockets of her own children to some extent. That is the only way in which we can of course only to a very small extent get back a part of what we shall have to pay. In England and the colonies the people own and work the factories for making munitions and other war materials. So they gain to a great extent in high dividends and high wages what they pay in the shape of taxes. India is not similarly circumstanced.

India has been hard hit by the war. High prices rule everywhere. Trade does not flourish. The cost of living

has gone up enormously without any rise in the incomes of our people. The sooner, therefore the war is brought to a victorious close the better for our pockets. And if India's silver bullets can bring peace nearer even by a few days it cannot but make it easier for the poor people of India to make the two ends meet. As however the daily war expenses of the British Empire have risen from 9 crores daily to about 11 crores a day India's contribution will mean only some 14 days expenses. Great Britain of course could have done without this contribution. But let us look at the matter from another point of view.

### Partners and Dependants

It is well known that partners in a concern share all the profits and losses. They run risks in common and enjoy and suffer advantages and disadvantages. Dependants whether called employees servants or by any other names neither get dividends nor bear any losses. They sometimes get bucksheesh that is all.

India's position in the Empire is not that of a partner. That is an old grievance which we need not revive. But as India is bearing losses running risks and spending her blood and treasure like a partner in spite of her not being one it is but just that the position of a partner so long unjustly withheld from her should now be given to her.

Our very shrewd friends the Anglo-Indian journalists and their customers have repeatedly preached sermons to us exhorting us not to make political capital out of our loyalty. Loyalty they have told us is incompatible with bargaining. Very true indeed. But we are sure we cannot be more loyal than our friends the white citizens of the self-governing Dominions. We will pay them the sincerest tribute of admiration by imitating them in our own small feeble way. They are co-operating with Great Britain to win victory. We have done and will continue to do the same. They have autonomy in their internal affairs and when peace is concluded they want to have the same sort of power in the management of the affairs of the whole empire as Great Britain and Ireland now have. We are for the present not so ambitious. We want only internal autonomy home rule.

We hope our Anglo-Indian journalists

brethren will not misjudge and misunderstand us. Nearly two centuries of intercourse and contact with Westerners has not been able to deprive us entirely of the otherworldliness with which Europeans credit us when it suits their purpose to do so. We are therefore not very grasping. We do not want to be too grasping. We do not want to monopolise all the loyalty ourselves and leave all the sordid bargaining to our white brethren here and in the Colonies. Let us all be loyal and all drive bargains as far as we can. That ought to be a fair and satisfactory arrangement all round.

Seriously speaking there is no incompatibility between loyalty and an endeavour to obtain political rights. To strive for civic rights in legitimate ways is not to be wanting in loyalty. Were it so England would have been considered very disloyal. Nor is it a right use of words to call our endeavour to obtain political rights bargaining.

### New Taxation and Our Programme of Work

In order to find the interest of the war loan of 100 crores of rupees additional taxes have been imposed on us. It will take 30 years to pay off the loan. So the additional taxes will remain at least for that period. Indeed we should be very fortunate if they are taken off even after 30 years as it is not usual for finance ministers to give up any source of revenue. It is usual on the contrary to increase the ordinary expenditure in ways which would benefit the civil service &c in order to justify the maintenance of taxes once imposed. We must therefore be prepared for two things viz the maintenance of taxation at its highest level and the keeping down of expenditure on education, sanitation and agricultural and industrial development. If we insist on increased expenditure in these directions and if there be no reasons of State for resisting our demands we shall be told to pay more taxes. We do not see how we can afford to pay the existing taxes at higher rates than what prevail at present nor how at the present rates more money can come to the treasury than at present. New sources justifying the levy of new taxes are also hard to discover. The Viceroy no doubt was very hopeful as he said in the course of his closing budget speech —

We must not despair. In an experience of the last 40 years have shown remarkable powers of recuperation and growth and we have every hope that once the war is ended we shall find ourselves after no great interval with a substantial margin of funds for further social progress.

But the question is was the continual increase in the revenues of India due to the increasing prosperity of the people or was it brought about by artificial means? For it is not unthinkable that the income of the people has remained practically stationary and Government have been taking from them an increasing proportion of their incomes year after year. If the increase in revenue was due to the progressive prosperity of the people what are the proofs of that fact? We think there has not been any perceptible improvement in the material condition of the people in general though some classes in some areas may have become more prosperous than before. The reason why we think so is that famines continue to occur in India as before and the death rate does not show signs of steadily falling year after year nor have the ravages of plague or poverty disease ceased or shown sure signs of diminishing. Our contention is not that we are growing poorer year after year—we have not been able to study the subject so thoroughly as to be able to make so positive a statement. What we contend is that there are no unmistakable signs or proofs of any appreciable improvement in the material condition of the people.

To return to the question which we wanted to draw attention to. We want to wipe off illiteracy within the shortest possible time fill the minds of the people with useful knowledge and brighten their lives. We want to reduce the death rate appreciably and steadily we want to improve and extend agriculture and we want to revive and improve old industries and introduce new ones. All this means increasing expenditure year after year. This is possible by retrenchment in some directions and also additional taxation. Retrenchment is sure to be resisted so long as the bureaucracy enjoy supreme power for both civil and military expenditure benefit British servants of the crown largely though in spite of their opposition we must continue to press for retrenchment. Additional taxation cannot be borne without additional sources of

is therefore the bounden duty of

Government and the people to develop the material resources of the country. Otherwise not only will progress in education, sanitation, agriculture and manufacturing industries be impossible, but the effort to keep taxation at the highest level may have the direct effect of preventing the number of deaths from famines and preventable diseases from steadily falling year after year. It may even rise if great care be not taken to adjust taxation and tax bearing capacity.

We should also strive to do our utmost, by self sacrifice and devotion, in the directions pointed out above. Education, Sanitation, Medical Relief, and Agricultural and Industrial Improvement are among the most important heads of social service. India's tax bearing capacity and therefore Government expenditure on the above are not likely to increase appreciably in the near future. We must, therefore, respond more wholeheartedly to the call of the Motherland.

### Freedom of Speech and of the Press

On account of the use and abuse of the Defence of India Act and of the laws relating to the press, by the executive authorities, freedom of speech and of the press has become greatly restricted in India. At such a time it would be useful to recall two pronouncements by two distinguished British statesmen. Speaking in the House of Lords on the censorship of newspapers on November 3, 1915, Lord Morley said —

In his view the ABC of good government was that it demanded in the foreground and in the background the support of public opinion. He had never been addicted to the undue glorification of public opinion or of its infallibility. But public opinion is not half so fallible as the individual opinion of Monarchs or Prime Ministers. The Government must lean on public opinion good or bad. Then he asked, how in the world were they to get and lean upon a free, full, and correct public opinion unless the public had free, full and correct information as to the facts upon which that public opinion was to be based?

Speaking at Belston on 19th December, 1901, Mr. Asquith observed —

There is no possession which an Englishman ought to value more dearly or which he ought to be prepared to sacrifice more to safeguard and preserve than this inestimable right of free speech. If you do not like my views, and have not got the good temper to listen to them in patience and silence then stay away. If you choose the more excellent part go and air the views of the people from whom you differ. I very likely you will go back strengthened and armed in your own. The one thing that is not allowable, because it strikes at the very foundation of democratic freedom and democratic government, is

that a man whose views do not happen to be those of the majority, should not be allowed a fair hearing by those who differ from him.

### The Viceroy on Agriculture

In the course of his opening speech at the meeting of the Imperial Legislative Council on 5th September, 1916, the Viceroy said —

The Indian cultivator has shown himself quite ready to adopt improved methods as soon as he is convinced of their utility, and I look forward to a time when demonstration farms will be spread all over the country bringing the practical results of scientific research within the reach of the agricultural masses.

The improvement of agriculture besides bringing prosperity and content to the majority of the population of India will provide a worthy career for the young educated Indian who desires to serve his country but does not always find the best way of doing it.

He added

I should like to impress this further fact on Indian parents when they are planning the future of their sons they might well pause to consider whether, instead of sending them to join the overstocked market of the legal and literary professions it would not be better to turn their attention to the possibilities of employment in scientific agriculture. As the department expands it will afford greater opportunities of advancement, and the man who elects for this service may do well for himself and at the same time contribute to the prosperity of his country.

But are not the higher posts in the Agricultural Departments a close preserve for Europeans?

In his opening speech at the Director's Conference also Lord Chelmsford dwelt on the importance of scientific agriculture and explained the need of agricultural education. Something may, therefore, be expected to be done during his regime for the progress of agriculture. In order that efforts to improve and expand agricultural operations may be successful it is necessary to bear in mind what Lord List says in his "National System of Political Economy."

The productive power of the cultivator and of the labourer in agriculture will always be greater or smaller according to the degree in which the exchange of agricultural produce for manufactures can proceed more or less readily. A nation which has already made considerable advances in civilization, in possession of capital and in population will find the development of a manufacturing power of its own infinitely more beneficial to its agriculture, than the most flourishing foreign trade can be without such manufactures because it thereby secures itself against all fluctuations to which it may be exposed by war, by foreign restrictions on trade and by commercial crises because it thereby saves the greatest part of the costs of transport, because (at home) improvements in transport are called into existence by its own manufacturing industry, while from the same

cause a mass of personal and natural powers hitherto unemployed will be developed and especially because the reciprocal exchange between manufacturing power and agricultural power is so much greater, the closer the agriculturist and the manufacturer are to each other and the less they are liable to be interrupted in the exchange of their various products of all kinds. A nation which possesses merely agriculture and merely the most indispensable industries is in want of the first and most necessary division of commercial operations among its inhabitants and of the most important half of its productive powers.

For these reasons, some of which have already come home to us during the War, the improvement and expansion of the existing manufacturing industries of India and the introduction of new manufacturing industries should also receive immediate attention. It is to be regretted that the labours of the Industrial Commission should have been suddenly discontinued for the time being. Could not some other person than Sir Thomas Holland be chosen either to organise the new Indian Munitions Board or to carry on the work of the Industrial Commission as its president?

Our forecast of arrested progress and some of our suggestions find support from some passages in the Viceroy's closing speech of the session. Said he—

I do not minimise for one moment the heavy responsibilities which this Budget has placed upon us. There will be a sacrifice not of the frills and trimmings of civilisation but a sacrifice in large measure of the necessities of ordered Government and one result must be the arrested progress in education in sanitation in public works and kindred subjects which are in other countries the touchstone of civilised life. — this very sacrifice and mind you, it is a trifling one compared with the sacrifices endured by other countries and nations in this war, should stimulate us all in the direction of recuperative effort especially in respect of industrial and agricultural development so that we may not only by increased production repair the ravages of this hideous war, but also meet the extra burdens which it has laid upon us. This war has made us realise, as never before how we in India have been passing our great resources by

### Comfort and Primary Poverty.

Reviewing Mr Jack's work on "The Economic Life of a Bengal District" in the present number of this Magazine, an I.C.S. writes—

According to Mr Jack the information collected yields the following results. The income of an average family of 5.6 persons among agriculturists was found to be—

In comfort (49 per cent) Rupees 365 per annum  
Below comfort (29 per cent) rupees 233 per annum  
Above indigence (18½ per cent) rupees 165 p a annum

In indigence (4½ per cent) rupees 115 per annum. In estimating what these figures actually mean, it must be constantly borne in mind that they were collected in years when jute, the principal commercial crop of the district was selling at prices which were considerably in excess of those that had prevailed a few years before and also that (so far as we can understand) they include the expenses of cultivation normally incurred by an average family. The figures will lose much of their statistical value should there be any marked change in the relative value of jute and rice.

With these very important qualifications the average income per head of what Mr Jack styles a family in comfort comes to rupees sixty per annum. At page 59 we are furnished with the budget of the annual expenditure of such a family. This comes to Rupees 50 per head so there ought to be ample margin for error and also for saving.

In the Annual Report of the Jail Department in Bengal for the year 1915 all the items of jail expenditure per convict are given. From these we find that dietcost Rs 47 7 per head per annum, bedding and clothing Rs 62 3, and medical treatment Rs 7 10 10, total Rs 61 4 1. We have not taken other items into account. The question, is does Government keep convicts in comfort? Or are they given the barest necessities of life? Perhaps no one will contend that prisoners are supplied with comforts in Indian jails. Now, according to Mr Jack the annual expenditure of a family living in comfort in the Faridpur district is Rs 50 per head. But the annual expenditure on a Bengal convict in prison merely for his diet, bedding and clothing, and medical treatment comes to Rs 61-4-1. Either then Mr Jack's figures are wrong, or his ideas of comfort for a Bengali are peculiar, or prison life in Bengal must be much more enjoyable and luxurious than the free life of a family in comfort in the Faridpur district. In any case at least 51 per cent of the people of Faridpur have a standard of living lower than that of prisoners in jail.

One's ideas of comfort may become clear by contrast with what has been termed "primary poverty." *The Christian Patriot* of Madras has published a letter on "primary poverty" written and signed by Dr. Gilbert Slater and Rev. D. G. M. Leith. Our contemporary says, "Mr Leith is a tried worker in the social field. Mr Gilbert Slater is an expert whose views are entitled to great respect." "Primary poverty" has been thus defined: "Families whose total earnings are insufficient to obtain the minimum necessities for the maintenance of merely physical efficiency."

are said to suffer from primary poverty." Now, let us see what is the standard of primary poverty according to Messrs Slater and Leith. They write —

A group for the study of social questions which meets here under the auspices of the Triplicane Sociological Brotherhood has been endeavouring to collect and interpret facts relating to the economic condition of various classes of wage-earners in Madras. It seemed desirable to have some standard by which to judge whether a family income were sufficient for the maintenance of physical efficiency. Such a standard has been worked out for York and for Belgium by Mr. Seebohm Rowntree and by other enquirers for other places and those families whose income falls below the requisite amount are held to be in a condition of Primary Poverty. Similarly our circle desired to fix a standard to determine the limits of primary poverty in Madras.

We proceeded as follows. We took the prison diet for an adult male prisoner doing hard labour as a basis and purchased in a bazaar the commodities specified in such quantities as they are ordinarily purchased by manual workers. We then weighed out the purchases and made the necessary calculations to ascertain the money which the Madras worker must spend to get the same diet as in prison.

The result was as follows —

	Prison Daily allowance oz	Bazaar price as p
Flour (ragi, cholam and cumbu)	15	1 0
Rice	5	0 4½
Dholl	5	0 6 6
Vegetables	6	0 6
Oil	½	0 2
Tamarind	½	0 0½
Salt	½	0 0½
Curry powder	¼	0 1½
Onions	½	0 0½
Total		2 9

They proceed —

A daily cost of 2 annas and 9 pias is equal to Rs 5-2-6 per month of 30 days. Allowing off the odd annas and pias as the labourer might buy vegetables say a little more cheaply we have left Rs 5-0-0 as a reasonable allowance for food for a man doing manual labour.

We next considered the case of a family consisting of a man, wife and two children too young to earn. We estimated that as three years is the normal interval between births and children begin to earn very early three children unable to contribute to the family income is the largest number that is at all frequent in wage earning families, and that we might therefore take the family as above specified as a fair average. We took a sort of average of the opinions of four members as to the proportion which normally subsists between the food consumed by a woman or child and that of a man and for other necessary expenses with the result that we allowed

	P	A	P
For man for food per month		0	0
" wife "		4	0
" two children "		5	0
Rent for repairs etc., and ground rent per buli,		1	0

Clothing	0	8	0
Fuel	1	0	0
Miscellaneous	0	8	0
	17	0	0

The estimate for rent, clothing and fuel were based on actual budgets collected by members of the Circle from men of the working classes. It appeared that such an average family would be in a condition of primary poverty if the wages earned by the man and his wife fell below Rs 17 0 0 per month.

So far as our information goes living is not on the whole cheaper in Bengal than in Madras. So we may say that what is primary poverty in Madras is primary poverty here too. If a family of four whose monthly earnings fall below Rs 17 per month is in a state of primary poverty then a family of 5-6 persons (Mr. Jack's average family) would be in that condition if its monthly income fell below Rs 23 12. This means that Mr. Jack's average family of 5-6 persons would be in primary poverty if its income fell below Rs. 285 per annum. Hence all the families "below comfort," "above indigence" and "indigence," as he styles them, forming 51 per cent of the total number of families in the Faridpur district, are below the line of primary poverty. That is to say, more than half the inhabitants of a Bengal district are unable to obtain the minimum necessities for the maintenance of merely physical efficiency.

### Some Politically Minded Asiatics

London March 27th  
According to advices from Tashkent, Tartars and Kirghis Sarts have joined the revolution. Great festivals have been held in the towns and villages which are decorated with flags and thanksgiving services have been held in mosques. General Kuropatkin addressed 200,000 demonstrators at Tashkent — Reuter.

### India and the War Conference

As the self governing Dominions are to have one vote each irrespective of their size and population, there is nothing unfair in India too having only one vote at the War Conference. And it is satisfactory to learn that the members from India are not to be mere assessors but members of the conference equally with the Dominion members. The point of our criticism has throughout been this that India is not to exercise her vote through one or more Indians elected by Indians. Mr. Chamberlain is neither an Indian nor has he been elected by Indians. The Dominions Representatives may not have been elected spe-

cially for this occasion, but they have been chosen by their people generally to represent them, to speak and to act for them whenever necessary. We do not complain, but we point out the difference between our status and that of the self ruling Dominions. Like Mr Chamberlain and Sir James Weston, our Indian "representatives," too have not been chosen by us either specially for this occasion or generally to act and speak for us.

Nevertheless Government can make the best use of the situation, if Mr Chamberlain votes according to the opinion of the two Indian "representatives", the Maharaja of Bikanir and Sir S P Sinha, whenever the views of these two are in complete accord. When they are not so, voting should be according to the views of the majority of the four persons who "represent" India, viz, Mr Chamberlain, the Maharaja of Bikanir, Sir S P Sinha and Sir James Weston.

It is pleasing to learn that the Indian "representatives" were given a cordial welcome at the Imperial War Conference. Perfectly satisfactory news would be the concession of political rights to India. There is much difference between politics and politeness, civility and civic rights.

We are glad to learn that

In the House of Commons replying to Sir John Rees Mr Chamberlain stated that Government did not contemplate any action which would result in the representatives of the Dominions being given authority to decide exclusively Indian questions or to exercise in this behalf any influence denied to the representatives of India and also that

In the House of Commons Mr Chamberlain stated that no official recognition had been accorded to the writings of Mr Lionel Curtis printed at the Government press at Allahabad.

### State Aid Indispensable for Industrial Progress in India

Sir Frederick Nicholson, honorary director of the Madras Fisheries Department, and formerly a member of the Board of Revenue of that Presidency, gave very important evidence before the Industrial Commission, which has been summarised by the *Hindu* as follows—

From his vast experience of Japan, Germany, Australia, Canada and other countries which have been making rapid strides in industries Sir Frederick, whose examination lasted no less than four hours, uncompromisingly stated that state aid should take all forms that Government should start pioneer factories in many cases as the

best form of assistance and thus take upon itself the risk and cost of experimental enquiries instead of merely financing proposed enterprises by loans. Unlike other witnesses Sir Frederick holdly maintains that it is a mistake to suppose that Government pioneer factories should necessarily be closed for private enterprise as soon as they have made their proofs for the reason that technical and even commercial success is not the only *raison d'être* of such factories. These factories have also to train up experts from managers to art zans and instructors and perhaps inspectors as well.

The *Indian Trade Journal* quotes the following from the *Board of Trade Journal*—

His Majesty's Commercial Attache at Yokohama (Mr E F Crowe C.M.G.) reports under date 2nd December that a Bill for the encouragement of the Iron Industry in Japan is being considered for presentation to the forthcoming session of the Diet. The principal points of the Bill are as follows—1 That the Land Expropriation Act be applicable to those Iron Foundries reforging plants included which possess an annual capacity of 33 000 tons and above 2 That in the absence of special reasons all Government owned forests or lands be made available to such foundries by rent or sale 3 That all persons undertaking to establish iron foundries be exempt from all forms of taxation for ten years beginning with the year following the establishment of such foundries 4 That all ores imported by such foundries be exempt from customs duty 5 That all the materials employed in the construction of the plant be imported free of customs duty 6 That products of iron foundries established in Korea be exempt from customs duties on importation into Japan.

If such various forms of state aid and encouragement are required in industrially advanced Japan, much more are they required in industrially backward India.

### Women's Deputation to the Viceroy on Indentured Labour.

It is a happy augury for India's future welfare, that her daughters have, under the pressure of sisterly sympathy and regard for the honour and welfare of their motherland, thrown off their habitual reserve, and not only spoken in public on some of the pressing problems of the day, but have waited in deputation on the Viceroy in connection with one of them. The address of the ladies' deputation to the Viceroy on indentured labour is brief, telling, and instinct with feeling. It concludes as follows—

We feel that the evils which have taken place under the indenture system have become so ingrained in the Crown Colonies during the past few years, that no more Indians can go there in the future as unskilled labourers without the greatest moral risks. We are convinced that to preserve the self respect and to uphold the honour of the Indian nation it is absolutely necessary that not a single Indian man or woman





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In reviewing this work *New India* of Madras for 26th August 1916 writes —

The translation done by an unnamed Taluqdar of Oudh is clear and accurate and the value of the work is enhanced by the addition of an introduction and several appendices. An attempt is made to fix the date of the Malabar War in the light of the additional data afforded by this work. These appendices further embody articles on the origin of the Puranas, the date of the Matsya Purana, the Pauran Geography and Chronology contributed by the distinguished Mr. R. Bahadur Sahai Chandra B. S. Vidyaratna. We look forward with great interest to the other parts of the work which are soon to follow.

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VOL. XXI  
No 5

MAY, 1917

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GIRIBALA

By SIR RAMDRA NATH TAGORE

Translated by the Author

GIRIBALA is overflowing with exuberance of youth that seems spilling over in spray all around her—in the folds of her soft dress the turning of her neck the motion of her hands in the rhythm of her steps now quick now languid in her tinkling anklets and ringing laughter in her voice and glances. She would often be seen wrapt in a blue silk walking on her terrace in an impulse of unaccountable restlessness. Her limbs seem eager to dance to the time of an inner music unceasing and unheard. She takes pleasure in merely moving her body causing ripples to break out in the flood of her young life. She would suddenly pluck a leaf from a plant in the flower pot and throw it up in the sky and her bangles would give a sudden tinkle and the careless grace of her hand like a bird freed from its cage would fly unseen in the air. With her swift fingers she would brush away from her dress a mere nothing standing on tiptoe she would peep over her terrace walls for no cause whatever, and then with a rapid motion turn round to go to another direction swinging her bunch of keys tied to a corner of her garment. She would loosen her hair in an untimely caprice sitting before her mirror to do it up again and then in a fit of laziness would fling herself upon her bed like a line of stray moon light slipping through some open ug of the leaves idling in the shadow.

She has no children and having been married in a wealthy family has very little work to do. Thus she seems to be daily accumulating her own self without expenditure till the vessel is brimming over with the seething surplus. She has her husband, but not under her control. She has grown up from a girl into a woman yet escaping through familiarity her husband's notice.

When she was newly married and her husband Gopinath was attending his college he would often play the truant and under cover of the middy siesta of his elders secretly come to make love to Giribala. Though they lived under the same roof he would create occasions to send her letters on tinted paper perfumed with rosewater, and would even gloat upon some exaggerated grievances of imaginary neglect of love.

Just then his father died and he became the sole owner of his property. Like an unseasoned piece of timber the immature youth of Gopinath attracted parasites which began to bore into his substance. From now his movements took the course that led him in a contrary direction from his wife.

There is a dangerous fascination to be leaders of men to which many strong minds have succumbed. To be accepted as the leader of a small circle of sycophants in his own parlour has the same fearful attraction for a man who suffers from a scarcity of brains and character. Gopinath assumed the part of a hero among his friends and acquaintances and tried duly to invent new wonders in all manner of extravagance. He won a reputation among his followers for his audacity of excesses which goaded him not only to keep up his fame but to surpass himself at all costs.

In the meanwhile Giribala in the seclusion of her lonely youth felt like a queen who had her throne but no subjects. She knew she had the power in her hand which could make the world of men her captive only that world itself was wanting.

Giribala has a maidservant whose name is Sudha. She can sing and dance and improvise verses and she freely gives ex-

pression to her regret that such a beauty as that of her mistress should be dedicated to a fool who forgets to enjoy what he owns. Giribala is never tired of hearing from her the details of her charms while at the same time contradicting her, calling her a liar and a flatterer, exciting her to swear by all that is sacred that she is earnest in her admiration, which statement even without the accompaniment of a solemn oath is not difficult for Giribala to believe.

Sudha used to sing to her a song beginning with the line, 'Let me write myself a slave upon the soles of thy feet' and Giribala in her imagination could feel that her beautiful feet were fully worthy of bearing inscriptions of everlasting slavery from conquered hearts, if only they could be free in their career of conquest.

But the woman to whom her husband Gopinath has surrendered himself as a slave is Lavanga, the actress who has the reputation of playing to perfection the part of a maiden languishing in hopeless love and swooning on the stage with an exquisite naturalness. When her husband had not altogether vanished from her sphere of influence, Giribala had often heard from him about the wonderful histrionic powers of this woman and in her jealous curiosity had greatly desired to see Lavanga on the stage. But she could not secure her husband's consent, because Gopinath was firm in his opinion that the theatre was a place not fit for any decent woman to visit.

At last she paid for a seat and sent Sudha to see this famous actress in one of her best parts. The account that she received from her on her return was far from flattering to Lavanga both as to her personal appearance and her stage accomplishments. As, for obvious reasons, she had great faith in Sudha's power of appreciation, where it was due, Giribala did not hesitate to believe her in her description of Lavanga, which was accompanied by a mimicry of a ludicrous mannerism.

When at last her husband deserted her in his infatuation for this woman, she began to feel qualms of doubt. But as Sudha repeatedly asserted her former opinion with ever greater vehemence, comparing Lavanga to a piece of burnt log dressed up in a woman's clothes, Giribala

determined secretly to go to the theatre herself and settle this question for good.

And she *did* go there one night with all the excitement of a forbidden entry. Her very trepidation of heart lent a special charm to what she saw. She gazed at the faces of the spectators lit up with an unnatural shine of lamplight, and, with the magic of its music and the painted canvas of its scenery, the theatre seemed to her like a world where society was suddenly freed from its law of gravitation.

Coming from her walled up terrace and joyless home, she had entered a region where dreams and reality had clasped their hands in friendship, over the wine cup of art.

The bell rang, the orchestra music stopped, the audience sat still in their seats, the stage lights shone brighter, and the curtain was drawn up. Suddenly appeared in the light, from the mystery of the unseen, the shepherd girls of the Vrinda forest, and with the accompaniment of songs commenced their dance, punctuated with the uproarious applause of the audience. The blood began to throb all over Giribala's body, and she forgot for the moment that her life was limited to her circumstances and that she was not free in a world where all laws had melted in music.

Sudha came occasionally to interrupt her with her anxious whispers urging her to hasten back home for the fear of being detected. But she paid no heed to her warning for her sense of fear had gone.

The play goes on. Krishna has given offence to his beloved Radha and she in her wounded pride refuses to recognise him. He is entreating her, abasing himself at her feet but in vain. Giribala's heart seems to swell. She imagines herself as the offended Radha, and feels that she also has in her this woman's power to vindicate her pride. She had heard what a force was woman's beauty in the world, but to night it became to her palpable.

At last the curtain dropped, the light grew dim, the audience got ready to leave the theatre but Giribala sat still like one in a dream. The thought that she would have to go home had vanished from her mind. She waited for the curtain to rise again and the eternal theme of Krishna's humiliation at the feet of Radha to continue. But Sudha came to remind her that

the play had ended and the lamps would soon be put out

It was late when Giribala came back home. A kerosene lamp was dimly burning in the melancholy solitude and silence of her room. Near the window upon her lonely bed a mosquito curtain was gently moving in the breeze. Her world seemed to her distasteful and mean like a rotten fruit swept into the dustbin.

From now she regularly visited the theatre every Saturday. The fascination of her first sight of it lost much of its glamour. The painted vulgarity of the actresses and the falseness of their affectation became more and more evident yet the habit grew upon her. Every time the curtain rose the window of her life's prison house seemed to open before her and the stage bordered off from the world of reality by its gilded frame and scenic display, by its array of lights and even its flimsiness of conventionalism appeared to her like a fairyland where it was not impossible for herself to occupy the throne of the fairy queen.

When for the first time she saw her husband among the audience shouting his drunken admiration for a certain actress she felt an intense disgust and prayed in her mind that a day might come when she might have an opportunity to spurn him away with her contempt. But the opportunity became rarer every day for Gopinath was hardly ever to be seen at his home now being carried away one knew not where in the centre of a dust storm of dissipation.

One evening in the month of March in the light of the full moon Giribala was sitting on her terrace dressed in her cream coloured robe. It was her habit daily to deck herself with jewellery as if for some festive occasion. For these costly gems were like wine to her—they sent heightened consciousness of beauty to her limbs she felt like a plant in spring tingling with the impulse of flowers in all its branches. She wore a pair of diamond bracelets on her arms, a necklace of rubies and pearls on her neck and a ring with a big sapphire on the little finger of her left hand. Sudha was sitting near her bare feet admiringly touching them with her hand and expressing her wish that she were a man privileged to offer her life as homage to such a pair of feet.

Sudha gently hummed a lovesong to her

and the evening wore on to night. Every body in the household had finished their evening meal and gone to sleep. When suddenly Gopinath appeared reeking with scent and liquor and Sudha drawing her cloth end over her face hastily ran away from the terrace.

Giribala thought for a moment that her day had come at last. She turned away her face and sat silent.

But the curtain in her stage did not rise and no song of entreaty came from her hero with the words—

Listen to the pleading of the moon  
light my love and hide not thy face'

In his dry unmusical voice Gopinath said Give me your keys.

A gust of south wind like a sigh of the insulted romance of the poetic world scattered all over the terrace the smell of the night blooming jasmine and loosened some wisps of hair on Giribala's cheek. She let go her pride and got up and said

You shall have your keys if you listen to what I have to say.

Gopinath said I cannot delay Give me your keys.

Giribala said I will give you the keys and everything that is in the safe but you must not leave me.

Gopinath said That cannot be I have urgent business.

Then you shall not have the keys' said Giribala.

Gopinath began to search for them. He opened the drawers of the dressing table, broke open the lid of the box that contained Giribala's toilet requisites, smashed the glass panes of her almirah groped under the pillows and mattress of the bed but the keys he could not find. Giribala stood near the door stiff and silent like a marble image gazing at vacancy. Trembling with rage Gopinath came to her and said with an angry growl Give me your keys or you will repent.

Giribala did not answer and Gopinath pinning her to the wall snatched away by force her bracelets necklace and ring and giving her a parting kick went away.

Nobody in the house woke up from his sleep none in the neighbourhood knew of this outrage the moonlight remained placid and the peace of the night undisturbed. Hearts can be rent never to heal again amidst such serene silence.

The next morning Giribala said she was going to see her father and left home. As

Gopinath's present destination was not known and she was not responsible to anybody else in the house her absence was not noticed

## 2

The new play of 'Manorama' was on rehearsal in the theatre where Gopinath was a constant visitor. Lavanga was practising for the part of the heroine Manorama and Gopinath sitting in the front seat with his rabble of followers would vociferously encourage his favourite actress with his approbation. This greatly disturbed the rehearsal but the proprietors of the theatre did not dare to annoy their patron of whose vindictiveness they were afraid. But one day he went so far as to molest an actress in the greenroom and he had to be turned away by the aid of the police.

Gopinath determined to take his revenge—and when after a great deal of preparation and shrieking advertisements the new play 'Manorama' was about to be produced Gopinath took away the principal actress Lavanga with him and disappeared. It was a great shock to the manager who had to postpone the opening night and getting hold of a new actress taught her the part and brought out the play before the public with considerable misgivings in his mind.

But the success was as unexpected as it was unprecedented. When its news reached Gopinath he could not resist his curiosity to come and see the performance.

The play opens with Manorama living in her husband's house neglected and

hardly noticed. Near the end of the drama her husband deserts her and concealing his first marriage manages to marry a millionaire's daughter. When the wedding ceremony is over and the bridal veil is raised from her face she is discovered to be the same Manorama only no longer the former drudge but queenly in her beauty and splendour of dress and ornaments. In her infancy she had been brought up in a poor home being kidnapped from the house of her rich father who having traced her to her husband's home, has brought her back to him and celebrates her marriage once again in a fitting manner.

In the concluding scene when the husband is going through his period of penitence and humiliation as is fit in a play which has its moral a sudden disturbance arose among the audience. So long as Manorama appeared obscured in her position of drudgery Gopinath showed no sign of perturbation. But when after the wedding ceremony she came out dressed in her red bridal robe and took her veil off when with a majestic pride of her overwhelming beauty she turned her face towards the audience and slightly bending her neck shot a fiery glance of exultation at Gopinath applause broke out in wave after wave and the enthusiasm of the spectators became unbounded.

Suddenly Gopinath cried out in a thick voice 'Giribala' and like a madman tried to rush upon the stage. The audience shouted 'Turn him out' the police came to drag him away and he struggled and screamed 'I will kill her' while the curtain dropped.

## LLTTLRS

EXTRACTS FROM OLD LLTTLRS OF RABINDRANATH TAGORI

(Specially Translated for the Modern Review)

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43

Sheldrah

6th January 1892

It is past the meeting point of day and night

When I was lying in this boat in the weather I would sit by the window

all lights out in silent repose and with my thoughts ranged round me in entrancing shapes stay up till late in the night in an ecstasy of delight

But my mind does not feel the same freedom these cold weather evenings cooped up in this lamp lit wooden hole. With

all nature left outside the closed shutters  
one feels too close to one self for intimate  
communion

44

Sheldah  
9th January 1892

For some days the weather here has  
been wavering between Winter and Spring.  
In the morning perhaps shivers will run  
over both land and water at the touch of  
the north wind, while the evening will  
thrill with the south breeze coming  
through the moonlight

There is no doubt that Spring is well on  
its way. After a long interval the *pipipi*  
once more calls out from the groves on  
the opposite bank. The hearts of men too  
are stirred and after evening falls sounds  
of singing are heard in the village showing  
that they are no longer in such a hurry to  
close doors and windows and cover them  
selves up snugly for the night

Tonight the moon is at its full and its  
large round face peers at me through the  
open window on my left as if trying to  
make out whether I have anything to say  
against it in my letter—it suspects my  
best that we mortals concern ourselves more  
with its stains than its beams

A bird is plaintively crying *tee tee* on  
the sand bank. The river seems to be still.  
There are no boats. The motionless groves  
on the bank cast an unflinching shadow  
on the waters. The haze over the sky  
makes it look like a sleepy eye kept open.

From now the evenings will grow  
darker and darker and when tomorrow  
I shall be coming over from the office the  
favourite companion of my exile will  
readily have drifted a little further apart  
from me doubting whether it had been  
wise to lay her heart so completely bare  
the last evening and so covering it up  
again little by little.

Nature becomes really and truly inti-  
mate in strange and lonely places. I have  
been actually worrying myself for days  
at the thought that after the moon is past  
her full I shall daily miss the moonlight  
more and more feeling further and fur-  
ther exiled when the beauty and peace  
which awaits my return to the riverside  
will no longer be there and I shall have  
to come back through the darkness.

Anyhow I put it on record that to-day  
is the full moon—the first full moon of  
this year's springtime. In years to come

I may perchance be reminded of this night  
with the *tee tee* of the bird on the bank  
the glimmer of the distant light on the  
boat off the other shore the shining  
stretch of river the blur of shade thrown  
by the dark fringe of trees along its edge  
and the white sky gleaming overhead in  
unconcerned aloofness

45

Sheldah  
7th April 1892

A delightful breeze is blowing since  
dawn and I am feeling disinclined to exert  
myself. It must be eleven or half past,  
but I have not yet set to any reading or  
writing work lying quietly in this easy  
chair the whole morning. Many an un-  
finished thought and incomplete line flit  
through my mind but I have not the  
energy to piece them together and make  
them coherent.

The song haunts me *Her anklets  
tinkle tinkle* and resting on the bosom  
of the river in this ravishing breeze I hear  
the tinkle of anklets within me but only  
from behind the scenes—the Comer appears  
not. So perforce I remain quietly sitting.

The river is getting low and the water  
in this arm of it is hardly more than waist-  
deep anywhere. So it is not at all extra-  
ordinary that the boat should be anchored  
in mid stream. On the bank to my right  
the ryots are ploughing and cows are now  
and then being brought down to the  
water's edge for a drink. To the left there  
are the mango and coconut trees of the  
old Sheldah garden above and on the  
bathing slope below there are village  
women washing clothes taking water  
bathing laughing and gossiping in their  
provincial dialect.

The younger girls never seem to get  
through their sporting in the water. It  
is a delight to hear their careless merry  
laughter. The men gravely take their  
regulation number of dips and go away  
but girls are on much more intimate terms  
with the water. Both alike babble and  
chatter and ripple and sparkle in the same  
simple and natural manner they may  
linguish and fade away under a scorching  
glare but they can take a blow without  
breaking under it for good. The hard  
world which but for them would not  
be fruitful cannot fathom the mystery of  
the soft embrace of their arms.

Tennyson has it that woman to man

Gopinath's present destination was not known and she was not responsible to anybody else in the house her absence was not noticed

## 2

The new play of Manorama was on rehearsal in the theatre where Gopinath was a constant visitor. Lavanga was practising for the part of the heroine Manorama and Gopinath sitting in the front seat with his rabble of followers would vociferously encourage his favourite actress with his approbation. This greatly disturbed the rehearsal but the proprietors of the theatre did not dare to annoy their patron of whose vindictiveness they were afraid. But one day he went so far as to molest an actress in the greenroom and he had to be turned away by the aid of the police.

Gopinath determined to take his revenge—and when after a great deal of preparation and shrieking advertisements the new play Manorama was about to be produced Gopinath took away the principal actress Lavanga with him and disappeared. It was a great shock to the manager who had to postpone the opening night and getting hold of a new actress taught her the part and brought out the play before the public with considerable misgivings in his mind.

But the success was as unexpected as it was unprecedented. When its news reached Gopinath he could not resist his curiosity to come and see the performance.

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In the concluding scene when the husband is going through his period of penitence and humiliation as is fit in a play which has its moral a sudden disturbance arose among the audience. So long as Manorama appeared obscured in her position of drudgery Gopinath showed no sign of perturbation. But when after the wedding ceremony she came out dressed in her red bridal robe and took her veil off when with a majestic pride of her overwhelming beauty she turned her face towards the audience and slightly bending her neck shot a fiery glance of exultation at Gopinath applause broke out in wave after wave and the enthusiasm of the spectators became unbounded.

Suddenly Gopinath cried out in a thick voice, 'Giribala' and like a madman tried to rush upon the stage. The audience shouted 'Turn him out' the police came to drag him away and he struggled and screamed 'I will kill her,' while the curtain dropped.

## LITTLERS

EXTRACTS FROM OLD LETTERS (OF RADHINDRANATH TAGOR)

(Specially Translated for the Modern Review)

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43

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6th January 1892

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But my mind does not feel the same freedom these cold weather evenings cooped up in this lamp lit wooden hole. With



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44

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For some days the weather here has  
been warring between Winter and Spring  
In the morning perhaps shivers will run  
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the north wind, while the evening will  
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There is no doubt that Spring is well on  
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once more calls out from the groves on  
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make out whether I have anything to say  
against it in my letter—it suspects may  
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with its strains than its beams

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There are no boats The motionless groves  
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on the waters The haze over the sky  
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From now the evenings will grow  
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readily have drifted a little further apart  
from me doubting whether it had been  
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Nature becomes more ill and truly inter-  
mits in strange and lonely places I have  
been actually worrying myself for days  
at the thought that after the moon is past  
her full I shall daily miss the moonlight  
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7th April 1892

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the tinkle of anklets within me but only  
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are the mingo and coconut trees of the  
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through their sporting in the water it  
is a delight to hear their careless merry  
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but girls are on much more intimate terms  
with the water Both alike babble and  
chatter and ripple and sparkle in the same  
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linguish and fade away under a scorching  
glare but they can take a blow without  
breaking under it for good The hard  
world which but for them would not  
be fruitful cannot fathom the mystery of  
the soft embrace of their arms

Tennyson has it that woman to man

is as water unto wine I feel today it should be as water unto land Woman is more at home in the water living in it playing with it holding her gatherings at its side, and while for her other burdens are not seemly, the bearing of water from the spring the well the bank of river or pool has ever been held to become her

46

Sheldah

8th April 1892

You may feel surprised to hear of the quantity of Elements of Politics and Problems of the Future. I am getting through here

The fact is I have been unable to find any English book of stories or poems to suit this place. Whichever one I open is full of English names and English society, the streets and drawing rooms of London and all that kind of fatiguing scribble. I cannot get anything simple and shapely pure and free rounded off with glistening tenderness like a tear drop. Only coil on coil analysis after analysis a continual twisting and torturing of human character in the hope of wringing out therefrom some moral precept or psychological theory.

Such reading here would make turbid the gentle current of this slender summer stream the listless flow of this breeze the spreading peace of these banals the endless expanse of this sky the deep silence around.

I cannot call to mind any literature befitting these surroundings except perhaps the songs of the Vaishnava poets. If only I knew a number of our beautiful old Bengali folk tales and could put them into simple melodious verse flavoured with childhood's homely memories then such might suit the spirit of the place. They would have a likeness to the prattle of the river the laughter brightened voices of the women at the bathing places the tremulous rustle of the cocoanut palm leaves, the cool shade of the mango trees the scent from the fields of flowering mustard simple, sweet and breathing of peace spacious yet filled with silence pathos and light. Hustling and fighting and wrangling and gnashing of teeth are not of shady secluded river-embraced Bengal.

Anyway the Elements of Politics unimpeded on its peaceful silence keels on water without disturbing or penetrating beneath its surface.

47

Bolpur,

2nd May 1892

There are many paradoxes in the world and of them this is one that wherever the landscape is immense the sky unlimited, the clouds intimately dense the feelings unfathomable—that is to say where the infinite is manifest—there the fitting companion for these is only one solitary person, a multitude being so petty so distracting.

One individual and the infinite are on equal terms worthy of looking upon one another each from his own throne. But when many are there, how small they have to become how much they have to knock off each other, in order to fit in together. Each soul wants so much room to expand to the full it cannot do with a crowd of others amidst whom it needs must await loopholes before it can put a little bit of its head through at a time.

So the only result of our endeavour to bring the many together is to become unable to fill our joined hands our outstretched arms with this endless fathomless expanse.

48

Bolpur

8th Jaistha (May) 1892

Humour is a dangerous thing. It is well if it surrenders itself willingly with a smiling face but a catastrophe may result if you try to take it by storm. Like the *Brahmastra* weapon of old laughter is a veritable arsenal in the hands of one who knows how to handle it but recoils on the head of the unskilled wretch who would meddle with it and makes him ridiculous.

Women who try to be witty but only succeed in being pert are insufferable and as for attempts to be comic they are disgraceful in women whether they succeed or fail. The comic is ungainly and exaggerated and so has a kind of relationship with the sublime. The elephant is comic the camel and the giraffe are comic all overgrowth is comic.

Keeness is rather kin with beauty, as the thorn with the flower. So sarcasm is not unbecoming in women, though coming from her it hurts. But ridicule which savours of bulkiness women had better leave to our sublime sex. The masculine I staff makes our sides split but a fem-

mine Galstaff would have racked our nerves

49

Bolpur,  
12th Jyestha (May) 1892

I usually prize the roof terrace, alone, of an evening. Yesterday afternoon I felt it my duty to show my two visitors the beauties of the local scenery, so I strolled out with them taking Aghore as a guide.

At the edge of the horizon where the distant fringe of trees was blue, a thin line of dark blue cloud had risen over them and was looking particularly beautiful. I tried to be poetical and said it was like an edging of blue collarium adorning a beautiful blue eye. Of my companions one did not hear the remark, another did not understand it, while the third dismissed it with the reply, "Yes, it is very pretty." I did not feel encouraged to attempt a second poetical flight.

After walking about a mile we came to a dam, and along the pool of water there was a row of *tal* (iron palm) trees under which was a natural spring. While we stood there looking at this we found that the line of cloud which we had seen in the North was making for us, swollen and grown darker, flashes of lightning gleaming the while.

We unanimously came to the conclusion that viewing the beauties of nature could be better done from within the shelter of the house, but no sooner had we turned homewards than a storm, making giant strides over the open moorland, was on us with an angry roar. I had no idea while I was admiring the collarium on the eye-lashes of beauteous dame Nature that she would fly at us like an irate housewife, threatening so tremendous a slap!

It got so dark with the dust we could not see beyond a few paces. The fury of the storm increased and flying stony particles off the rubbly soil stung our bodies like shot, as the wind took us by the scruff of the neck and thrust us along to the whipping of drops of rain which had begun to fall.

Run! Run! But the ground was not level, being deeply scarred with water courses, and not easy to cross at any time, much less in a storm. I managed to get entangled in a thorny shrub and was nearly thrown on my face by the force of the wind as I stopped to free myself.

When we had almost reached the house, a host of servants came running towards us, shouting and gesticulating and fell upon us like another storm. Some took us by the arms, some bewailed our plight, some were eager to show us the way, others hung on our backs as if fearing that the storm might carry us off altogether. We evaded their attentions with some difficulty and managed at length to get into the house, panting with wet clothes, dusty bodies and tumbled hair.

One thing I have learnt, and I will never again write in novel or story the lie that the hero with the picture of his lady love in his mind is passing unruffled through wind and rain. No one can keep in mind any face however lovely, while in a storm—he has enough to do to keep the sand out of his eyes!

The Vaishnava poets have sung ravishingly of Radha going to her tryst with Krishna through a stormy night. Did they ever pause to consider, I wonder, in what condition she must have reached him? The kind of tangle her hair got into is easily imaginable, and also the state of the rest of her toilet. When she arrived in her bower with the dust on her body soaked by the rain into a coating of mud she must have been a sight!

But when we read the *Vaishnava* poems these thoughts do not occur to us. We only see on the canvas of our mind the picture of a beautiful woman, passing under the shelter of the flowering *Kadambas* in the darkness of a stormy *Shravan*\* night, towards the bank of the Jumna, forgetful of wind or rain as in a dream, drawn by her surpassing love. She has tied up her anklets lest they should tinkle; she is clad in dark blue raiment lest she be discovered,—but she holds no umbrella lest she get wet, nor carries a lantern lest she fall!

Alas for useful things—how necessary in practical life, how neglected in poetry! But poetry strives in vain to free us from their bondage—they will be with us all ways, so much so we are told, that with the march of civilization it is poetry that will become extinct but patent after patent will continue to be taken out for the improvement of shoes and umbrellas.

\* July-August the rainy season

50

Bolpur  
16th Jaistha (May) 1892

No church tower clock chimes here and there being no other human habitation near by complete silence fills with the evening as soon as the birds have ceased their song. There is not much difference between early night and midnight. A sleepless night in Calcutta flows like a huge slow river of darkness. One can keep count of the varied sounds of its passing lying on one's back in bed. But here the night is like a vast still lake placidly reposing with no sign of movement. And as I tossed from side to side last night I felt enveloped within a dense stagnation.

This morning I left my bed a little later than usual and coming downstairs to my room leant back on a bolster one leg resting over the other knee. There with a slate on my chest I began to write a poem to the accompaniment of the morning breeze and the singing of birds. I was getting along splendidly—a smile playing on my lips, my eyes half closed, my head swaying to the rhythm the thing I hummed gradually taking shape—when the post arrived.

There was a letter the last number of the *Sadhana* Magazine one of the Monist and some proof sheets. I read the letter, raced my eyes over the uncut pages of the *Sadhana* and then again fell to nodding and humming through my poem. I did not do another thing till I had finished it.

I wonder why the writing of pages of prose does not give one anything like the joy of completing a single poem. One's emotions take on such perfection of form in a poem they can be taken up by the fingers so to speak. While prose is like a sackful of loose material heavy and unwieldy incapable of being lifted as you please.

If I could finish writing one poem a day my life would pass in a kind of joy, but though I have been busy tending poetry for many a year it has not been tamed yet and is not the kind of winged steed to allow me to bridle it whenever I like. The joy of art is in its freedom. It can take a distant flight at its fancy and even after its return within the world prison an echo lingers in its ear, an exaltation in its mind.

These short poems are coming to me unthought and so prevent my getting on

with the play. Had it not been for these I could have let in ideas for two or three plays which have been knocking at the door. I am afraid I must wait till the cold weather. All my plays except *Chitra* were written in the winter. In that season lyrical fervour is apt to grow cold, and one gets the leisure to write drama.

51

Bolpur,  
31st May 1892

It is not yet 5 o'clock but the light has dawned there is a delightful breeze and all the birds in the garden are awake and have started singing. The *koel* it seems beside itself. It is difficult to understand why it should keep on cooing so untiringly. Certainly not to entertain us nor to distract the pining lover—it must have some personal purpose of its own. But unfortunate creature that it is that purpose never seems to get fulfilled. Yet it is not downhearted and its Coo oo! Coo oo! keeps going with now and then an ultra fervent trill. What can it mean?

And then in the distance there is some other bird with only a faint Chuck! Chuck! Its warble has no energy or enthusiasm as if it had lost all hope, none the less from within its shady nook it cannot resist uttering its little plaint. Chuck! Chuck! Chuck!

How little we really know of the household affairs of these innocent little winged creatures with their soft little breasts and necks and their many-coloured feathers. Why on earth do they find it necessary to sing so persistently?

52

Shehdah  
31st Jaistha (June) 1892

I hate these polite formalities. Now a days I keep repeating the lines 'Much rather would I be an Arab Bedouin'. A fine healthy strong and free barbarity.

I feel I want to quit this constant ageing of mind and body with incessant argument and nicety concerning ancient decaying things and to feel the joy of a free and vigorous life to have be they good or bad broad unhesitating unfettered ideas and aspirations free from everlasting friction between custom and sense, sense and desire, desire and action.

If only I could set utterly and boundless

\* A favour to conceit of the old Sanskrit poets

ly free this hampered life of mine, I would storm the four quarters and raise wave upon wave of tumult all round; I would career away madly, like a wild horse, for very joy of my own speed!

But I am a Bengali, not a Bedouin! I will sit in my corner and mope and worry and argue. I will turn my mind now this way up, now the other—as a fish is fried—and the boiling oil will blister first this side, then that.

Let it pass. Since I cannot be a thorough barbarian, it is but proper that I should make an endeavour to be thoroughly civilised. Why foment a quarrel between the two?

53

Sheldah,  
16th June: 1892

The more one lives alone on the river or in the open country, the clearer it becomes that nothing is more beautiful or great than to perform the ordinary duties of one's daily life simply and naturally. From the grasses in the field to the stars in the sky, each one is doing just that; and there is such profound peace and surpassing beauty in nature because none of these tries forcibly to transgress its limitations.

Yet what each one does is by no means of little moment. The grass has to put forth all its energy, to draw sustenance from the uttermost tips of its rootlets, only to grow where it is as grass; it does not vainly strive to become a banian tree; and so does the earth gain its lovely carpet of green. And, indeed, what little of beauty and peace is to be found in the societies of men is owing to the daily performance of little duties, not to big doings and tall talk.

Neither poetry nor bravery is perfect in itself, but each bit of duty has its own completeness. Nothing can be meaner than to fret and fume, let loose one's imagination and feel no existing state to be worthy of oneself, while allowing time to slip by unfulfilled.

Our whole life fills out with joy and ceases to be disturbed by carking cares and griefs when we have the determination to go through the work within our grasp, honestly, heartily and with all our strength, be it pleasant or painful; and the belief that this can be done.

It may be that because the whole of our life is not vividly present before us at each moment, some imaginary hope may lure,

some glowing picture of a future, untrammelled with petty, everyday burdens, may tempt us; but these are illusory.

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Sheldah,  
2nd Asarh (June): 1892.

Yesterday, the first day of *Asarh*,\* the enthronement of the rainy season was celebrated with due pomp and circumstance. It was very hot the whole day, but in the afternoon tremendous, dense clouds rolled up.

I thought to myself this first day of the rains I would rather risk getting wet than remain confined in my dungeon of a cabin.

The year 1293† will not come again in my life, and for the matter of that, how many more even of these first days of *Asarh* will come either? My life would be sufficiently long if they number 30,—these first days of *Asarh* to which the poet of the *Meghaduta*‡ has given special distinction, for me at least.

It sometimes strikes me how immensely fortunate I am that each day should come into my life, some reddened with the rising and setting sun, some refreshingly cool with deep, dark clouds, some blooming like a white flower in the moonlight. What untold wealth they hold!

A thousand years ago Kalidas welcomed that first day of *Asarh*; and once in every year of my life that same day of *Asarh* dawned in all its glory,—that self-same day of the old poet of old Ujjain, that first *Asarh* day which has brought to countless men and women their joys of union, their pangs of separation, through the ages.

Every year one such great, time-hallowed day drops out of my life; and the time will come when this day of Kalidas, this day of the *Meghaduta*, this eternal first day of the rains in Hindustan, shall come no more for me. When I realise this I feel I want to take, once more, a good look at nature,—to offer a conscious welcome to each day's sunrise, to say farewell to each day's setting sun as to an intimate friend.

Had I been a saintly type of person I would probably have reflected that since life is fleeting I should beware of wasting

\* June July, the commencement of the rainy season.  
† Of the Bengali Samvat era.

‡ In the *Meghaduta* (Cloud Messenger) of Kalidas a famous description of the burst of the Monsoon begins with the words: *On the first day of Asarh.*

the precious days and spend them in good works and prayer. But that is not my nature and my only regret is that I can not take in the whole of the beautiful days and nights that are passing through my life with all their colour, their light and shade, their silent pageant filling the skies, their peace and beauty pervading all space between earth and heaven.

What a grand festival what a vast theatre of festivity. And we cannot even fully respond to it so far away do we live from the world. The light of the stars travels millions of miles to reach the earth but it cannot reach our hearts — so many millions of miles further are we!

Ah that heavenly sunset which I saw on the Red Sea on my way to England where is it now? But what splendid good fortune it was for me to have seen it. The vision which of all poets in the world I alone saw did not come in vain for its colours have burnt themselves into my life. Each such day is as so much hoarded wealth.

Such are some of the days of my childhood at the river side garden, some of my nights on the roof terrace some rainy days on the south and west verandahs some evenings of my youth at the Chander nagore villa at sunset and a moonrise seen from the Sanchal peak at Darjeeling these and other scraps of time I have kept filed away within me. When in my early life I used to lie on the roof terrace on moonlit nights the moonlight would brim over like foam from a glass of wine and intoxicate me.

The world into which I have tumbled is peopled with strange beings. They are always busy erecting walls and rules round themselves and how careful are they with

their curtains lest they should see! It is a wonder to me they have not made drab covers for flowering plants and put up a canopy to ward off the moon. If the next life is determined by the desires of this one then I should be reborn from this enshrouded planet into some free and open realm of joy.

Only those who cannot steep themselves in beauty to the full despise it as an object of the senses. But they who have tasted of its inexpressibility know how far it is beyond the highest powers of mere eye or ear — nay even the heart is powerless to attain the end of its yearning.

I masquerade through life as a civilised creature when in passing and repassing the streets of the town I converse with the most polished of civilised humanity in the most civilised manner. But at heart I am a barbarian and a savage. Is there no state of anarchy for me where mad men hold joyful revelry?

But what am I doing? I am raving like the hero of a melodrama who rants in a long aside against the conventions of society to show his superiority to the rest of mankind! I really ought to be ashamed to say this kind of thing. The bit of truth in it has long ago been drowned in verbiage. People in this world talk a deal too much and I am the worst offender. This has just struck me after all this while.

P.S. I have left out the very thing I started to tell of. Don't be afraid it won't take four more sheets. It is this that on the evening of the first day of Asarah it came on to rain very heavily in great lance like showers. That is all.

Translated by  
SURENDRANATH TAGORE

## KRISHNAKANTA S WILL

By BANIM CHANDRA CHATTERJEE

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### CHAPTER XXII

THE rumour was afloat that Gobin Lalal had given seven thousand rupees worth of ornaments to Kohnu. This

had reached her ears and she who had spread this falsehood it is Bhramar? She at once the conclusion it was she. Who but

foolish girl would ever care to circulate this nonsense? Surely it was she who did it to be revenged on her by branding her with infamy. She remembered to have heard that she had called her a thief. She said she would never forgive her, but wear it in her heart till she had humbled her pride.

The reader by now knows Rohini well enough to feel that she is up to anything. She went and borrowed from a neighbour a silk cloth wrought with beautiful designs in gold and silver, and a suit of gilt ornaments. With the cloth and the ornaments made up into a bundle she left and bent her steps in the direction of Krishnakanta's house. It was near dark, and she entered the house by the back door. She then went and stepped quietly into Gobindalal's room where Bhramar was alone and weeping. Seeing Rohini she recoiled just as she would have recoiled at the sight of a serpent in her way. "You thieving, wicked, dangerous woman, what do you want here in my room?" she cried. "Have you come into this house again to steal?"

Rohini cursed her in her mind. Aloud she said, and with a coolness which was extremely provoking, "No, not to steal. I don't need to steal now. I must confess that your husband is very kind to me. He has given me this valuable cloth, and these ornaments here whose worth is about three thousand rupees. The rumour that he has given me some seven thousand rupees' worth of ornaments is false."

"Get out of my room, you serpent. How dare you add insult to injury?" exclaimed Bhramar.

Rohini, without paying any heed to her words, hastened to put before her the ornaments after undoing the bundle.

This was so aggravating and insulting to her that she struck them with her foot in great indignation, and scattered them about on the floor. "Out, you shameless impudent woman, pack out this instant," she cried.

Rohini very quickly picked up the ornaments, put them together and withdrew without uttering another word.

### CHAPTER XXIII

Bhramar could get no sleep at all, and she passed a very anxious and restless night. Before morning dawned she engaged herself in writing a letter to her

husband. When she was married she was an unfledged and unlettered girl of eight. Her husband taught her how to read and write, but she was never an apt pupil, and consequently she had not been able to make any very great progress. However, she could read and write tolerably well. This day as she wrote she blotted and blundered much, for she felt very uneasy in her mind.

Her letter we give below in a readable form.

"That day when you returned from the garden after eleven o'clock at night, I inquired what made you stay away till so late as that. You refused to tell me. When I insisted on knowing you said you would tell me, but not until a couple of years had passed. But I have got your secret. I wish I had never known it. Rohini called yesterday to show me the cloth and the ornaments you have given her. Such a wicked impudent woman she is. She did it to hurt and insult me, I know. But I bore with her and let her go unharmed."

"What will you say now? I had unbounded faith in you. You know I had. My heart is broken. I wish we should not meet when you come. Would you kindly drop a line to say when you are going to come home? I request this favour because I want to go to my father's house before your return home. I shall know how to get your uncle to consent to my going."

In due course Gobindalal received his wife's letter. When he had read it, he was as much pained as surprised. It was like a bolt from the blue. The language in which it was couched made him for a moment doubt that it was written by his wife. But there could be no question about it, for he well knew her hand.

By the same post there had come a few more letters which he afterwards opened and read one after the other. Among these was one from Brahmananda, who wrote as follows—

My Dear Sir,

I am obliged to communicate with you on a very painful subject. A rumour is afloat (though I do not believe one word of it) that you are in a criminal intrigue with my niece, Rohini, and that you have given seven thousand rupees' worth of ornaments to her. This is scandalous, and injurious to us. But who do you?"

the inventor of it is? Would you believe me? They name your wife I was astonished to hear it, for I never dreamed of any harm from your quarter. I am a poor man and have ever lived under the protection of your uncle. I communicate my grievance to you, and I earnestly hope that you will do justice in the matter.

Yours sincerely

Brahmanand Ghose

Gobindalal was amazed. Bhramar had fabricated this? Was it possible? The more he pondered over it the more perplexed he was. At length he decided that he must at once start for home. So he told his *naiab*, and through him his tenantry that he was going home the next day, the pretext put forward being that the climate of the place did not agree with his health. Accordingly a boat was got ready, and on the following day Gobindalal started homeward with his attendants.

## CHAPTER XXV

Why had she thought Bhramar, let her husband go? If he had stayed at home the mystery of this disgraceful rumour would have been easily solved and she would have been spared the cruel anxiety she was labouring under. She was in a passion with her husband for the proofs she had of his illicit love for Rohini seemed to speak very strongly against him. This troubled her very much making her miserable and taking the sweetness out of her daily bread.

On the very day that Gobindalal left to return home the *naiab* sent by post an intimation of his departure to Krishnakanta. The letter reached him four or five days before Gobindalal arrived. When Bhramar heard that her husband was coming home she wrote a letter to her mother, which she secretly sent by a woman of a low caste, for her native village was only a few miles off from Haridra gram. She pretended she was in the worst of health and asked her mother to send for her immediately on receipt of her letter. She warned her at the same time that in the letter they would write they were to make no mention of the state of her health.

When her mother received her letter, she naturally became very anxious. Had it been any other person he might have suspected that there was something wrong. But the mother easily swallowed

what her daughter wrote. She wept and showed the letter to her husband, who at her instance sent a palanquin and bearers the next day with a letter in which he made a pretext of his wife's illness to request Krishnakanta to send their daughter to their house for a few days.

Krishnakanta was in a fix. It did not seem to him right to allow his daughter in law to go to her father's house, since Gobindalal was coming home and would arrive shortly. Nevertheless he ought not, he thought, to refuse to let her go, considering that her mother was ill and wished to see her. He reflected for a while and decided that she might go only for four days.

On his return home Gobindalal heard that his wife had gone to her father's but that a palanquin and bearers should be sent that day to bring her. He was greatly annoyed. Did she not know him better than to believe a flying rumour and conclude that he was in the guilt? If she did not care to have the slightest regard for his feelings why should he have any for hers? She was certainly going to extremes. She would be sorry for it one day! He expressly told his mother not to bring her, and Krishnakanta said nothing but allowed his nephew to have his own will.

## CHAPTER XXV

After Gobindalal's return home some days had passed, and Bhramar came not, for no one went for her. Gobindalal thought that she was going farther than she had a right to, that her attitude was defiant and that he must teach her a lesson. Nevertheless he felt a pang whenever he looked around the vacant room. How very strange it seemed to him that there could be any misunderstanding between himself and his wife. The very thought of it would bring tears into his eyes. However painful the separation from her was at times he would feel very angry when he thought that her behaviour was most unbecoming. Why did she not tell her suspicions to him? Sometimes he allowed himself to be so carried away by his passion that he thought he would never see her face again.

Days went by and Gobindalal felt so sad and lonely that at length he resolved to get over his trouble by giving himself up to the thought of Rohini. He had tried to forget Rohini while he had been away, but



in vain. Off and on her pensive face (for so it appeared to him) would come floating before his mind in spite of him, chasing away all his virtuous thoughts. Now he wanted to welcome the thought of Rohini as a means whereby to drown his sorrow. But he little thought that in doing so he would be taking a most dangerous course—a deadly poison in order to be rid of a little ailment which could be cured by a simple remedy.

Gobindalal was enamoured of Rohini and now he gave the reins to his passion and he continued until his heart fluttered for her as it had never done.

One wet evening Gobindalal was seated in a bower near the garden house where he commanded a full view of the tank. It was the rainy season. He was thinking of Rohini and he looked sad and thoughtful. The rain was falling and the gloom of evening was enhanced by the thick black clouds which overspread the sky. Through the growing darkness and the rain Gobindalal could see a woman descending the stairs of the ghat at no very great distance from where he sat. He called out to warn her that the stairs were slippery in the rain and that she should be very careful lest she might catch a fall.

The wind whistled among the trees and the rain pattered. Whether the woman had heard him properly we cannot tell but she set down her pot at the ghat mounted the stairs again and walked to ward the garden. Coming to the garden door she pushed it open and entered closing it behind her. Then slowly she moved up to where Gobindalal sat.

'Rohini' cried Gobindalal in agreeable surprise marking his tone. 'Why have you come out in the rain, Rohini?'

'Did you call me, sir?' said Rohini. 'I thought you called me.'

'No,' said he, 'but I called out to say that the stairs were slippery. One might catch a fall stepping carelessly, you know. But why do you stand in the rain?'

She found courage and stepped into the bower.

'Oh, what will a person think if he should see us alone together and in such a solitary place?' You expose yourself to scandal.

'I do not care,' said Rohini. 'Have you not heard the rumour?'

'I have,' he said. 'But is it true that it was invented and spread by Bhramar?'

'I will tell you. But shall we be talking here?'

'No, come with me,' said Gobindalal. They walked a few paces and entered the garden house. Modesty will not permit us to give the tale they had together. Suffice it to say that when Rohini left this evening she was satisfied that she had obtained a pretty fast hold upon Gobindalal's mind.

## CHAPTER XXVI

We love and admire everything beautiful in nature. You admire the wings of a butterfly. I am delighted when I see a rainbow in the sky. You love flowers because they please you. Why should I not love a pretty young girl if she pleases me? It is no sin to love and to love is natural.

Thus reasoned Gobindalal in his mind. Thus even will a saint reason on the first step to ruin. Gobindalal was so fascinated by Rohini's beauty that he thought it was no sin to wish to get her. His passion for her consumed him night and day like a flame. Sigh after sigh broke from him and he seemed to have no wish no thought no hope beyond her. This went on for a time till one day in an evil hour he slipped and so did himself to the devil.

Krishnakanta knew nothing of his going wrong but after a time it got to his ears. When he heard it he was much grieved for he dearly loved his nephew. This must not be overlooked he thought and it seemed to him that a timely admonition might make him turn and repent. But he had been ill for some days past and consequently was not able to leave his chamber. Gobindalal went everyday to see his uncle but as the servants were always by Krishnakanta did not like to say anything to his nephew in their presence. But the old man's illness increased. He went from bad to worse and he thought that if he did not speak to his nephew yet he might never have an opportunity for he felt that he was not long for the world. One day being on a visit after he had returned very late at night from the garden Gobindalal said: 'How do you feel to night, uncle?' Krishnakanta said nothing. He signed to the servants to leave the room. 'What made you stay away so late as this?' he said. Gobindalal made as if he did not hear him and only coughed as he took his hand to feel the

pulse. He startled, for it seemed to him that his pulse beat was so faint as to be scarcely perceptible. He abruptly left the room, saying only that he would be back in a little time.

Without losing a minute Gobindalal hastened to the physician. "Oh, come quick, sir," said he as soon as he saw him, "uncle seems so very bad just now, and I am so afraid." The physician, who had noticed no premonitory symptoms to fear anything of the kind, looked rather amazed. However, he made haste to take a few pills and walked off with Gobindalal with hurried steps. On reaching the house they quickly went and entered Krishnakanta's room. The old man looked rather alarmed. When the physician had felt his pulse, he asked him if he feared anything worse.

"I cannot assure you, sir, that there is no reason for apprehending anything of the kind," said the physician in a serious tone of voice.

Krishnakanta understood the drift of his words. "Do you think my end is near?" he asked again.

"I do not know. I mean to wait and see what effect this medicine has on you, and then I may be able to give my opinion," he returned, offering him a pill which he wished him to swallow in a little water. But Krishnakanta instead of taking the pill dropped it into the spit box at his side.

The physician looked up with some surprise.

"You need not mind my not wishing to take any medicine," said Krishnakanta. "It won't—it can't do any good to an old man like me whose last hour is at hand. I would rather wish all of you to chant the praise of God as the only remedy that can do any real good to me now."

There was an awful silence in the room. No one spoke a word, nor stirred hand or foot. Krishnakanta alone sang a hymn, one he loved to sing and his face betrayed no signs of fear. After a

while he said to Gobindalal, "Open the drawer and take out my will. The key is there."

Gobindalal took out the key from underneath the pillow where it used to be kept, opened the drawer, and taking out the will handed it to his uncle.

"Call my clerks here and all the respectable men of the village," said he to Gobindalal.

In a little time the room was crowded, and Krishnakanta told one of his clerks to read out the will. When he had finished he declared that he wished to change the will, and ordered the clerk to write a fresh one.

"A fresh will?" said he, looking up to his master's face.

"I do not mean any changes in the wording of the will," said Krishnakanta. "Only—Here he paused, and the clerk looked inquiringly at him."

"Only," he continued, "you are to leave out Gobindalal's name, and in its stead to put his wife's. Write also that after her death her half share of the estate will go to her husband."

All were silent, and no one dared to speak a word. The clerk looked significantly at Gobindalal, who by a motion of his head told him to write as he was bid.

When the writing was finished, Krishnakanta signed the will and asked the witnesses to put their signatures to it. After which he took up the will again and signed as one of the witnesses.

In the will Gobindalal had not a farthing. To his wife was given his half share of the property.

That day toward the small hours of the morning Krishnakanta breathed his last, and even to his last moments the name of God dwelt upon his lips.

(To be continued)

Translated by D. C. Roy

## WHEELS WITHIN WHEELS

By FRANK HOWEL EVANS, AUTHOR OF "FIVE YEARS," "THE CINEMA GIRL" &amp;

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[Our readers are informed that all characters in this story are purely imaginary and if the name of any living person happens to be mentioned no personal reflection is intended.]

CHAPTER VII  
HOMPLESS AGAIN

"WELL now, and 'ow d'you like it?" It was the end of Gladys's first week as a waitress in the coffee shop. It had been a strange but a not altogether unpleasant experience. She wore a white apron and a little, almost coquettish cap in the same style as Jessie's, the good natured, dark haired rather pretty girl who was leaving to be married in a month's time, and was full of the sweetly humorous patronising manner of the engaged and about to be married girl to the unattached of her sex. She had put Gladys into the way of things, with many a hint and wrinkle which were extremely useful.

It was rather perplexing at first to remember all the orders as they were called out to her, but she soon managed to get used to the strange terms and to be able to take two orders at once, and add up a bill almost at the same time. The men were all of the good, honest, working class, and Ma Giles's coffee shop had a reputation for order and cleanliness of language. Nearly all of the customers were known to each other, and Gladys soon got to know them all by their various names and nicknames.

The shop opened at six in the morning for the early breakfasts which went on till eight and nine, then began the preparations for the dinners at twelve. Gladys, of course, helped here, peeling potatoes and lending a hand generally, then laying the tables, and finally rushing upstairs to tidy herself. And so on, till the end of the day's work came at eight o'clock. It was not exactly hard work, for there was a boy to put up the shutters, sweep out the shop, and so on. There was not much time for standing still while

the meal rush was on, and the hours spent amidst the fumes of the cooking rather nauseated Gladys at first. She felt that she would never be able to eat anything herself after serving so many other people, but in time she got used to it, and she got to like her customers. She took one side of the coffee shop and Jessie the other, and though at first she felt a little doubtful about taking any tips, she argued with herself eventually that there was no reason why she should not take them, that there was nothing shameful in doing it, and that she must remember that she was earning her living.

The tips were not large. From the regular customers, that is, those who had their dinner and tea there every day, she received practically a penny a day each, these were working class men who earned small wages. From some plutocrats, however, she received as much as two pence a day, these were the black coated working class, attracted from neighbouring shops and manufactories by Mrs. Giles's prices and good cooking. Some of the others were of the foreman class, who kept all their tips till Saturday, when each one handed to Gladys sixpence. The casual customers who were few, sometimes left nothing at all, and often Gladys felt as if she could beg them to let her pay for their meal herself, for they were evidently poor, hard up creatures.

The butcher who supplied Mrs. Giles with meat used to dine there twice a week amidst the chaff of the men who knew him, who used to ask if he was there to see that the meat was safe, hurl witticisms at him about the toughness of the steak, and so on, all of which he used to take in good part. And every time he had a meal there there was a shilling on the table for the waitress who served him.

Altogether it was an insight into the way in which some of her fellow-creatures lived, which Gladys would never have gained elsewhere. Brought up as she had

girl had shamed her, shamed her into herself again, and she threw her arms round Meg's neck and kissed her, while the tears rolled down her own cheeks as well.

"Why, you're cryin' too, Gladys, blowed if you ain't! Now, my dear, you'll be my bridesmaid, won't you? And I'll be yours—oh, lor, I couldn't be yours, because I should be married. Well, never mind, you'll let me come to the weddin', won't you? Promise me that."

"Of course, of course! And I'll be your bridesmaid with the greatest pleasure—the greatest pleasure in the world."

"Now, look 'ere, there's another thing," went on Meg. "It's Ted's birthday to-morrow, and I'm goin' to treat 'im. I'm goin' to take 'im to the pit of a theatre, and I want you to come too, and we'll 'ave a bit of supper afterwards—not fried fish—and come ome together."

"Oh, that's awfully kind of you, Meg. But you know there's an old saying 'Two's company, three's none'."

"Oh, rats!" cried Meg inelegantly. "I told 'im I was goin' to bring you. We can 'old 'ands quite enough when we're by our selves, and as we're goin' to get married sooner than we thought we shall 'ave plenty of time later on."

So Gladys set off the next night with Meg and Ted to the theatre. In the good, frank, open class in which Meg moved there was no false shame about a woman treating a man, and she paid for the admission to the pit of a theatre where there was a good, long, full blooded melodrama running. And how they all enjoyed it! Gladys, taken right out of herself, laughed with everyone else at the jokes of the comedian, sorrowed with the heroine, and hated the villain. And Meg whispered to her:

"'Ere we are again, cryin' our eyes out! We women are a funny lot, ain't we? And look at my Ted! If 'e ain't a doin' it, too!"

Then after the play there came supper. Ted insisted on paying for this meal, which was taken at a little Italian restaurant close to the theatre. Meg was a little abashed at the array of forks and knives and the number of glasses, but Ted was quite the swell, he had no false pride. He made the waiter explain to him in proper English what every dish was, and he paid the bill and tipped the attendant in quite a lordly manner.

"'Oo, ain't we a goin' it?" cried Meg, when a taxi was hailed and the three of them drove away over Blackfriars Bridge.

"I'll drop you two ladies at Ma Giles's, and then the cab can take me on 'ome," said Ted, as they neared the street where the coffee shop was situated.

"'Allo, not's up now?" said Ted, as the cab began to go more slowly, and there came the signs of a crowd.

He put his head out of the window to look, and the cab stopped dead.

"'Wat is it, driver?" he asked.

"Fire up yonder, somewhere, I think," was the answer. "I don't think I can get through."

"All right, we'll get out 'ere, then," said Ted. "It's not a step to walk now."

He helped the two girls out of the cab, paid the driver, and then began with Meg and Gladys, one on each arm, to make his way through the crowd.

There it is, there it is!" said Ted, pointing across the road to where the flames were shooting up from a building that was now furiously alight. "There's the fire!"

"My word," cried Meg, her voice rising to a shriek, "it's Ma Giles's!"

She had hardly spoken when a long-drawn moan went up from the crowd, one of those shuddering, audible sighs that sound so strange, so weird, coming from a number of excited, frightened people.

"It's a woman, it's a woman!" cried someone excitedly, as a white clad figure was seen at a top window towards which the flames were licking their hungry way. Meg's voice rose again.

"It's Ma, it's Ma Giles!" she shrieked. "She was the only one left in the place. Where's the escape? Ain't it ever comin'? Can't nobody do nothin'?" 'Ere, come on, get out of the way!"

Meg with the strength of excitement, elbowed, pushed, squeezed her way through the crowd, followed by Gladys and Ted, and at length they found themselves as near to the burning shop as the police would allow.

It was a grandly awful sight as the flames, licking their way up, seized greedily on their prey. The building was high, and there at the top window, seen as plainly almost as if it were day by the lurid light, was a gesticulating figure in a white night dress, poor old Mrs. Giles, with her thin grey hair waving to the

breezes It seemed as if she were about to try and jump from the window to the street below, and from the crowd there came shrilly and excitedly the first thought that was in everybody's mind

"Don't jump! Don't jump! The escape's coming!"

The fire engine was already there, and the hose was playing vigorously on the flames, though seemingly without effect. The firemen could not make their way into the house up the stairs to try and save the old lady, for the flames were like a raging furnace. Would the escape never come? It seemed ages, whereas it was really only seconds. And still there at the window was that wavering, pathetic old figure. Willing hands had brought a ladder from a neighbouring shop, but it was too short, and for the moment it seemed as if the flames would reach that window sill and lick Mrs. Giles into their horrid embrace.

Women turned away, hiding their faces, crying softly, men with white faces were cursing beneath their breath. And still the escape did not come! It wasn't minutes, it was only seconds that were passing, but they seemed like hours.

"The escape, the escape!" suddenly rose the shout as faintly in the distance was heard the booming gong. "The escape! The escape!"

Men shouted and yelled and waved their hands to Mrs. Giles. Still higher leaped the flames and the short ladder had to be moved away.

"Don't jump, don't jump!" came the shout again.

"She'll do it! She'll jump! She'll be killed!" yelled Meg. "Oh, if she'd only stopped, if she'd only stop!"

"I'll stop 'er—at least I'll 'ave a try!" cried Ted, as he buttoned his coat tightly round him and made a sprint across the road, dived right through the little crowd of policemen and firemen that were in the street in front of the burning shop, and the next second he was seen slithering quickly up the ladder that willing and brave firemen had used, mounting as high as he could, trying to think out some method, some plan of reaching the old woman, of saving her.

Up to the top of the ladder, placed below and to one side of the window where Mrs. Giles was—the flames were too fierce for it to be any closer—ran Ted, and then—and then a cry that was almost like a united

shout of triumph from the onlookers as Ted, balancing himself somehow on the very top rung of the ladder, crouched for a second and then gave a mighty spring upwards and was clutching with both hands on to the sill of the window next to the one at which Mrs. Giles was standing, distracted. This window gave into her room as well as the other. Ted clung there for a moment, and then the flames swaying towards him, borne by the wind, seemed to lick round his lithe, thin body, but another gust drove them back again, and then he was seen hanging by one hand—oh, how Gladys shuddered and Meg looked on with ghost-white face and staring eyes!—and with his other hand he was bashing, smashing, crashing at the window panes, heedless, evidently, of whether he cut himself or not. Another second or two and he had drawn himself up still further and in some miraculous manner seemed to fling himself through the broken window into the room.

"Oh, oh, Ted, Ted, Ted!" Gladys heard Meg saying beneath her breath as she looked with parted lips at what the brave coster boy was doing.

The next second Ted was seen at the window, with Mrs. Giles in his arms, dragging her backwards, and almost simultaneously the escape dashed up, the tall ladder was at the window and, wrapped in one of her own blankets, Mrs. Giles was brought down safely.

Kindly hands were ready to receive her; she was quickly taken away into a neighbouring shop. And then down came one of the firemen again with a limp, dangling body held over his shoulder.

"Ted! Ted! It's Ted! It's my Ted!" cried Meg, and her voice came high above every other sound as she fought her way to the foot of the fire escape, followed by Gladys.

Ted was senseless, he looked as if he were dead, and his face was an awful sight, the flames had touched his left cheek and had scarred and burnt his flesh, his right hand was covered with blood where he had cut himself when breaking the window.

Two or three men standing by stripped off their coats, which they placed on the pavement, and on these they laid poor Ted while a local doctor made a hurried examination, attending first of all to the wounds in the hands, binding them up

with borrowed pocket handkerchiefs and making a tourniquet to stop the bleeding of the arteries, for Ted had cut himself severely, dangerously. Still, he was alive though his injuries were terrible and his face was burnt on the left side.

"He's alive, and that's about all," said the doctor. "Get him into the ambulance at once and away to the hospital."

Meg heard the words and flung herself down on the ground by the senseless lad.

"E's not dead, e's not dead!" she moaned. "Oh, e mustn't die!" She turned and looked up at the doctor. "Don't let 'im die! That's wot you're ere for—to save people's lives. You ain't goin to take 'im from me! I want 'im. E's mine. You ain't goin to take 'im from me! You shan't! I say you shan't!"

It was like an animal being robbed of her young, thought Gladys as Meg looked up from her knees by the side of Ted.

"Let them take him to the hospital dear," said Gladys gently. "Here's the ambulance. They'll look after him splendidly there. And I'm sure he's going to live isn't he doctor?"

"Say yes! Say he's going to live for Heaven's sake!" went on Gladys turning to the doctor in an undertone. "She's almost out of her mind."

"Live? Of course he'll live!" said the doctor cheerily though he had his doubts. "He's been knocked about a bit, of course, but they'll soon pull him round at St James's."

Ted was lifted into the ambulance, which was soon on its way to St James's the nearest hospital, and behind followed Meg and Gladys Gladys trying to act the part of comforter.

"Dear, it will be all right," Gladys said. "Didn't you hear what the doctor told us? And you know it was a wonderfully brave thing to do. If he hadn't got into the room somehow Mrs. Giles would certainly have thrown herself out and killed herself, he was only just in time to pull her back. And he must have wrapped that blanket round her. Oh what a brave little man, and how proud you must be of him! His name will be in all the papers to-morrow, you see if it isn't!"

Gladys talked on rapidly, trying to distract Meg's attention, trying to prevent her from dwelling too much on the sight of that poor wounded face and that

wounded hand, but to her surprise Meg turned on her almost fiercely.

"Shut up!" she cried. "E ain't your man is 'e? D'you think I wanted 'im to go and be brave like that and get 'urt like that? Oh if 'e should die!"

Then suddenly her tone changed.

"I'm sorry, my dear," she said. "I didn't mean to speak to you like that, but I see is poor face all the time, all the time. Oh, my Ted, my Ted!"

And they walked the rest of the few yards to the hospital in quiet, painful silence.

It was with difficulty that Meg was persuaded that she could not be admitted while they attended to poor Ted.

"Take her away, take her away," whispered the doctor, who had followed as well, to Gladys. "I'm afraid the poor fellow won't live, but don't let her know that."

Gladys at length persuaded Meg to leave with her, and then, and only then did she realise that she and Meg were homeless. The shop must have been burnt out, and when they made their way again down the street Gladys saw that her surmises were indeed only too true, for the place was practically gutted.

The crowd had by now dispersed, the excitement was over, there were no neighbours about to offer them accommodation, and so Gladys knocked up another coffee shop in a street near by and took a room for the night for herself and Meg.

But Meg wouldn't go to bed, she wouldn't even lie down. She sat in a chair, dry-eyed in her sorrow, with hopeless, blank grief written on every lineament. And Gladys sat with her, holding her hand and trying to comfort her, until the dawn told them of the approach of another day. Not till then did Meg allow herself to be persuaded to lie down, and then sleep kissed tired eyelids and she and Gladys slept.

"Yes going on quite nicely. Out of danger, but great care is wanted."

Such were the fairly cheerful words that greeted them the next morning at the hospital, and Meg seized Gladys's arm with a grip that almost hurt.

"I don't know wot I should have done without you, Gladys," she said. "You was so good to me last night, sittin' up all that time with me. Well, now I must get off to work, and then in the dinner

hour I must go and tell some of Ted's mates about it. 'E's like me, 'e ain't got no father nor mother. You'll go and ask after old Mrs. Giles, won't you? Poor old soul, I 'ope she ain't hurt. And, Gladys, I remember sayin' last night as I wished 'e 'adn't been brave, but I think I was wrong; I feel as if I could say 'Thank Gawd 'e was' now."

"Yes, dear, that's right," said Gladys gently, "and God has looked after him I think."

So Meg went away to work. For even those who have supped full of sorrow must work on when they have their daily bread to earn. And Gladys went round to make inquiries concerning old Mrs. Giles.

"I don't think she'll know you," said the kindly neighbour who had taken the old lady in. "She wasn't hurt at all, but the shock's been too much for her."

Old Mrs. Giles was in bed, her eyes, never still for a moment, wandering round the room. It was quite true, she did not know Gladys.

"I suppose you don't know anything about her people or anyone belonging to her, do you?" asked the woman, Mrs. Mallins, a widow, who had a hard struggle to make her small provision shop pay. "Of course, she's welcome to stop here as long as she likes, but there ought to be somebody to look after her."

"No, I really don't know of anyone, I didn't know anything about her private affair," answered Gladys.

And only then, as she walked out of Mrs. Mallins's shop, did she realise that she was indeed homeless, that her work was gone, and again she felt the awful sense of bewilderment, of depression, of loneliness, settle upon her, even as when she had found herself penniless in Holborn. True, she now had a friend in Meg, but she couldn't expect Meg to feed her and keep her. She must obtain work, another situation, as quickly as possible.

But where?"

## CHAPTER VIII.

### ONE OF THE WORKERS.

"My dear, I've been thinkin' about you all day, and wonderin' where you was. We ought to 'ave made an appointment to meet, but I was thinkin' about my Ted so much. You do look tired!"

Gladys had been wandering about all

day. She had, fortunately, not wanted for food, as she had the few shillings from her tips and wages in her purse. But the hours had seemed terribly long, and she hardly knew how she had got through them when, at twelve o'clock at night, she ventured to call at Meg's fried fish shop, for she dreaded to be alone again, she seemed so helpless by herself. Meg, too, must have somewhere to sleep, somewhere to live. And so, rather timidly, she entered the shop, tired out in mind and body.

Meg, in white apron, was busy in front of the counter, clearing away, when finished with, the plates and forks of those who had condescended to use them. She kept the tables neat and clean with a rough cloth, she gave a hand to the man behind the counter, in fact, she kept an eye everywhere and seemed to make herself generally useful.

At length the last customer was served and the shop was shut, and then Meg introduced Gladys to Mr. Parlow, the proprietor.

"Pleased to meet you, miss," said Mr. Parlow. "Any friend of Meg's is worth knowing. Now let me give you a nice little bit of fish. I always eat it myself as well as sell it, so you can be sure it's good."

Gladys tasted the fish, and found it astonishingly good.

"Any time you're passing and feel hungry, miss," went on Mr. Parlow, "just you pop in, and I'll find you the nicest middle but there is going. Any friend of Meg's is always welcome here. Good night, miss. Pleased to have met you."

"A good sort is old Parlow," said Meg, when she and Gladys left together. "My dear, why didn't you come round before? I've been worryin' about you all day. I've been round to the 'orspital whenever I could about poor Ted, and 'e's goin' on fine, though they say 'is face 'll be scarred for ever. But, bless you, I don't mind that! But there, did you see the paper? There's a bit in it all about 'im. I've cut it out to keep it to show 'im. 'The Coster 'Ero' they call 'im. Oh, my! But ere, I say, 'ave we got a 'ome to go to? And what about Ma Giles, poor old thing?"

Gladys told all that she knew about the old lady, and Meg stopped in her walk.

"Poor old Ma, I don't know whether she's got anybody," she said. "I 'rape the butcher 'ud know. 'E know 'er."

And my word we ain't come off too well, Gladys, 'ave we? All our little bits o' things burnt up there. Well, we must get a bed for to night somewhere, though it comes a bit expensive payin' by the night."

They had to pay a shilling a night each for accommodation at a little establishment which grandiloquently called itself a commercial hotel, and the next morning, when they were breakfasting in a little coffee shop, which was almost an exact double of Mrs. Giles's, Gladys spoke of what was in her mind.

"I must get something to do, Meg," she said. "I can't always live on you. Can't you suggest something?"

"I don't know. I should go round and try and get another job as a waitress if I was you. You're too good for this ere coffee shop sort o' game. Why don't you go to one of them tea shops you see over the bridges? They tell me that a gel can pick up a nice little bit in the way of tips at some of them. Now, will you go and see the butcher and see wot e can find out about Ma Giles if she's got any relations as we can send to, and I'll meet you at one o'clock."

But no, the butcher did not know if Mrs. Giles had any belongings, as he called it, he thought not, except distant ones who lived in the North. But he had a happy inspiration. He knew the solicitor who had acted in the matter of Mr. Giles's will, perhaps he might know of some one?

And at this solicitor's office Gladys found that he did know of a relative of Mrs. Giles's, in the north of London, with whom he would communicate at once. And that business being concluded, Gladys went off to try and obtain further employment.

Into a teashop, not far over Blackfriars Bridge, she ventured timidly, wondering who was the proper person to ask for employment. Seeing a pleasant faced girl in black behind a desk, she put the question to her.

"Oh, waitresses aren't engaged here," said the girl. "You must go to Markham Street, you'll find the headquarters of the firm there."

At Markham Street, where the huge central establishment of the firm was situated, Gladys had no difficulty in finding her way to the employment department. Everything seemed to be done on a quick and elaborate system and after she had

stated her name and business she was whisked off by a small, brisk boy in buttons to a room where she was interviewed at express speed by a young man, as smart and brisk as the page boy.

"Waitress? Yes," he went on rapidly. "Age? Thank you. Name? Yes, Address?"

Gladys hesitated for a moment. She really had no permanent address, she did not know yet whether she and Meg were going back to the commercial hotel.

"Address please? Come along, you live somewhere surely, don't you?"

"Well—I—I've no permanent address just at present. I am staying at a—at a—at an hotel," faltered out Gladys.

"No permanent address! Don't you live with your people or some relative, then?"

"No, I'm quite by myself in the world with the exception of a friend."

The young man shut up the book in which he had been recording Gladys's name with an air of finality.

"We only employ young ladies who are living with their parents or relatives," he said.

"Oh, I've no parents and no relatives, and I'm wanting work," said Gladys, desperately. "I must get work somewhere if I'm to live."

"I'm sorry, very sorry," said the young man. "But you see, the rule of the firm is this. We don't guarantee to give our girls enough money to live on by themselves. We pay nine shillings a week, and of course there are some tips, we don't encourage that system, but we know that it prevails. Then there is eightpence a week to be deducted for breakages, cost of uniform and washing—quite reasonable. I can assure you. But even with tips we do not consider that a girl can live with comfort and—and—well, safety, on her wages, so, for the protection of our employes, we make it a point that they shall not be entirely dependent on their earnings."

"But it seems rather hard that if girls have homes they should work for less than girls who have their entire living to get doesn't it?"

It was poverty that was giving to Gladys the power of argument on economic subjects.

"I'm afraid I can't discuss that with you," was the quite polite reply. "If you were living with a relative, and our



inspector verified the fact—we always verify these things—we would have taken you even without any experience, but as it is I'm afraid I can do nothing for you Good day "

Gladys left, burning with anger at this unrighteous system. The girls must have parents or relatives to look after them. But what did the girls do who were without parents or relatives? Did they starve, or what?

"Yes, I can tell you it's hard for a girl," said Meg, when she and Gladys met at one o'clock. "It's bad enough for me, and I can't hold me own, but for a pretty little thing like you, and a lady, too, it's much harder. But I've been thinking about you and I spoke to Mr Parlow about it, and I've got an idea that something may come of it. I don't know as you'd like it, Gladys. It's rough common sort of work. Still, we've all got to do something. Mr Parlow, 'e's doin' so well 'e's goin' to open a branch shop about two mile away, 'e's puttin' in a manager and, well, 'e might want someone to do the same sort of job as I'm doin' "

"Like it? Of course I should like it! It's work, and that's all I want. And please don't keep on talking about my being a lady, Meg. I'm just a working woman, that's all "

"All right, then I'll talk to 'im. I've been round to the 'orspital and my Ted's goin' on fine, and I'm goin' to see 'im in three days—ain't that lovely? They say as 'e won't be strong enough to stand it afore then. Now look ere, 'ave you got any money left? "

"Oh yes, I've still got a few shillings "

"Very well, then, you go and get a good blow on the top of a 'bus. I'm goin' to take an evening off. Old Parlow can do without me for once—it's generally slack about the middle of the week when folks ain't got much money—and we'll go and see old Ma Giles "

"Oh, she's going to-morrow," said Mrs Mallins, when the two girls called that night. "Some of her relations from the north of London have been here—they said they'd had a telegram from a solicitor and they're going to take her away with them in the morning. Poor old thing, she doesn't seem to get any better. The doctor says she ought to be put in a nursing home and taken the greatest care of. Nice-spoken people her relations were, and they

told me that if money would cure her they weren't poor, and that she had quite a nice little bit put by herself. Will you come and see her? "

It was pitiful to see the still vacant, wondering look in Mrs Giles's eyes, but when Meg and Gladys stooped and kissed her good bye there seemed to come just a little gleam of intelligence over her face, and she looked at them curiously, one after the other.

"I seem to know you, but there's something here, something here," she said, touching her forehead. "Another time, perhaps, another time "

"Poor old Ma! It's a good job there's plenty of money," said Meg. "And it's a good job that there's 'orspitals, too, for my Ted 'e's been looked after proper, so the doctors tell me. Now, d'you know where we're goin' to night? We're goin' down to Surbiton to see 'is aunt, and I'm goin' to tell 'er all about it and take 'er the bit of paper with 'is name in it "

Mrs Jennyon, Ted's aunt, was the wife of a publican who was prospering in a fair way in a small licensed house, and Meg and Gladys were received in the little parlour at the back of the bar.

"Now, don't you say anything to me about Ted, you, Meg," said Mrs Jennyon, a stout, red faced, rather creaking lady, who appeared to breathe with difficulty. "I've been crying my eyes out about him. I've read it all in the paper, and they've actually got another bit about him in the 'evening' saying that he's on the way to recovery. And you should hear my husband, my Jim, talk about him! When he's well and comes out, if there's anything he wants he shall have it. And I'll tell you what, the best thing for you to do, Meg, would be to marry him as soon as he can walk, and then take him away to the sea to get well. You shall have that money I promised you, and some more besides. Proud! I should think I am proud of him! And so are you, too, aren't you? "

"Well, I don't know wot's goin' to 'appen to me," said Meg, when she and Gladys were returning home. "It seems as if the luck was too good to last. And 'ere I was grumblin' and complainin' because my man 'ad been brave. Why, I ought to be ashamed of myself. Only three days more and I'll see 'im! Oh, by the way, Gladys, I've been so full of myself

I didn't tell you, did I? Old Parlow 'ud like to see you to-morrow. 'E'll take you on at the new shop like a bird, 'e's a."

And the next morning Gladys was engaged by Mr. Parlow to assist at his new branch. She was to be there at ten every morning to help in the preparations for the mid-day work leaving again at three—in fact her hours were to be exactly the same as Meg's.

"And I'll give you twelve shillings a week to start with, miss," said Parlow, "and after a while if things go well I'll make it a bit more. I shall be there myself for the first two or three days to see how things go, and the chap as I bought this place from 'll come here for me. We open at the beginning of next week."

Gladys found that her money would just hold out until she started work. She and Meg had decided to stop on at the little hotel where for permanent lodgers in a double bedded room six shillings a week would be accepted. Meg had drawn money out of the post office savings bank to buy hair brushes and other necessities which had been destroyed in the fire and Gladys borrowed enough money from her to buy two strong coarse white aprons.

"The smell will make you a bit sick at first my dear," said Meg, "but you'll get used to it after a time. Some of the fellows may be rough—it's a bit rougher neighbourhood there than 'ere—but if they see you won't stand no nonsense they won't do you no 'arm. Not such a bad lot, the workin' man ain't, if you take 'em right. And to think that to-morrow I shall see my Ted, my Ted!"

And when Gladys met Meg the next day, returning from seeing Ted, it seemed as if heaven shone in the girl's eyes, they were bright, and there was a soft light in them, a mother light it seemed to Gladys, and she spoke of her visit in a sort of awed whisper.

"I never thought I loved 'im so much, Gladys till I see 'im there with the bandages on 'is 'ead and round 'is poor 'ands and wrists. I just sat by 'is bed and put my arms round 'im gently and cried like a kid, I did. Ashamed of myself I was, too. An' there 'e was, just as much of a chump as ever, I told 'im 'Oo's been makin' all that fuss in the papers?' 'e ses 'You ain't been tellin' nobody nothin' about me, 'ave you, Meg? They say I'm

gon' to be recommended for some sort of a medal for savin' life in a fire. It wasn't me, it was the fireman.' Just like my Ted, just like my Ted! And then when I told 'im about 'is aunt, well, 'e cried too, then, and we both cried together, and then the nurse came, and she laughed at us. And 'e's comin' out in a fortnight and—oh, life's just too fine for anything, isn't it? I never thought it could be like this."

Gladys cried a little in sympathy with Meg and before she went to sleep she also cried a little for herself.

For the bright sunshine of happiness which was surrounding Meg reminded her of the love that had been offered to her, Lord Guardene's love, the love that she could not accept. And then between her and her sleep there came again that strong, dark face, the face of the young man she had only seen once, but of whom she often thought, and in the darkness she felt her cheeks grow hot, and resolutely she tried to dismiss his image from her mind.

And then again she thought of Lord Guardene. She had not answered his letter. What would he think of her? He would be justified in accusing her at any rate of discourtesy, for a man's proposal to a woman is an honour that must always be acknowledged, and yet, somehow, the time had slipped by and she had not written. Her memory travelled once more over the sheets of paper on which he had poured out his love to her—for, even if a woman doesn't love a man, she will never forget a word of the letter in which he has told her of his secret.

That letter had been written from Pichon. Doubtless he expected an answer there. By now he would certainly have left the hotel at that place. Perhaps, not hearing from her, he would have come over to England, would have called at Kirton Square. Gladys thought of all that, and made up her mind that on the next day she would go to the Free Library, look up a fashionable directory, find out his address and write to him. She would write him a grateful letter of thanks, but—of refusal.

And again Gladys cried a little, for a man loved her and she was going to hurt him.

(To be continued)

## INDIFFERENCE

O slow voiced patient sea,  
Now hast thou learnt at length,  
That in indifference lies thy only strength,  
Eternally

O restless striving wind,  
In vague indifferent flight

Thy broken wings at last have found respite  
And thou art blind.

O voiceless tired rain,  
Now art thou doubly wise,  
Indifferent as the tears that in dead eyes  
So long have lain

D N BOHARJEE

## GLEANINGS

## Artificial Volcanoes.

A Frenchman, Emile Pelot, has succeeded in imitating the phenomena of volcanism by means of steam. That the activity of volcanoes is primarily due to steam from heated sea water has long been believed by many geologists, tho it can not be said to be so universally accepted as to bear the stamp of orthodoxy. But Pelot thinks that he has gone far toward silencing all objection by the exactitude with which he reproduces volcanic action on a small scale. Under the heading of "Experimental Volcanism," he writes thus in *La Nature* (Paris, October 28):

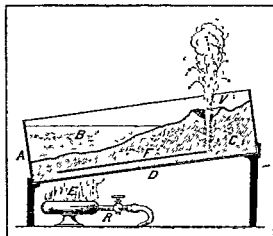
"In a shallow basin about two feet square, we place a wet mixture of sand and clay in such fashion that the side *B* represents the sea and *C* the continent. The bottom *D* is inclined away from the continent. We heat the lower part of the slope as uniformly as possible. Because of the metallic conductivity of the bottom we shall have practically an isothermal surface *D*. At the end of ten minutes or so volcanic phenomena begin to show at *E* in the form of fumaroles escaping from a volcanic chimney, the material thrown out accumulating to form a crater. The volcano *E* is always near the top of the slope, and we have the paradox of a surface *E* in ebullition while the 'sea' is completely cool at *B*, just over the heat.

"In nature it often happens that impermeable layers alternate with permeable ones. We may imitate this effect by placing a sheet of slate *F* at a little distance from the bottom *D*, thus several volcanoes may be produced, in the line with the upper edge of the slate. The volcanic action may then appear very far from the source of heat *R*. We thus realize how linear groups of volcanoes form in nature, and why some volcanoes are found at considerable distances from the sea.

"The position and number of the slates may be varied, the volcanic action is always concentrated near the top of the slope. It may be seen that the

submarine vapors concentrate or disperse as the impermeable surfaces have the form of a right or an inverted cone. Hence the following law: volcanism is proportional to the steepness of the slopes and to their convexity toward the sea. This explains why the Atlantic coasts, being much less steep than the Pacific, are not volcanic."

Mr Pelot imitates tidal waves by placing his slate so that it touches the bottom of the basin at



CROSS-SECTION OF THE "EXPERIMENTAL VOLCANO"

the upper edge, forcing the steam to act on the "sea" at the lower edge. He has produced craters several inches across, which fill with water and form "crater lakes" when the heat is removed. He produces "volcanic bombs" of mud, like those formed



ARTIFICIAL VOLCANIC PHENOMENA

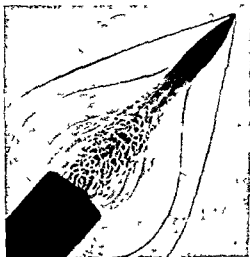
Belot's volcano showing a crater lake in the middle eruption in an early stage at the right in a later stage at the left and a dried crater in the left foreground

from lava in real volcanoes and he has even noticed a phenomenon resembling the blazing cloud from Mont Pelée that destroyed St. Pierre when the steam column from his artificial crater sweeps the surface obliquely instead of ascending, by covering the whole surface with water he has a submarine volcano which throws up islands like those off the Alaskan coast. By saturating his water with salt he gets other familiar volcanic phenomena. In fact, all who have seen the artificial volcano or the films that Mr. Gaumont with his generous devotion to science has made of them are convinced that the sea is in submarine connection with volcanoes and that the cause that directs the internal vapors of the submarine fissures toward the coast is simply the inclination of the isothermal surfaces.—*The Literary Digest*

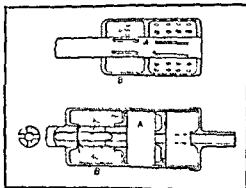
### Unheard and Unseen Artillery

To see without being seen, to hear without being heard—are the two greatest factors of tactical success in military operations. How can armies make use of them when the very weapons that they use are both conspicuous and noisy? In particular an absolutely silent and invisible piece of artillery would fill a long felt want. So far as smoke is concerned that has been practically eliminated by the use of smokeless powders consisting of nitrated organic material with no mineral salts. But it is not so easy to make a powder that shall be "flashless" as well as smokeless; and at night it is the flash, and not the smoke that betrays the whereabouts of the gun. The flash has been lessened but not abolished by the Germans by mixing alkaline salts with the powder. All sorts of substances have been tried—vaseline, alkaline soaps, opalates and resins—but with no better result. In general, decreasing the flash augments the smoke, and vice versa, so that this method of getting an invisible discharge is not promising. A better way may be to dilute or cool down the inflammable gas that issues from the gun just behind the projectile and produces the flash. This would have to

be done in about one hundredth of a second, but it might be accomplished by breaking flasks of carbonic gas at the proper instant. A device that was intended

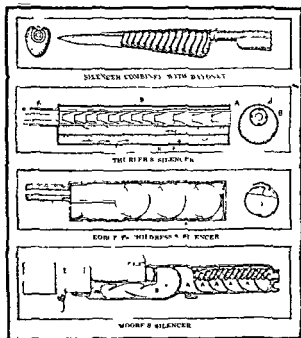


Photograph of a projectile leaving a gun fitted with a silencer



Maxim Silencer Two Recent Forms.

to abolish smoke, flame and noise all at once was announced by a Frenchman named Hurnbert about fifteen years ago. His idea seems to have been to entrap the gas from the gun in a series of chambers. The most perfect development of this idea is found in the modern Maxim "silencer," which consists of a tube 4 to 6 inches long by 1½ in diameter fastened to the mouth of a firearm. The illustrations show the interior arrangement and give an idea of how the gas is slowed down in its exit so that when it finally gets out it produces little or no disturbance of the atmosphere. The Maxim silencer has assumed successively several different forms. A similar device has been invented by Bordenave and Frenchman, and others have been devised by Genshow in Germany, by Childress, Thurler, King Moore, and others. Some



of these abominable flash as well as sound. Some are intended to be used with light artillery or machine guns, but apparently none of the larger types has been practically successful.

\* Both our machine guns and those of the Germans carry masks that hide the flash, but the characteristic detonation has by no means disappeared.

\* The problem of the flash is most interesting for cannon of long range. In the evening or at night two observers, by noting the time, *may*, with regulated chronometers having illuminated dials, locate a battery. Three observers can do so without any timepieces. But it is of especial interest to reduce the noise of firing. The powerful voice of the gun may put courage into the soldier occasionally, but its repetition causes nervous depression, as does the bursting of shells.

"The ideal would seem to be to have on one's own side a line of invisible silent guns, while on the side where the shells are falling is a zone of death and smoke. On one side would reign a relative calm, while the enemy's lines would be turned upside down by explosions, shrapnel, and uproar."—*The Literary Digest*

### Japanese Signs.

It is not known when signboards first came to be used in Japan, but presumably it was not long after the introduction of writing, though that would not be necessary among a people where pictures and designs preceded ideographs representing them. Indeed Japanese writing, like Chinese, consists of signs rather than expressions of sound. The national ideographs are for the eye rather than the ear, to be seen rather than to be heard.

There is mention in Japanese history of the fact that in the reign of the Emperor Godaigo (1319-1339) each government official set up a door plate signifying his name and occupation, which may be regarded as the first mention of signs in Japan. It

is also recorded that in the Ashikaga period the *sake* dealers used a bunch of cedar leaves as a sign of their business, and the ambition of tradesmen and merchants to develop their business and call attention to their wares has led to the innumerable diversity of signs that now interrupt the eye wherever one looks along the streets of a Japanese town, and even in the fields.

The art of advertising seems to have made considerable progress during the Tokugawa era, especially in the variety of signs used. To foreigners these signs are striking to a degree, though to Japanese they appear perfectly natural. There is broken, antique or impossible English are, perhaps, the most remarkable, for since the coming of foreigners every attempt has been made to appeal to them, though in many cases these foreign signs are only to impress the native customer with the idea that the shop deals in foreign goods and therefore sells reliable wares.

The most primitive form of Japanese sign is that whereon is depicted the article for sale. The hemp dealer hangs out a bundle of raw hemp fibre, and the maker of grass or reed hats suspends some of these hats before his shop entrance, while the umbrella maker does the same. The watchmaker has a big round clock or watch over his shop, either in a tower on the roof or on the sign over the door. Sometimes the clock is a real one and sometimes only a picture. Shops that sell mirrors often do likewise. The druggist sometimes has the picture of a huge paper bag over his shop, as most Japanese medicines are sold in that receptacle. Makers of *tabi*, the Japanese sock, also have a big *tabi* in front of their shop, usually the pattern after which the sock is cut before sewing. Fan makers put out a half-finished fan, and so on.

Most of the signs, however, are painted, often pictures of the goods are so represented. The pictures are frequently on the sliding doors of the shops, as, for example the candle maker, who has candles painted on his shop doors. The tobacco man has withered or dry tobacco leaves on his door in natural colour, while the dealer in clams has that bivalve painted in full view of the public. In many cases a kind of symbol or trademark is selected to stand for the business. We have already mentioned that from very ancient times cedar leaves have been used to represent the *sake* business. The reason for this is because the ashes of cedar foliage has been put in *sake* from of old to give it a certain flavour liked by the native palate. The leaves are arranged in various forms, from a round bunch to an oblong bundle. The cedar foliage is not painted, but natural and is replaced by fresh ones as the old fall away. Usually the change is made with the appearance of new *sake* on the market, especially at New Year. When you see a paper lantern with a painting of the tree peony on it, that shows the shop within deals in wild boar meat. Sometimes a lion is painted in association with the peonies, as the pronunciation of the word "shishi", wild boar, is much the same as that of the word "shishi", lion.

Tea dealers usually set up a picture of a tea caddy either on the roof or in front of their places of business. Paper lanterns with pictures of maple leaves tell you where to buy deer meat, as the best venison comes from the maple forest.

The custom of setting up signs that involved some sort of puzzle came into vogue in the Tokugawa

period and has been continued down to to day though more often to be found in the provinces than in metropolitan areas. When one sees the picture of a flying arrow one knows that is a bath house as the word for shooting an arrow (yuru) sounds like yuru taking a hot bath. Dealers in sweet potatoes write up the ideographs for *jusanri* (thirteen *ri*) which means that the potatoes are nicer than chestnuts (*kuri yori umai*) *ku ri* meaning nine *ri* and also chestnuts the syllogistic signification being that as 13 *ri* are greater than 9 *ri* so sweet potatoes are nicer than chestnuts. The kite maker puts the picture of an octopus (*tako*) on his door as the word for kite (*tako*) is much the same as that for octopus in the vernacular. The dealer in head jam buns has a horse over his shop because the word for horse (*uma*) has the sound of *umai umai* (sweet sweet) not unlike foreign yum yum for the same meaning. Such notions may appear childish but in the peaceful Tokugawa days people were evidently at a loss for novelty and had to do some thing to preclude ennui. Such signs are now seldom seen.

Of course most of the signs in Japan as in other countries simply name the articles for sale or describe the business of the merchant. Some of these signs are horizontally over the doors some perpendicularly and some suspended before or beside the doors. Others are painted on paper lanterns. The paper lantern sign became very popular during the Meiji period. Rouge and toilet powder are so extensively used by Japanese women that there are shops that deal exclusively in this stuff and are indicated by a small red flag signifying the colour which the powder will make the cheeks. A shop with a square piece of wood on which is painted various round dots of different colours tells the passer by of a paint shop. The dealer in writing brushes has a big one painted in front of his shop. Deal makers comb makers shoe makers and the like all set up representations of what they make. Such places as restaurants book shops hardware dealers and so on often use lanterns or square boxes with the name of their trade inscribed thereon.

To foreigners of course the more interesting signs are those essaying English inscriptions which are often very remarkable for their eccentric attempts at spelling and wording. When you see a sign reading Tailor of Resistant Wet Coat you know that there is a good place for cheap waterproofs. Baggages Sent any Direction by Internal Rail way means an Express Office. Modified Milk for the Scientific Feeding of Infants and Invalids is of doubtful signification as is also Shifts Papa red



Japanese Shop Signs

1 UMBRELLAS 2 SOCKS 3 SUGAR SHOP 4 GATA  
5 SAKES SHOP 6 CLAM SHOP

Here. No one doubts the meaning of Horse b f shop though why the appeal is made to English readers no one seems to know. Coats Made from any hides Yours or Ours sounds dangerous but simply means furs will be made up from skins brought to the shop. Hair will be supplied by the shop. Various Kind Hairs has the same meaning. Ladies Furnished in Upper Story will bring you to a blouse waist maker. Whale and all Relating to Are Sold seems more ambiguous than it is.

The stranger will naturally ask why such ridiculous wording is thus impudently stuck up before the public when it would be so easy to have the English corrected before being painted on the sign. Those asking such a question but show how unfamiliar they are with the country they have come to visit. The man who sets himself up as parser of foreign signs is not going to admit that he cannot



A Rosebush before treatment with quicklime



Ten minutes after

compose the device to be painted on them. Possibly he gets some school boy to find the words in the English dictionary, that correspond to the Japanese ideographs and so he paints these words in any order that seems to him best. But what of the man who pays for the sign? Does he not object to paying for a sign covered with a jumble of mistakes and then holding them up to public view? Well he does not know the difference and so long as he is none the wiser, the painter will not find it profitable to seek correct English for his signs. In Japan many things are done incorrectly simply because those who pay for the work do not know the difference. This is especially the case in regard to translations and advertisements in English and often it applies even to papers and magazines. So long as English readers for whose consumption this fare is provided do not object to the repast and thus acquaint those who pay for the work with the imperfection and absurdity of it, the practice will go on. This means that it is likely to continue until all Japanese who use foreign signs and print foreign papers can read English themselves, for foreigners do not take the trouble to point out such mistakes to those taken in by paying for them. They think it too good a source of humour to trouble about the matter, though the foreign press frequently calls attention to it.

—The Japan Magazine

### A Curious Garden Trick Explained

A few years ago some of the leading horticulturalists were very much perplexed by certain experiments conducted by a French exhibitor

A plant perhaps a geranium or a rose bush was brought forward in a large deep box of soil some times the plant was just growing in the open border. Although the specimen was full of buds there were no expanded blooms to be seen. The demonstrator informed the onlookers that in about ten minutes he would have the plant covered with widely opened flowers. The procedure started with the watering of the soil over the roots. As soon as the ground was moist the whole plant was at once covered with a glass shade. At the end of ten minutes the shade was removed, and the audience was amazed to see that the specimen was covered with blooms fully open.

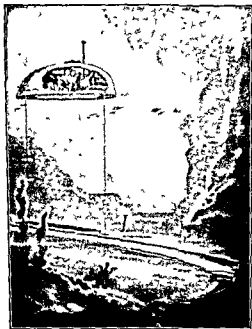
The manner in which this instantaneous blooming of plants was brought about has been recently explained. In the first case care was taken to secure specimens in which the buds were as far developed as possible without having actually started to expand. Shortly before the exhibition a shallow trench was dug out all round the plant. This was not quite deep enough to expose the main roots. Then all around this trench small lumps of quicklime were placed with care not to put them actually in contact with the roots. When the quicklime was in position the soil was filled into the trench.

The liquid used was plain water. After a thorough soaking of the soil the moisture quickly penetrates to the quicklime and there is a great generation of heat. A certain amount of vapor arises and this is kept round the plant by the glass shade. The heat in the soil and this warm vapour have an extraordinarily stimulating effect upon the plant with the result that the flowers buds are forced open.

The idea is an extension of a plan commonly followed by florists when it is desired to induce flowers to open fully, of placing the stalks for five minutes or so in almost boiling water. This has an amazing effect, for in a very short while the buds, previously tightly closed, are fully open. In the same way wild flowers which have wilted after picking may frequently be revived.—*Scientific American*

### Escape from a sunken Submarine

Possibly a thousand men have lost their lives in times of peace, through the bad behavior of submarines. These powerful agents of destruction occasionally turn on their own masters and asphyxiate them by lying down on the sea bottom and sullenly refusing to rise. A few practicable rescuing devices have been invented up to very recent times. These are divided into three classes—those with buoyant detachable conning towers, those having compartments fitted with hatches, and those that tap the upper air for oxygen and at the same time signal for help.



A DETACHABLE SUBMARINE CONNING TOWER AS A RESCUE

This plan will work should the submarine sink as far as three hundred feet. Below this depth no scheme will be of use, for the water pressure is so enormous that it will actually force the water right through the pores of the steel hull.

In the first class are those devices which have a buoyant, detachable conning tower. This tower contains all the appliances of an ordinary conning tower, such things as the steering rod must be made in two parts which can be separated when the tower is

disconnected from the body of the submarine. A windlass is mounted at each end of the tower and upon each a cable is wound. The other ends of the cables are fastened to the body of the submarine. Four large bolts hold the tower to the submarine's body.

Should anything go wrong all the men can climb into the tower, close the hatch behind them, turn on the oxygen from the tanks, unscrew the bolts, and rise to the surface. By means of the handles of the windlasses the speed of the tower can be controlled as it rises. When they reach the surface, they can open the windows and send out signals of distress by an electric flash light.

This plan will work should the submarine sink as far as three hundred feet. Below this depth no scheme will be of use, for the water pressure is so enormous that it will actually force the water right through the pores of the steel hull and finally result in crushing the submarine like an egg shell.

An entirely different invention has two compartments within the submarine, from which the crew can escape through hatches to the top of the boat. To open the hatches, it is necessary to let water into the compartments through a valve, until the compartments are completely filled. In this way the great pressure of the water on top of the hatches is relieved.

In an emergency the crew immediately put on light diving suits. These contain oxygen apparatus which not only prevent suffocation, but also prevent the water from crushing the body. Three or four men enter each compartment and shut the watertight door behind them. Letting in the water, they open the hatch and climb out. After they have emerged, the hatch is closed by gears connected to it in the inside of the submarine. The water in the compartment is then ejected into the ocean through drain pipes connected with a hydraulic hand pump which the imprisoned men operate. Then three or four more of them may enter the compartment and escape in the same way.

After all the crew reach the top of the boat they release a buoy which moves upward toward the surface carrying a cable with it. Up this the men must climb.

It may seem strange, that the men must climb out and are not forced upward as soon as they touch the water. The reason for this is that the weight of the suits is so great that it tends to keep the men at whatever level they happen to be.

Due to the fact that the men have to expose themselves to the pressure of the water, this plan can not be used at a greater depth than 225 feet. Even at this depth, the pressure is  $8\frac{1}{4}$  tons per square foot. Divers have gone down this far, but one who went down 283 feet, at the time of the F 4 disaster, permanently injured his lungs.

The manner in which the oxygen is supplied from these suits is extremely interesting. A small cylinder strapped to the back of the wearer contains the oxygen which is stored at an enormous pressure of 150 tons per square foot. The oxygen is slowly released from this by an automatic ejector which regulates its pressure as it is supplied to the body so that it nearly equals that caused by the ocean outside. After the oxygen has been consumed, it is thrown off by the lungs as carbon dioxide, and the lungs force into a cartridge of chemicals where it is completely absorbed. After this absorption of the nitrogen of the air remains, but this is again passed over the ejector and mixed with fresh oxygen.



before it enters the lungs once more. In this way the same nitrogen is used over and over again.

"In a third class of devices, the men do not leave the submarine at all. Two buoys are fitted in the superstructure at both ends of the submarine. Attached to each are a cable and two flexible hose, while directly under the point where each buoy is held on the submarine is a compartment into which the crew get in time of danger. Then the buoys are

released. As they rise, they carry the cables and hose with them. An unlimited amount of fresh air can now be had by working airpumps which are connected to the lower ends of the hose.

"In the two compartments, the men must stay imprisoned until a salvage vessel answers their distress signals, given out by an electrical flash-light within the buoys."—*The Literary Digest*.

## WHY INDIA SHOULD HAVE MOTION PICTURE INDUSTRY

**M**ANY may think that it is the photographer who is responsible for the production of a good motion play; but in fact he has comparatively little to do with putting on a picture, in the

artistic and dramatic manner. Good actors and photographers are indispensable, but without the guidance of a talented director the result will be extremely disappointing. The director is responsible for each scene and action. He is the most important man.

A Movie director must have the command of everything, and should thoroughly



M. D. Sathya made up as a Hindu Prince.



S. N. Guba and Abbas Ali in the second row personating in "Beyond the Pale."



S N Guha as Turkish soldier  
A Scene from 'Black Box Mystery'



S N Guha as Mahomed Ali  
Mahomed Ali

by the writer because no two minds think alike. The director often changes scenes even if they are not faulty. The director's duty is to look for new scenes that is why he always changes even faultless things.

It is the director who makes the actor frequent

understand the business. The scenario is handed to the director by the scenario writer who does his best to fit in the play with the demand. Very seldom the scenarios are produced as they are written

ly, he has to shape a photographer out of raw materials. It is his patience which brings forth so many photographs among us. The difference between an experienced player and a trained director is that the former cannot see his faults whereas the latter can.

The co-operation between the director and the photographer is also absolutely necessary otherwise the clever photography tricks would not be possible. Often the camera man tells the director. This



The man near the Camera is the Camera man. The man next to him is the President Director General of the Keystone Film Co. the man who made Charlie Chaplin with Huda Costume. Next to him are—(standing) V D Patel S N Guha (sitting) N C Guha and Mogul Khan  
[This picture is taken from the book called A B C of Motion Pictures by Robert E. Welsh. Published by Harper & Brothers.]



S N Guha and Miss Iqbal as Egyptian dancer  
A Scene from 'Under the Crescent'

light is burning we should not shoot,' that time every action is stopped until the camera man consents to start work again.

philanthropy in it. It is a simple business proposition. If this company get promises from almost all high schools of India then they will gladly undertake to manufacture these films. Instead of university extensions our efforts should be centralized on the extension of primary education. These films will be standardised by the government board of education.

In these modern times nothing large can be accomplished by individual efforts. It was possible in the past. Our individual banking systems have been smashed by the cooperative banking system of England. This holds good for every industry. We want cooperation without cooperation no great attainment is possible. What a nation desires that will the nation become, so a nation must be careful how she desires and prays. A nation largely fulfils its own prediction and vision. Let us desire to have a better and enlightened India. Let us cooperate and establish this industry. We ought to have done so long ago. It is not too late yet let us get busy before it gets too late.

We are going to organise a motion picture company the capital of which will be fifty thousand rupees. We will take pictures of human interest so we shall have the market in the outside world. We know every creek and corner of the foreign market so it will be easy for us to push them there. For our first pictures we will arrange our scenery in such a way that it will do away with elaborate sets. We have natural sets in our country. We do not need to build any. Natural scenery makes better pictures than the artificial sets. It is the producer who makes the picture not the pictures which makes the producer.

In the beginning we can not adopt the American system for circulating our pictures because we have no circulating exchanges. We have to handle the representation ourselves in the large cities and it will be presented as long as it will attract patrons. If it succeeds even in one city to draw the crowds to packed houses even for a week the profit is assured. Sometimes we can sell provincial rights to different parties. If it is a picture of worldwide interest it will bring tremendous money from the outside world.

The earning of a good motion picture production is tremendous. This industry

has created many sudden millionaires in the United States. The man who was a common carpenter eight years ago is now a millionaire.

Griffith's last picture, *Intolerance*, in which I had the privilege of working for four solid months has created a sensation all over the country. It shows that intolerance was and is the cause of all conflicts from time immemorial to the present age. It appeals to the human heart, it is not a picture for this or that country but it is a picture for the human race.

The following theme will give you a slight idea of the pictures we can give to the world. This will help to deliver the nations from the temptation of cynicism and the timidities of orthodoxy, and will pave the way to worldwide peace and towards bringing humanity under the banner of equality, and all the racial and religious conflicts may be thus gradually wiped out of the earth. It needs a Hindu brain to conceive a thing like this. It is far wider in its scope than *Intolerance*. And India is the only country where it could be produced successfully.

Careful perusal of the religious scriptures of the world will convince us of the fact that many great prophets made prophecies about their return to us in opportune time the descriptions of which are given in the scriptures. The life of each prophet has been great and uplifting to the people within the sphere of his respective influence but all failed to be all reaching. On the basis of the above mentioned facts this story has been written entitled

*The Man to Come or Three in One*. The idea of a fourth man has been conceived in whom the identity of the foregoing three prophets Buddha, Christ and Muhammad is merged so that the followers of these three prophets who are quarreling among themselves for religious differences can find their respective prophets in this fourth man which will prove that there are no essential differences in religions the basis of all is the same and fundamentally the teachings of all scriptures are alike. Spiritually and physically the quarrel has ceased. The present is considered to be the most opportune time for the second advent of the prophets.

Fearing to awaken his wife and child but full of the determination to know the truth Gautama Buddha leaves his palace at night contrary to the injunction of his

father. The charioteer leaves him at the outskirts of a forest where afterwards he is found alone in meditation. Privations and severe and enticing trials could not shake the determination of this saint. At last sitting under the Bodhi tree Gautama attained the Buddhahood and the *devas* from above showered flowers on him. Buddha now teaches his disciples and sends them to all parts of the world to proclaim the truth.

The lives of Jesus and Muhammad have also been dealt with almost in the same

way, paying particular attention to the exact details of their career.

When the followers of different nationalities and religions are fighting one another, the fourth prophet is getting his initiation sitting by the side of a mountain river. When the world is suffering from earthquakes, famines, devastating wars, &c. the fourth prophet comes among men to proclaim the message of love and peace. In him they all find their respective prophets and derive solace and strength from his teachings.

NIRUPAM CHANDRA GUHA

## INDIA ENTERING UPON A NEW ERA OF ENLIGHTENMENT

**W**HEN the European people visit India they carry away with them various kinds of impression. Some with their superficial knowledge have looked upon the country as a land of heathen and semi-civilized people. Some who are students of the world have studied the country and its problems with sincere and open heart. These latter have exalted the land and praised her for her past culture. All have tried to fathom that mysterious land but few only have partly succeeded.

Everyone who loves India must take a keen interest in the activities of that country. When a country enters upon a new era of enlightenment its women play a great part in the development of that nation. The world has realized now what an intelligent woman can do to elevate the human race. And we are glad to know that India is not slow to welcome her women.

This is peculiarly the time when India must do something for the education of her womankind. We are filled with a joy when we hear of the opening of a new university for the women of India under native auspices. It is a great undertaking and every true Indian heart feels proud and cannot but give a sincere tribute and high admiration to its founders. It comes to us as a surprise to see a country taking such a step when her economic conditions are so discouraging. Such

an institution must help the women of India who suffer from the narrow and impractical nature of education.

In the opening announcement the aims and object of the university are given and we read a fairly well planned program of studies. The success of the university will depend upon how far this program is carried out. But one cannot help thinking that those who have mapped it out could not get away from the traditional education given in India. We take for granted that the founders of this university do not wish to copy the men's university. The object of its existence is to have freedom to organize the curriculum to suit the individual mind in its development. The object of true education is two fold namely self-realization, in self-expression, to the greatest degree thus helping to unfold the latent faculties of mind and character, secondly the ability to find the place in life for which the individual is fitted. Education is not a mere culture of mind or means to comfortable living but it is the fullest realization of self making the mind active to participate in all things that the larger group does. We must be able to understand our moral relations with each other so that we can be sympathetic toward all.

By going over the curriculum of the new university one feels rather disappointed. In the first place the four year course is reduced to three years. In that time it is

impossible to get a good thorough education that will enlighten one's mind. Even in European countries where the general knowledge of students is much better four years in a college are not enough for university education. If we elaborate the curriculum and make a four year course, then we can divide our work in such a way that a young woman who leaves college at the end of two years gets most of it. If the circumstance in which she is placed allow her to have the full benefit of college she may spend the last two years in getting a more general knowledge and preparing along some special line for which she feels a call. Whether she wishes to be married or not there are things that are essential for every woman to know. But she must also understand and must prepare for the larger duties in the world.

The system of education in India puts too much emphasis on making any sort of work compulsory without any regard to individual temperament, its likes and dislikes. Why education of men in India has partially failed is because of this defect. We see in my hopeless results from such education. Perhaps the worst is that the mind has lost its originality and power of free thinking. A man graduating at the end of four years is a pitiable sight. All men cannot be born with genius but at least they possess a fair amount of intellect whose cultivation must decide the turn of their lives. People desire to get a university education because universities confer degrees which bring honor and fame. Our universities have recognized credit in the eyes of the public. Thus those who enter university doors and come out successfully are pretty sure to be able to get some kind of position. Our universities are doing a wonderful work along education but their curriculum is so narrow that when men enter college they cannot say yes or no or show any dislike for a work but must take the prescribed courses if they seek a career. We are doing the same in the case of women. Why should we not have a large number of electives instead of the fixed courses which are arranged without allowing for personal choice?

When young women enter college a good knowledge of language—English as well as the native—is assumed. It is a question how far the use of vernacular as

a medium of instruction would be helpful. By doing so there is a fear of narrowing down the most valuable sources of information. The knowledge of the students will be confined to class lectures and text books. It is true that the use of vernacular will encourage and develop our own literature which is so essential for the growth of national life and national consciousness. But at present our literature contains a very small amount of modern educational material and cannot treat any subject scientifically. Again the study of language is not to know its technicalities and dry grammar. When we confine this study to a fixed number of lines and pages in poetry and prose we lose the larger meaning. Literature must teach us to appreciate the beauty and grace manifested in nature and human life. In the study of literature we learn the history of any race and its development. The inner self of any people holds its communion with others through language and we must study it in that spirit. We must learn to appreciate language which is a beautiful expression of soul. It is necessary that we must know its history, its best and greatest writers.

Again turning from language to history, we must take a broader view. The study of history does not mean knowing the career of kings and governors, the battles, the military strategy and a few other such facts but it is a study of a living society in the past and bearing upon the present in all its activities—economic, social, political, intellectual, religious and spiritual. From this we know what factors operated on society so that it has taken the particular direction which we see. This knowledge of the past helps us to understand the new problems in which we have to act prudently that we may not retard human progress. History is so closely related with sociology that in order to understand one we must know the other. The latter tells us how the groups are formed how they act upon each other. It explains the mental phenomena at such a time and helps us to understand the right moral relations which would all create human sufferings.

Our women must know more than the history of India and England because the world is not confined to these two countries only. In order to get a larger outlook on life it is highly essential that they

should know about other countries — their development the stages through which these countries have passed Economic conditions in these countries the political parties and forms of governments cannot be neglected To be able to judge a thing whether it is right or wrong first we must know it

In the present curriculum very little consideration is given to science In modern education science plays such an important part that we cannot afford to neglect it Biology, physiology, chemistry, astronomy, physics, geology must find a place If people are ignorant and superstitious in India it is because they know so little of science Intelligent and scientific explanations of all that people do is more wholesome than mere didactic teaching

It is surprising that with our outlook on life and its ideal which is different from that of the West, we have no place in our curriculum for a school of practical arts This school includes domestic economy household administration household arts fine arts sewing music hygiene nursing sanitation etc It is essential that our women should know domestic economy This science does not mean merely how to cook and make fancy dishes Here again our scientific knowledge comes into play Food chemistry, organic chemistry, bacteriology are at the basis of our food problem It means the study of dietetics the effect of food on health the kinds of food that give a greater amount of nutrition the diet best for sick people and children These should form an essential part of a woman's knowledge

After all the fundamental thing for the building of mind and body is physical education Healthy and strong children will not be born of weak parents In order that they may be morally strong they must be physically strong Besides this we have to make some provision for recreation for women Our mode of living is such that our women naturally get enough exercise and fresh air while they are at their daily work But that kind of work becomes monotonous and they need their minds refreshed by something different and lively

Finally our thought goes to pedagogy One wonders whether we understand the real significance and true nature of this professional study To become a teacher

is so easy in India that those who go through the portals of a university are qualified to teach without further requirements In India we engage a teacher just as we hire a servant for any kind of work It never strikes us that the profession of a teacher is very sacred and a delicate relation exists between a child and a teacher The light that comes from a teacher his personality his knowledge of human nature his efficient preparation are to help the child mind and to mold its character We must base our theories and principles of teaching on the knowledge of psychology This science explains the variety of human nature and finds a key to approach it The child mind and its interests must be the centre of our educational work We have to arrange a curriculum to suit the child instead of adjusting the child to the curriculum Indeed the curriculum as worked out by educational authorities may be quite at variance with the child's nature We have to provide many such courses in pedagogy to get a trained body of teachers who will be able to handle the educational problems scientifically and intelligently Then only we shall have some hope of progress

To sum up all this is to arrange a kind of curriculum that will fulfill the purpose of our new university I respectfully submit the following tentative courses —

- I
- Required Work*
- 1 Vernacular literature
- 2 English composition
- 3 Detailed knowledge of Indian history
- 4 General courses in European history
- 5 Sanskrit or any modern European language
- 6 Physiology
- 7 Hygiene and sanitation
- 8 Pure and applied chemistry
- 9 General course in household management
- 10 Physical education
- Electives*
- 1 Hist. of vernacular literature
- Study of dramas, poems, composition
- 2 Hist. of English literature
- English dramas
- Famous poets and prose writers
- Composition

- 3 Other languages,  
Sanskrit, Latin, German, French,  
Persian
- 4 General mathematics
- 5 General courses in European and  
Asiatic history  
English "  
Greek "  
Roman "  
American "  
Advanced courses in Indian and  
English history
- 6 General courses in social science
  - (a) Elements of economics
  - (b) " " politics
  - (c) " " sociology
- 7 Psychology  
General social psychology  
" educational "  
Psychology of child mind
- 8 Philosophy and ethics
- 9 Elocution
- 10 Sciences  
Chemistry, biology physics, astro-  
nomy, geology
- 11 Courses in pedagogy
- 12 Kindergarten teaching  
II  
*School of practical arts*
  1. Household economics
  - 2 Food and organic chemistry  
Practical lessons in cooking
  - 3 Housekeeping and housing  
conditions
  - 4 Sanitation
  - 5 Hygiene personal and public
  6. Home nursing, child rearing
  - 7 Sewing, knitting cloth printing,  
embroidery and designing
  - 8 Drawing, painting, other fine arts
  - 9 Weaving
  - 10 Music
  - 11 Courses in agriculture, gardening
  - 12 Dairying
  - 13 Laundry

We should make the curriculum wide and let there be a large number of electives as far as possible so that with the required work divided throughout the four year period there will be plenty of time so that young women can take, with required courses many electives in which they are interested. For this kind of program we have to make another change in our policy. It is better and advantageous to have a final examination at the end of

each term, instead of only once a year. The emphasis should not be on how much time is given to lectures, but rather how much time students should spend on outside work (library reading and class preparation). Light or ten hours devoted to class attendance and fourteen or sixteen hours to outside preparation every week would be a good plan for the student. She will be able to accomplish more than if she were required to attend many lectures. At the end of four years our women will feel that their college life was not confined to the knowledge of a few subjects. Such a system will help them to get a broad view of life and they will feel that their intellectual outlook is widened.

As the name indicates, the object of this new university is to afford young women all over the country a training of university grade. If the instruction is given only in one or two vernacular languages that means preventing the coming of those who cannot understand the language. We can solve this problem and help many by making English a medium of instruction. Another point such an institution must be for all classes of women and should not be for a chosen few. There is a large number of women who are keenly conscious of their dependent lives and they are a burden to the community. We have to make some provision for these women, to enable them to help themselves and at the same time be efficient and helpful members of society. For this reason we must have some vocational training. Perhaps some will say that we do not want our women to enter the industrial world and rub their shoulders against men. But there are many professions which women can enter without this danger.

It is true that our funds will not allow us to establish a university on a large scale. But the university at Poona is the only institution of its kind from which we can expect anything progressive. If our wealthy people and rich native states will help such a university then our problem will not be so difficult. Thereby not only we shall help our women upon whom depends the regeneration of India, but we shall begin a great constructive work.

New York U S I KRISHNABAI TELAKAR

## A LIST OF FOOLS

A merchant once to Akbar led  
 An Arab horse—a thorough bred,  
 And Akbar, for he had a whim,  
 He paid up what was asked of him,  
 And ordered then the man to bring  
 A mare to match so good a thing  
 "Your Majesty"—the merchant swore—  
 "I'll try to get you such a mare,  
 Only I cannot promise to  
 Find one that will exactly do,  
 But if you pay up in advance,  
 I'm sure you'll stand a better chance"  
 Then Akbar ordered them to pay  
 The merchant, and he went away  
 It happened, not long after, that  
 Akbar with Birbal had a chat  
 "Make me a list of all"—said he—  
 "The fools that in my kingdom be—  
 Old fools, young fools, small fools, great,  
 Wise fools, stupid fools, up to date,

Born fools, made fools, lean fools, stout,  
 A complete list—leave no one out"  
 Then Birbal made a list complete,  
 And laid it at His Highness' feet;  
 And Akbar took the great roll up,  
 And glanced right through it from the top—  
 But opened wide his eyes, I wist,  
 For lo' his name did top the list.  
 "Now how is this?"—great Akbar roared.  
 But Birbal was not to be floored  
 "What else is one?"—Birbal began—  
 "Who pays a round sum to a man,  
 Of whom he knows nor name, nor place,  
 Nor reputation, class, nor race,  
 Who pays the price down for a mare,  
 He'll never see, or skin, or hair"  
 "But how?"—said Akbar—"if he should  
 Come back, and make his promise good?"  
 "I'll score your name out"—Birbal said—  
 "And write that idiot's name instead."

GRYLLUS DOMESTICUS

## REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF BOOKS

STRAY BIRDS, by Rabindranath Tagore, Macmillan & Co. Price 4s 6d Net

Most of the pieces in the 'Stray Birds' are literal translations from the Poet's Bengali work called 'Kanika' or Tiny Poems. There are also quite a large number of pieces which are not translations at all, but composed originally in English. No English reader, however, takes Rabindranath's English rendering of his own poetry to be mere translation work, for however beautiful and delicate a translation may be, something must unavoidably be lost in the process—the atmosphere, the rhythmical significance—and such loss is immeasurable. Strangely enough Rabindranath's prose versions have not suffered a whit in any way they are as fresh and delicate as the originals. They seem to have changed the texture of language only and not to have changed otherwise.

'Kanika' or the tiny poems are a collection mostly of quatrains full of wisdom rather of a proverbial nature, but bristling with a kind of poignant wit and humour, that make the utterances extremely felicitous. Sanskrit and Persian poetry—generally speaking Eastern poetry—abound with instances of

this type. They are so homely that sometimes they are hardly readable, just as it is almost impossible to translate a proverb of one language into another, unless there is a corresponding proverb in the other language too. Rabindranath has been discriminating enough to keep such homely 'birds' caged in their Bengali original, they are so very snug in their little nook of Bengali that they cannot be persuaded to go abroad. Their local colouring; their fine play of words and puns, clever hits and raps at the little conventionalities and absurdities of the world, smiling twitters of delicate humour, brilliant suggestiveness—all these put together impart to the tiny poems of 'Kanika' a peculiar flavour and an aroma, so that their very fineness becomes a rare advantage.

Let me quote a few pieces which, though not quite representative of this type, may serve as good illustrations.

163 P 43

"The learned say that your lights will one day be no more," said the firefly to the stars  
 The stars made no answer



172 P 45

The sun flower blushed to own the nameless flower  
as her kin

The sun rose and smiled on it, saying,  
'Are you well, my darling?'

236 P 62

Smoke boasts to the Sky and Ashes to the Earth,  
that they are brothers to the fire

184 P 49

He who is too busy doing good finds no time to be  
good.

171 P 45

'Either you have work or you have not  
When you have to say 'Let us do something,'  
then begins mischief

129 P 33

Asks the Possible to the Impossible Where is your  
dwelling place?

'In the dreams of the impotent,' comes the  
answer

107 P 28

The echo marks her origin to prove she is the ori-  
ginal

Other poems of the 'Kamika' are of a somewhat  
different type they are pure and simple *pensees*  
highly sapient like those of Pascal, Epictetus,  
Joubert and others. The present volume of *Stray  
Birds* contains quite a large number of the transla-  
tions of such pieces. We reprint a few striking  
sayings below —

138 P 36

'I am ashamed of my emptiness said the Word  
to the Word.

'I know how poor I am when I see you,' said the  
Word to the Word.

173 P 46

'Who drives me forward like fate?  
'The Myself striding on my back

130 P 33

If you shut your door to all errors truth will be  
shut out.

75 P 20

We read the world wrong and say that it deceives  
us

258 P 67

The false can never grow into truth by growing in  
power

Similar wise aphorisms are strewn all over the  
book. They are too cryptic for ordinary minds,  
as they are the crystallized forms of the poet's  
varied experiences in life. The more one probes into  
them, the deeper one realises the inherent truths they  
convey. Except perhaps Goethe there is no other  
literary figure in Eastern or Western literature who  
has been able to give the world such a rich store of  
wisdom borne out upon the vehicles of massive crea-  
tion but upon frail and light winged pencil sketches  
of images *adages* and *epigrams*. They are tiny like  
small pieces of diamond, but they flash forth light  
on all truth from every facet. Herein lies the great and  
undisputed power of the poet—the power of crystal-  
lization of thought, the power of hiding power and  
becoming simple the power of wonderful self-re-  
straint and silence so that things become thoughts  
and thoughts become things in rapid transfiguration,  
in his art. The wonder, therefore, is that the  
poet who has been the creator of all the great forms  
of poetry, the dramatic the lyric the ballad and the  
ode etc. who has had even epic flights of imagination

in some of his longer lyrical and dramatic pieces  
should thus be able to show the same power in a  
line, in a single touch of the brush, in short epigrams  
and simple images. There is one piece in the *'Stray  
Birds,'* which may be very well applied to the poet's  
present work — The stars are not afraid to appear  
like fireflies. In fact, these tiny pieces may appear  
like fireflies but they are in reality stars. They are  
orbs of light they are images of life. 'One may also  
say to the stars, to quote another piece: "Tiny grass,  
your steps are small, but you possess the earth under  
your tread."

There is a school of painting in modern Europe  
called Imagism which has its corresponding school  
in poetry also. The Imagists confine all their atten-  
tion to images or pictures and do not care for idea  
tion or intellection of any kind. In some respects,  
their poetry is allied to Japanese poetry. The picto-  
rial art in Japan has reached such a high perfection  
at the expense of the other arts, that Japanese poetry  
also has been strictly kept to the limits of a few  
words merely so that there is just room enough for a  
short simple image (nimage) with any other emotion,  
fancy or idea of any kind. Feelings and thoughts  
may come as subsidiary effects but the impression  
that the poetry itself will convey is one of picture and  
picture merely. Rabindranath is not an Imagist,  
but the significant fact about *'Stray Birds'* is that  
most of it was written during the poet's voyage to  
Japan or during his short stay there. This fact  
makes the dedication of the volume to 'T. Hara, of  
Yokohama one of the greatest of modern Japanese  
artists peculiarly appropriate as the poems suggest  
the delicacy, picturesqueness and frailty of  
Japanese poetry, as we know it in translation.

The pictorial art of Japan was certainly an  
unconscious influence working in the mind of the  
poet, when he was writing *'Stray Birds'*. His stray  
thoughts were shaping themselves in pictures, the  
mood of the artist was on him. Of course he could  
not chase away thoughts and emotions outright, but  
he moulded them in forms of pictures. Even in an  
occasional vagueness here and there, his images hold  
commerce with the world of dreams. In every piece,  
the poet betrays a keen and true eye both for colour  
and form and he reminds one of Keats, Gautier,  
Rossetti and William Blake past masters in word  
painting. But his power at every step, seems to be  
infinitely much greater. No other poet, as I have al-  
ready said except Goethe could express such depths  
of wisdom, no other poet could express his wisdom  
in the garb of such simple beautiful imagery.  
The blending of wisdom wit and pictorial art has  
made the book so extremely fascinating and so  
uniquely novel as a literary production. We can quote  
here only a few pieces as illustrations; the whole  
book is a string of gems each of them rare and  
beautiful. The reader should not therefore think the  
following quotations to be the best they should be  
a lure to him to explore the mine for himself.

10 P 3

Sorrow is hushed into peace in my heart like the  
evening among the silent trees

29 P 8

My heart beats her waves at the shore of the  
world and writes upon it her signature in tears with  
the words, 'I love thee'

116 P 30

The earth hums to me today in the sun, like a  
woman at her spinning, some ballad of the ancient  
time in a forgotten tongue

147. p 53

The dust of the dead words cling to thee,  
Wash thy Soul with silence.

161. p 43

The cobweb pretends to catch dewdrops and  
catches flies

279 p 72

We live in this world when we live it

300 p 78

God waits for man to regain his childlihood in  
wisdom

326 p. 81

Let this be my last world that I trust in for the

Nearly all the quotations above are original pieces. We have noticed only one mistake in the book one poem has been printed in two places (see Nos. 95 & 103). Willy Fogarty's frontispiece in color has an imaginative and contemplative charm that is in entire keeping with the poems themselves. There is however, too much of the dream stuff about it, which is absent in the poems.

In one of the concluding poems, Rabindranath wishes his guide to lead him into 'the valley of quiet where life's harvest mellow into golden wisdom.' All that we can say, as we close this hasty review, is, that his wish has been more than fulfilled. He has reaped the harvest of life 'which mellow into golden wisdom in the *Stray Birds*, his latest work.

AJIT KUMAR CHAKRAVERTY

ELEMENTS OF HINDU ICONOGRAPHY—VOL. II, Pts I & II. T. A. Gopinath Rao, Superintendent of Archaeology, Tirunelveli State, pp. 1360, 361, 578 and 1779 and 177; The Lane Printing House, Madras.

Mr. Gopinath Rao's work is undoubtedly the best work on Hindu Iconography that has ever been published. It possesses all the characteristics of a modern scientific work on ancient Iconography, as it is based on original authorities e.g., Rituals, Puranas, Inscriptions and an actual analysis of Icons. Mr. Gopinath Rao's work in these points excels all other works on ancient Indian Iconography whether Hindu, Buddhist or Jain published up to date.

The second volume of this work is entirely devoted to Saivism. The author begins his subject with a very learned preface on the history of Saivism and this general introduction is perhaps the best that has been written after the publication of Sir R. G. Bhandarkar's monumental work on the history of Indian Religions. The style is light and easy, which will make the work agreeable to the general public.

The author begins, as must be the case with all works on Indian history and religion, with the Vedic period. The non-Vedic origin of Phallic worship in ancient India has been very ably demonstrated by the learned author. In the first place the devotees of the Phallus are mentioned in the Vedas in none too respectful terms. Then, there is that always traceable connection between Indian Phallic worship and that of all other countries of the ancient near East. Finally we have the explicit statement that Phallic worship was imported into Southern India from Northern India.

Coming to the question of ancient sects among the Saivas, the author deals at length with the history of the Pashupatas and the Agamanta

Saivas. The history of sub-sects, e.g., the Kalamukhas, Vamandhauntas and Kapalikas have been exhaustively described. It is one of the most elaborate and best descriptions that ever appeared in print. The learned author has also described Medhaval's *Siva sectarian*, e.g., the *Vira Saivas* of Southern India and the Pratyabhynas of Ksemira. Another interesting feature of the work is the history of the merging of non-Vedic Saivism into the orthodox religion of Northern and Southern India. The author begins with the name Kundra, what is signified in the Vedic Literature, the subsequent metamorphosis of the name in the epics and the gradual elevation to Godhood of the hated god of the Phallus. There is no doubt of the fact that the elevation of the Phallic god to his present position in the Hindu Mythology was preceded by a severe struggle like that which preceded the elevation of Vishnu Vira into his present position in the Hindu faith. At the end of this struggle a strong desire for a sort of reconciliation seems to have come over both sides and we see the compromise in Ajayana's worship of Siva. The author has illustrated the second chapter of his work with photographs of two of the oldest forms of the Phallus found in India. These are the ancient Lingas found at Bhita in the Allahabad District and the newly discovered natural Phallus found at Gudimallam near Renigunta. The new Linga is undoubtedly old, as the style leads one to class it with the sculptures of Saucika. With the exception of the Bhita Lingam, Lingams of Northern India are not at all represented. One naturally expects to find an illustration of the celebrated Linga dedicated by the hereditary minister of Kumaragupta I, at Bharadadi in such a work.

The second chapter of the work is devoted to an elaborate discussion of all forms of Lingas, e.g., movable and immovable Lingas. Movable Lingas are divided into several classes such as those made of earth, metal, precious stones wood and stone. Immovable Lingas are divided into several classes according to their formations. Such an elaborate discussion is only possible in Southern India where Silpa Sastras have survived the ravages of Muhammadan occupations and where there are artisans who have not forgotten their craft. These elaborate classifications have been explained by means of diagrams and drawings. Among those Lingas Mukha lingams deserve special mention as they occur in very large numbers in Northern India. Unfortunately there is no mention of Northern Indian Mukha lingams in this book. The Indian Museum collection contains several Mukhalingams which are unique. In these specimens the Phallus is surrounded by four images of the following deities—Vishnu, Brahma, Surya, Durga, Ganesha and Kartikeya. The Southern images of this class have been described in the next chapter as Lingodbhava Murtis. The variety of forms described in other chapters under various names is simply amazing and one who has not intimate acquaintance with the details of South Indian Mythology will simply find himself at sea in these chapters. In the third chapter among various forms the only well known familiar form is that of Uma Mahesvara which is found in large numbers in all ancient Saiva centres of activity. The *Sanhara Murtis* of Siva are very little known outside Southern India, stray specimens having been found in the principal Saiva centres of Orissa. Images of the dancing Siva have recently become familiar in this province by the discovery of a number of specimens in Eastern Bengal. The chapters devoted to

the discussion of little known forms of art forms very rarely to be found even in Southern India, is really the most important contribution of Mr. Gopinath Rao to the modern knowledge of ancient Iconography. One great defect of the book is the absence of North Indian specimens either in the discussion or illustrations otherwise Mr. Rao's work is one of the best hand books of ancient Indian Iconography published up to date. Indian scholars owe a deep debt of gratitude to Mr. Rao for having brought out in a very accessible form all that store of knowledge which lay hidden so long in obscure manuscripts of Siva Sastras and in the mazes of Northern and South Indian Puranas and Mythologies. The publishers are to be congratulated on the excellence of the get up and the high finish of the illustrations. So long a close study of comparative mythology has not been possible for the younger generation of our students and foreign scholars have been compelled to use the scanty information that could be gleaned from an obsolete work like Moore's Hindu Pantheon or an incomplete one like that of Prof. Macdonell. Mr. Gopinath Rao has removed a long felt want both at home and abroad by devoting years of study to the compilation of these four volumes.

R. D. BANERJEE

### HINDI

**PHIDOLLOK I : GUCHHI** by Shree Nathuram Prasad and published by the *Hindi Grantha-Rakshak Office* Hirabagh P.O. Gurgaon Bombay, Croon 80 pp 112 Price—Clothbound, as 12 and ordinary as 9

This is a collection of short stories of various types, which are interesting on account of their directness. Some of these stories were published in original in the Prabhu and other Bengali journals. Two have been translated from the Marathi and the Gujarati. Much of the old life in India can be gathered from the perusal of these stories and in them a new path has been chalked out from the stories we generally see in magazines etc. Some of them may not be very interesting to mind is moulded in a particular groove, but to a thoughtful reader they are all precious. The original authors of all these 'Gulpas' have made their names in the domain of literature. The translation has done credit to the compiler, under whose direction the translations have been made. We can say that the book is a veritable bunch of flowers.

**KANAK KAKHAI** by Pindit Jugal Dutta Sharma published by Hindi Grantha-Rakshak Office D Croon 80 pp 144 Price—as 12

This is a translation of some of the short stories written by Shree Kankhai Chandra Gupta, M.A., M.L. The stories have in them the stamp of modern times and they are supremely interesting. They range over all phases of life and some of them have created an impression of devout Hinduism and orthodoxy in them. There is a great deal of vividness in the stories and there is no one who will not find something to his taste in the collection. The enterprising publishers must be congratulated both on their selection and on the way in which the translation has been made. The stories entitled "Anuman main pramad" and "Shabdha bhairav" illustrate how misunderstandings often arise; they show also how admirable the writer has used his imagination in making his stories

diversified. We commend the collection to all grades of people who must be interested by the same.

**RAJPAATH KA PATHIK** by Mr. Krishnimal Varma published by Mr. Amichand Jain, Proprietor, Prasad Karyalay, Gahni (Rohat) Punjab Croon 80 pp 56 Price—as 3

This is an adaptation from an English book. It contains high thoughts for one's improvement. The author has soared high and under different readings he has given very practical suggestions. The various subjects dealt with constitute so many practical theses for the guidance and amelioration of human life. The book contains very sublime thoughts and is highly commendable.

**ANJANA PAVANANJAY KAVYA** by Mr. Phinai Lal Sasthi Croon 80 pp 31 Price and address not given

This is a Jain book and contains the account of the union by wedlock of Anjana and Pavananjay. It gives in detail the Jain account on the subject in very nice poems in Khariboli. The book will no doubt form a very interesting reading.

**YAMHI BAHU** by B. Suryabhanu Lakshmi and published by the Hindi Grantha-Rakshak Office, Hirabagh, Gurgaon Bombay Croon 80 pp 43—2 Price as 3 only.

This is a very suitable book for presentation to married girls or those who are about to be married. We can say that we have come across no other book of the nature written so nice a style. Reasonable and instructive meanings are given to all the ceremonies undergone before and after marriage as also in the course of it. The whole thing has been dealt with in a way which would be both interesting and instructive. The book is an outcome of considerable experience and should find place in every household. We wish to see the book pass through a number of editions. The get up is quite excellent.

**CHHATRASAL** translated by B. Ramchand Varma and published by Do Croon 80 pp 327 Price—Rs 1-12-0 for the bound edition and Rs 1-8-0 for the ordinary edition

This may be called a historical novel which seems to have been written with considerable pains. The original Marathi author has made a name in the field of Marathi novel literature and the book bears the impress of the grandeur achieved by him by means of his other writings. The plot of the book is laid in the time of Aurangzeb, Bundelkhand and the land of Durg have also been made to play their parts in a very interesting manner. The plot is very dexterously laid and is very interesting indeed. The observations in the book are also what has struck us considerably. Delhi has been described in a right royal style and the allegories in that connection be speak highly of the author. There are some historical inaccuracies which will in no way affect the merits of the book in other respects. The book reminds us of some of the historical novels of Bankim, Babu and Mr. Romesh Chandra Dutt though there is some difference in the style. The book is worth much more than its price.

**PRATYASHRIT** translated by Shreegout Padmanabha Punnatal Bakshi, B.A., and published by Do Croon 80 pp 41 Price—as 3

**DIVODAS NUN DEVALAYA** by *Meherjibhai Maiteki Ratura* printed at the *Salyanaryan Printing Press Ahmedabad*, pp. 243, Price Rs 2-4-0 (1917)

This Parsi author has already won his spurs in the religious and philosophic (Vedantic) literary field of his Hindu brethren. The depth of knowledge and the intimacy displayed by him in respect of religious lore, in his prior works such as the *Bhagvat Bhavna* and the *Vanaprastha* are astounding and very creditable in one of an alien faith. His language is that of a cultured Hindu and the present book which is cast in the form of a drama fully sustains the reputation he has already acquired as a thoughtful writer. He tries here to vindicate the cause of learning and its nobility. Knowledge of God and study of one's own religion are according to him the mission of man's life. To those not interested in this the book would not very likely appeal.

**MAETRELINKE NA NIBANDHO** by *Dhansuhal Kishanlal Mehta, L.L.F.* printed at the *Umas Printing Press Ahmedabad* Cloth bound, pp. 86 Price Rs 0-6-0 (1917)

The forte of this rising young writer is effective translation and adaptation of short humorous stories and it is a recreation to find him treating equally effectively such a serious book as Maeterlinck's *Essays*. The work though short is likely to be widely read.

**NAV JIVAN** by *Munilal Mohanlal Padrakar*, printed at the *Lal Mitra Stearns Printing Press Baroda* Cloth bound pp. 179 Price Rs 1-0-0 (1917).

This is a collection of papers written at different times by Mr Padrakar, a rising ambitious writer, with a foreword by Mrs. Bhardas Samant Mehta B.A. There are seven papers and contain essays on the Philosophy of Love, Dante, Kalidas and Bhavabhuti, Court of the Muses, Pindos and Bharat

Khand. These are useful subjects, and the papers furnish ordinary information, in some the writer seems to have travelled beyond his depth.

**AMERICA NO PRAVAS**, by *Ratnasinh Dipsinh Parmar*, published by the *Society for the Encouragement of Cheap Literature*, printed at the *Diamond Jubilee Printing Press, Ahmedabad* Cloth bound pp. 209 Price Rs 0-8-0 (1917)

A translation of Swami Satyadev's experiences in America written in Hindi the book furnishes most interesting and instructive reading. We would recommend every one to read it from cover to cover, as he would find much that is useful and much that is inspiring in it.

**PAJALACHCHHI NAMA-MALA** (पाजलचछीनाममाला) published by *B. B. & Co.*, printed at the *Anand Printing Press, Bharuagar* Thick Cardboard, pp. 104 Price Rs 1-12-0 (1917)

Pandit Becharadas Jivraj, a native of Kathiawad, is a great student of Prakrit and Pali. It is he who has published this well known Prakrit vocabulary of *Maha Kavi Dhanpal*, with its Gujarati equivalents. In the short biography of the author appended to this book *Dhanpal* is said to have written this book to teach his younger sister Sundari her mother tongue. He flourished in Malwa in the eleventh century of the Vikrama era and though a Brahman by birth, later changed into the Jain faith. The work is very important as showing the state of the language there, and the only pity is that the translator is unable to extend its sphere of usefulness by publishing it in some European language too where he would have found many more admirers than in Gujarati.

K. M. J.

## NEW WAYS IN ENGLISH POETRY

A WESTERN CRITIC ON SAROJINI

By JAMES H. COUSINS

**T**HERE is a general assumption in literary circles in England that the war, in addition to the many things that it ended and began, marks an era in English poetry, that is, in poetry written by Britishers in Great Britain, as distinguished from poetry written in the English language by Indians, Colonials or Irish writers. It is not quite clear whether the era has actually been entered upon, or will be in the near future. The evidence adduced for the assumption is the fact that much that passed for poetry before the war is not now to be heard or seen

The futurist movement, for example, became a thing of the past long before it was declared on the *Allies' Anticommunism* are not epoch makers. In order to prophesy, we have to have regard not only to endings but to beginnings; and the first shock that we experience in the present case is the discovery of the fact that there has been practically no war poetry, at least no poetry of a quality and bulk commensurate with the world shaking catastrophe. The big poets have not made it a subject for their big moments, some of them have

definitely stated their determination to have nothing to do with the horrible affair because of its anachronistic and journalistic character. The minor poets have not through its inspiration become major. It has brought out no new poets of mark and the poets that were making themselves heard just before the explosion of civilization in August 1914 had already found themselves and their time—that is to say, they had got as far in the development of their individual style and genius as could be expected and they had fastened on to the new phrase of British thought, the social consciousness, that has been disturbing the notion of art for art's sake for the past twenty years. True, Rupert Brooke achieved fame by his death in the Aegean Sea backed up by a small volume entitled 1914, but any prophecy of a new era that this volume might stir is discounted by the volume entitled April 1915, by Henry Bryn Binns, which enters a strenuous protest against the glorification of human slaughter as the last resort of Christian argument.

Yet it is quite true that the war marks if it does not create a passing over from one phase of poetical activity to another. Apart from the universally recognised Irish literary revival that produced—or some say was produced by—two poets of the front rank Yeats and A. P.洛夫 of poetry in English I have been aware for some time past of a new spirit and method animating the younger generation of English poets. The popular success of John Masefield in occasional play by Masefield's Abnerombie the winning of the Royal Literary Society's prize by Ralph Hodgson have been but special points in a general tendency. Those who had not come across volumes by individual poets were helped to an understanding of the new movement through the publication of two volumes entitled Georgian Poetry, one containing representative poems of 1911 and 1912 by writers who were beginning to define themselves as a younger English school and another for 1913 to 1916. These were brought out by The Poetry Bookshop London largely, if not mainly, through the enterprise of one of the poets, Mr Harold Monro who founded and edited The Poetry Review, which was the organ of The Poetry Society until a split sent Mr Monro

elsewhere and the magazine passed under the editorship of the late Stephen Phillips and subsided into an undistinguished literary orthodoxy. It was quite an adventure to wander round the shelves of the shop in a quiet street off one of London's main roads and note the vitality and extensiveness of the new work, mainly in little books produced in an artistic fashion that makes reading a delight to the hand and eye as well as to the mind.

It was obvious that something in the nature of a school of modern English poetry was in process of development. A definite consciousness of associated purpose showed itself through the technical and temperamental divergences of the writers and many eyes have watched for an indication of the new ways that the rhythmic feet of the modern English Muse would pursue in days in which the singers have inherited all the skill and thought of the mighty masters and are yet under the responsibility to express their own time in their own way. It is too early yet to prophesy of the fulness of the new movement with any special degree of assurance, but those to whom anticipation is a pleasure as well as those who are content to enjoy poetry for its own sake apart from its implications will find material to brood in Mary C. Sturgeon's *Studies in Contemporary Poets* published by Messrs G. G. Harrap & Co. London which provides not only a sympathetic survey of the whole field of the new movement but also copious illustrations that make the book an exegetical anthology.

The volume is not furnished with any introduction; it simply sets out studies of individual poets but by collating the scattered references to the general features of the movement which the author makes in passing one gathers that the life of contemporary England is evoking its own music. Some aspect of the complicated life of today is reflected through the work of one or more of the new writers, its awakened social consciousness or its frank joy in the world of sense in mysticism or its repudiation of dogma in art as in religion.

In the repudiation of dogma we have an indication of the youthfulness of some part of the movement. Youth is always anti-dogmatic and being denied the retrospective view of middle life or age is

not specially concerned with the fact that it is but creating a new dogma for the iconoclasts of the future to smash. An art without dogma would be as artistic as a religion without dogma would be unreligious. What matters however, is not the philosophical merits or demerits of rival dogmatic or anti-dogmatic dogmas, but the play of the spirit which they manifest, and in the case of the new poets this play is seen not merely in the reflection of the disturbance of their time in thought and conduct but also in the matter of technique which shows the effort of artistic adjustment between subject and method. The technique of modern poetry says Miss Sturgeon

would seem to be a movement towards a more exact rendering of the music and meaning of our language. That is to say, there is in prose itself an impulse towards truth of expression which may be found to correspond to the heightened sense of external fact in contemporary poetic genius as well as to its closer hold upon reality. Hence comes the realism of much good poetry now being written true, as all genuine realism must be, since it proceeds out of a spiritual conviction a mental process and actual craftsmanship.

The chief characteristic of the new technique is irregularity of rhythm and rhyme. Those who forget Whitman may regard this as an advance others will think back to the days of English poetry when assonance played the part that consonance does now in the creation of verbal music and will wonder if this technical atavism thus conscious bid for freedom from technical restriction is not at worst a symptom of haste and lack of power or at best a renunciation of art's supreme duty to be artistic. Miss Sturgeon's reply to the question is that the new technique is a reflection of its day which does not move in regular rhythms or measures. It has taken hold upon the world (that is its own world of English life) real and entire it has come so close to life as to claim its very identity. Moreover Miss Sturgeon adds the life upon which it seizes in this way is wider more complex more meaningful than ever before.

Wider and more complex truly on the superficies of life but it is not quite certain that extension and complication

in details are an added virtue in poetry whose concern should be the seizing of essentials and fundamentals if it is to be real poetry, that is a distillation and exaltation of emotion and thought, not merely verbal photography. As to its being more meaningful than surely exists more in the interpreter than in the proliferations that lead away from, rather than to the synthesis which is the test and business of real poetry in any case, it will be more fitting to talk of life being more meaningful to the poets when they have lifted its meaning beyond the level of the poets of speculation in Greece or the poets of realization in India. It is only possible in a short article on a long subject to hint thus at the uncertainty in some of the assumptions which Miss Sturgeon makes in connection with the new poets of modern England. The poets themselves who are genuine poets will be mercifully preserved from any trouble on the score of artistic theory they will write just as they are able to write but the criticism that follows in the wake of creation has a duty to itself and that is to take the widest and truest possible view based on the fullest grasp of facts and principles. In this respect it looks as though Miss Sturgeon had let the discovery of a new thing lead her occasionally into pulpit rhetoric and to the attributing of an emotional rather than a rational importance to the clear day and reality into which these poets are said to have stepped—with an inferred superiority to the alleged unreality and darkness of the poets of the past.

We shall not discuss the question What is reality? Miss Sturgeon's definition of it is that of the realists to whom metaphysics is a kind of foggy disease. What is of importance in an evaluation of modern English poetry is not any question of theory but the plain fact stated by Miss Sturgeon and borne out by books of contemporary English poetry that there is in many of the new poets an identification of their technique and thought with the most peculiar phases of the peculiar life of their time which is the same thing as saying that they are hopelessly dated and therefore for an age not for all time in short that they are minor poets.

Minor is in truth the impression that one has on reading the works of most of

these poets. They have a wonderful terseness and strength of phrase and vividness of sight, but one misses from their poetry the undertones and overtones and the invisible rays that play about the works of the Masters, that lift utterance beyond echo of the sounds of life into prophesy, and lift sight beyond the thing seen to the level of vision. The minor poet reproduces himself or his time; the major poet *ascends through himself* and his time the true spiritual nature and destiny of the universe—and that is just what the preoccupation of these poets with the transitive (physical) and raptive (emotional and mental) element of life prevents them from doing. They are perturbed through the possession of a social consciousness—and in this they are not different from the poets of the past to whom the problems of humanity have made appeal, though Miss Sturgeon gives us the impression that it is something unique in English poetry they are in contact with the humanitarian movements of their time; they fulfil the desirable function of doubting Thomas in respect of religious assertion—but in respect of the two major 'discoveries' of their age—the fact of the survival of death and the inference of the fundamental unity of all mental life in a super mental consciousness (as of all physical life in a super material substance)—they are practically silent or speak only in terms of the exploded rationalism that was respectable a quarter of a century ago, that is to say they have hardly been touched by the two most revolutionary inspirational forces that the dawn of the twentieth century has brought within the sphere of scientific certainty.

In fact it is only in two of these poets—Lascelles Abercrombie and Rosa Macaulay—names significantly Celtic in this connection—that one finds any definite expression of a "true world within the world we see." Mr Abercrombie gives utterance to the idea—which is as old as Indian thought though comparatively new to English literature—that the Self of the individual is God, and in the work of Miss Macaulay the world of material things to adopt Miss Sturgeon's excellent summary "is vividly apprehended—but it is seen to be ringed round by another realm which is not less real."

In the poetry of Walter de la Mare there

appears something of the supernatural element. This Miss Sturgeon regards as a constant component of the romantic temperament, and she speaks of the 'fairful' in which this type of mind experiences in contact with the strange and weird. The words strange and weird show that the supernatural element which is referred to is the conventional business of ghosts and witches and happenings that are strange and weird because they are *not* native to the romantic or any other temperament that regards them so. To those who have any real knowledge of such things they cease to be strange and weird; the facts become quite normal, but their absorption as part of the equipment of experience and memory creates a subtly different attitude to the details of life and death as well as to their interpretation. In the poetry for example, of W. B. Yeats—which is not included in the scope of Miss Sturgeon's "Studies"—there is a simple acceptance of 'supernatural phenomena as an orderly fact in nature. This renders transparent to him the surface of life which is opaque to those to whom the background of psychic reality is unknown or merely speculative, or strange and weird', and consequently many, like Miss Sturgeon, mistake Yeats' poetry for 'romance' instead of realising it to be 'a full imaginative expression of the whole life of humanity, physical emotional mental and spiritual, in true perspective, here and 'behind the veil'."

I emphasise this matter with the more assurance because in a very sympathetic dealing with a portion of my own contribution to contemporary poetry in her chapter on 'An Irish Group' Miss Sturgeon applies the epithet 'romantic' to my poem "Etain the Beloved," and seems to relegate that poem to some remote mythological association in contrast with a "sharply symptomatic change" which appears in a later volume 'subjects of more social and immediate interest appearing to engage attention. The truth is I was not a whit more interested or engaged in social and immediate matters when I was writing the lyrics in "Straight and Crooked," than during the five years in which I composed "Etain the Beloved." What happened was that my destiny took me into more superficial, but not more acute relationships with certain problems of the day during a residence

two years and a half in industrial England and provided me with a few new figures of speech for playing variations on a long assimilated central theme which is the most that any lyrical poet dare hope to do. If my next book should contain a poem directly on social reform it is possible that some critic will refer to it as showing my growing interest in topics of the day rather than in vague subjects of the past and I may get annoyed and use unpoetical language in the privacy of my thought when I remember that the very core and marrow of social reform in its most typically modern phases are both explicitly and implicitly contained in *Erin the Beloved*. It is possible that that poem fails because it does not show itself fully to the exoteric eye. On the other hand it is not only equally possible but quite certain that any hint of *esotericism* in a poem will bring down upon one the denunciation of the critics who pick against any suggestion of an intelligent view of the universe in a poet's work. If the poets were guided by the critics they would find themselves in a weekly quandary. The matter being the other way round it is not unlikely that the critics of the future will find themselves compelled to intensify their literary values as the spiritual element works itself more and more into poetry. I have seen Mr Henry Ainley one of the finest London actors reduce a freshly starched collar to a pulpy ruffle clinging with perspiration round his neck in reciting Maschfield's 'Philip the King'. It seemed to be a necessary condition for manifesting the strength and energy of the piece yet there are lines in little poems by A. F. that have enough spiritual dynamic in them to blow all the muscle and size of Maschfield's drama to atoms. The Protean creative energy is forever advancing in its disclosure of reality, and Criticism must adapt itself to the advance. The criticism of today may quarrel with the poets of the past who used poetry as a medium for the expression of philosophy; the new poets (of whom Mr Abercrombie is one to a certain extent) must make philosophy the substance though not necessarily the subject of their poetry, and criticism must get accustomed to the significance of the change.

Indian lovers of poetry will turn with anticipation to the chapter on the work

of Sarojini Naidu, and will be gratified to find it dealt with in a very friendly if not in an absolutely understanding manner. "Her poetry," Miss Sturgeon says "though truly native to her motherland is more sensuous than mystical human and passionate rather than spiritual more active than contemplative. Her thought has something of the energy of the strenuous West and something of its divine discontent plays upon the surface of an older and deeper calm which is her birthright. One may agree with this as a rough and ready summary of Sarojini's qualities, but second thought may conceive a doubt as to whether the Western critic has quite fully comprehended the Eastern artist. On a point of fact she certainly has not for she concludes that the very much alive Dr Naidu Sarojini's husband died some time ago because Sarojini has sung a Dirge of Widowhood! It is not easy to understand how a poem that definitely sets the subject apart from the singer could be thus misread but the error is an unconscious tribute to the sympathy and conviction of the poetess work. On the deeper question we have not space to say more than that the contrasting as opposites of the sensuous and the mystical, the human and the spiritual which in its extreme form is one of the vices of English art and criticism is not a method that can be applied to Indian poetry without a great deal of modification. The highly emotionalised connotation of the term sensuous in the West and the highly egoised connotation of the term human are by no means applicable in their rawness to the East. To speak of Sarojini's philosophy as materialism of a nobler kind is to mistake the symbol for the substance the multi-coloured blaze through the pruned glass for the steady white flame of the lamp within. Indian literature is characterised by the expression of metaphysical truth through symbolism that a Western critic would call highly sensuous but which has only a fraction of the appeal to Eastern sense that it has to Western sense because of the widely different attitude of West and East towards the passion side of life. The appeal of consciousness is much more minor in truth the intended effect is to bring the work into the West and



she would hardly, in face of such a poem as *In Salutation to the Eternal Peace* have stated that neither the hope of Nirvana nor the promise of Paradise could drug Srojin's sense of the value of life nor darken her perception of the beauty of phenomena when as is evident from a perspective view of Srojin's song the value and beauty of life and phenomena to her depend upon their relation to the spiritual substratum on which the phenomenal side of life is based.

Fuller knowledge and reflection will no doubt remedy these defects in any case

they do not diminish our gratitude to an enthusiastic lover of poetry who has read and enjoyed practically all that is worth reading in modern English poetry and given us an excellent compendium of the same.

The poets studied are Lowell, Abtrembie, Rupert Brooke, W. H. Davies, W. de la Mare, W. W. Gilson, Ralph Hodgson, F. M. Heffer, Rose Macaulay, John Masefield, Harold Monro, Srojin, Vailu, John Presland, Margaret L. Woods, James Stephens, and an Irish Group.

## RABINDRANATH TAGORE IN AMERICA

**M**ANY readers of the *Modern Review* are anxious for a detailed account of Sir Rabindranath Tagore's work in America. What I propose to do in this article therefore is to reprint as many extracts as possible from various American papers describing their impression of the poet's lectures and personality, his talks and readings as he passed from one American city to another.

Interesting and amusing accounts of the poet, some of them faithful and others fanciful and wild and all of them characteristically American with sensational headings fit for commercial advertisements began to flood all the daily papers of U. S. A. as soon as the cable was received that Sir Rabindranath was on his way to America. For instance in *Los Angeles Calif Herald* some Sokul was reported to have said about Rabindranath's school at Shantiniketan that it was a school for all classes and a movement for uplift and that students were sent from that school throughout India to spread the philosophy and teachings of Tagore. But every Bengali knows that the students of Bolpur school are quite tiny boys who cannot possibly enter into the poet's philosophy and teachings. Of course it must not be supposed that all the papers published such fancied reports concerning the poet's life and works. Many of them were astonishingly faithful and accurate and gave interesting details.

The Seattle papers and all the prominent papers of America noticed the arrival of Rabindranath on Sept. 18, 1916, in Seattle on the Canada Maru from Japan. This was the description of Rabindranath when he landed in Seattle in *Seattle Wash Post Intel* Sept. 19, 1916 —

Above six feet tall the head of a Greek God over which flows a mass of soft iron gray locks a full light brown soft dark eyes a white beard and a figure so slight as an Indian's of the plains Sir Rabindranath is one of the most notable and unusual to-day in the world.

Professional interviewers who are busy bodies all over the world published that the object of his visit to America was to raise funds to carry on his school for boys in India. In America one cannot get rid of these people who live on flapdoodle and who will therefore come with all sorts of questions and bring out almost all the views of the man about important and unimportant matters becoming more hopelessly trite and insignificant. It is a sort of craze there and so all papers send out interviewers vying with one another as regards the amount of useless information each is successfully able to squeeze out of the big man who becomes for the time being the object of universal interest. We hear that Mr. Pearson the private secretary of the poet, had great difficulties to keep out the swarm of interviewers who would buzz

about day and night, disturbing the poet's peace and solitude. This is another aspect of the fever and craze for sensationalism, the fascination for novelty, which rages high in countries like America. It is interesting to note that Rabindranath, in his prophet's role, denouncing all the fetishes and shibboleths of modern civilization in his famous lectures, not less denounced this side of American life, this mad craze for sensationalism, which kills all higher and deeper interests of life.

However, but for these interviewers, the Americans and the civilized world through them, would never have known some of the important views and ideas of the poet on the outstanding problems of humanity today. Although a few of them played Hamlet without a Hamlet, publishing interviews without actually interviewing, still one must not be hard on such pettifoggery, considering that they did publish some very faithful interviews.

In *Seattle Wash Times*, Sept 20, 1916, a report was published of an entertainment given to Rabindranath by the officers and trustees of the Sunset Club to which forty guests, representatives of Seattle's social and literary circles, were invited. The report runs thus —

"A large T shaped table was arranged in the dining room and was decorated at intervals with large blue bowls filled with marigolds, the auspicious flower of India. Between the bowls were Chinese peacocks, the club's insignia. The place cards were adorned with blue and gold peacocks. Above the flowers fluttered many yellow butterflies. Mrs Winifred P Smith, president of the club, presided as Chairman and introduced Dr Herbert H Gowen and Dr Oliver P Richardson of the university of Washington and Judge Frederick V. Brown, who welcomed the distinguished guest in a speech which delighted the guests. Tagore responded to the greetings. 'Always,' he said, 'there is more preparation made for the fast than the occasion warrants. It is so with this welcome you have given me. I can take to myself but a modest share of the good things you have said to me and through me to my country. In India the welcome to the guest is always by the women of the household, so this welcome in this club of women is in accordance with our form of hospitality. I think it most auspicious that my first welcome on this shore should have been in this charming way. East and West are not so far apart and it is such occasions as this that hurry forward the time we are all looking for, the day when intellectual hospitality will be universal."

In the Seattle papers it was advertised that Rabindranath was to read his lecture on 'The Cult of Nationalism' at the Sunset Club on Monday at 2-30 p.m. to club members only and again on the same day at 8-15 p.m. to the general public, "owing

to the big popular demand". The price of admission was one dollar. In *Seattle Wash. Post Intell*, Sept. 26, 1916, a full report of the famous lecture appeared thus:—

"It was a literary feast of beauty and wisdom. These words dwell in the belief that the Hindu thinker is a suppressed soul who is intent to voice the many dreams that come from sitting cross-legged under a tree looking at the point of the nose until the body is hypnotized and it seems hypnotized into a sort of voluptuous delirium will be well disillusioned, if it is not by the words of this logician, seer, prophet, what you will. It would be impossible to separate the parts of this closely knit discourse and print them as excerpts without doing great wrong to the author. He thinks in large space, universally, and treats the moving world of institutions, single or in groups, as a mass. The individuals he makes the pattern of the nation and all nations outside of India as being just now scientized into power worship.

"Humanity as its nation that is now, he said, like a great giraffe which has shot its intelligence upward from its body to mercurial heights. But in so separating pure intellect from the moral man the heart and body are left starving.

Mr Tagore pictured the material world of the twentieth century as a giant dragon, a great iron machine, symbolized in the scientific destruction of millions of men in the European war by this heady monster tremendous in its brain power, but with its body a shell that must eventually collapse.

"Such references are but meager grains of sand from the bank of the flowing river of his oratory. They are carried along with him into the broad field of imagination, scarcely cognizant of the language he uses except to feel the rare beauty and rhythm of it. It is like reading Carlyle's 'French Revolution' to the music of a symphonic orchestra.

"India is the only country that never had a nation this is, according to Tagore. It was almost purely an individualistic civilization. This left it open to subjugation to the nationalized peoples who built for power. Nations he characterized as scientific machines perfected in every part by de-individualizing men and women and personalizing politics and efficiency until the steam roller of civilization was perfected and roared its way over mankind, womanhood, childhood, where the people were devoted to the light and moral development instead of the evolution of an iron nation.

"There is life in this tall, slender, dreamy-eyed oriental. At moments of inspiration his figure seems to leap high out of all proportion, and his words fairly leap from his trembling lips. But for the most part he is gentle, composed and quiet.

Tagore is not an entertainer. He is here to say something and he has something to say. He will leave his impress on the thought of our country."

In *Portland Ore Oregonian*, in an account of the poet, preparatory to his reception there, he has been called an "International master". It is true that the first wild European and American enthusiasts over 'Gitanjali' had flung about him certain semi-supernatural trappings, calling him a divine mystic, a saint, always rapt in meditation, and so forth. Gradually the poet became more and more stripped of

Means" (Path o Patheya) when the bomb conspiracy was first disclosed, are sufficient evidences that he had steered clear of those dangerous revolutionary whirlpools, at a time when the rudder and chart of the ship of national upheaval had practically been in his hands. It was absolutely impossible at all periods of his life, to lend countenance to any movement, in which the principles of morality and spirituality were either compromised or sacrificed.

At San Francisco, on Oct 5, at the Columbia Theatre, the poet read a short story entitled 'The vision' and a play recently translated and unpublished 'The King and the Queen' (Kaja o Rani). While there, he was apprised of a cable from Berlin which told of the successful production of his play 'Chitra' at the Munich Theatre for the first time. Literary critics in Munich accorded it high praise.

Suddenly, the American public was alarmed by the news which circulated like wild fire from one paper to another that there was a plot by the Indian anarchists to slay Rabindranath. It was alleged that Prof Bishnu Singh who came from Stockton to invite the poet, was assaulted by the Hindus who probably took him for Rabindranath. Two Hindus were at once placed under arrest and they said that they were employees of Ramchandra. The police became strictly vigilant and admittance to the Columbia Theatre where the poet was to give readings from his writings was denied to several hundred Hindus. Of course, Ramchandra's party denied that there was any such plot among the Indians but the American newspapers naturally made a great fuss over the whole affair and every day the news of the supposed plot to assassinate the poet came under such sensational headings "Hindu poet flees to save his life", "Hindu Nobel prize winner fugitive", "Hindu savant safe after wild flight under body guard" etc. The papers wrote that the poet feared for his life and under escort of police fled to Santa Barbara, cancelling his lecture and other engagements at San Francisco. That all this fuss had not the slightest foundation in fact was expressed by Rabindranath himself at Santa Barbara. In *Los Angeles Calif Examiner*, we find that he emphatically declared his disbelief that there was a plot among his own countrymen

to assassinate him. 'He voiced greater fears of the effect of such a rumor upon the character of Hindus in California than of any possible attempt to harm himself'. He said 'I have cancelled no engagements and I came to Santa Barbara by the train which had been arranged for me some days before by my manager'.

From Santa Barbara he moved on to San Diego where he was accorded a very warm reception. In every big city, his coming was previously announced in all the papers and there were numerous readings from his works and lectures about him at various intellectual centres and clubs to prepare the public to receive him and his message. He read the same paper on Nationalism at Isis Theatre and then hurried on to Los Angeles. In *Los Angeles Calif Times*, we read that the "Trinity Auditorium" where he read his lecture was packed to capacity and he created a great impression.

He spoke at Pasadena, and at San Diego, appeared again at Los Angeles Trinity Auditorium, where on Oct 14, before a 'tremendous crowd', the organisers having been compelled "to seat about 75 on the stage" itself, he read two of his yet unpublished works a play "The King and the Queen" and a novelette entitled 'The Blind Wife'.

It must not be thought that there was no adverse criticism of his paper in Los Angeles. As in San Francisco, so here too was a single dissentient voice, a single adverse criticism which was published in *Los Angeles Calif Times*, Oct 13, 1916. It is a very healthy sign that while the majority of townspeople everywhere were carried away by the poet's oratory, there still could be isolated individuals here and there who could take an independent position and estimate critically the value of the poet's message. For the poet's vast and unparalleled success in U.S.A. should not be measured by the number of favorable comments in the newspapers alone, but also by the number, even if small, of adverse and hostile comments which would prove that he was not taken as a mere entertainer but as a serious teacher, to whom the Americans could not listen indifferently.

Panchatantra,<sup>1</sup> Raghuvamsa<sup>2</sup> and Supulavada.<sup>3</sup>

The lists, it should be noted, mention the names of individuals as representatives of either the respective classes of officials or government departments to which they belong except when the individual stands by himself, e.g., yuvārāja.

#### KAUTILYA'S LIST OF TIRTHAS

The Kautilya in a similar context as the passages in the Rāmāyana and the Mahābhārata recommends the appointment of spies to watch in the king's own state the following people—(1) Mantri, (2) purohita, (3) senāpati, (4) yuvārāja, (5) dauvārika, (6) intarvesika, (7) pravāsta, (8) samāharta (9) sannidhātā, (10) pradeshtā, (11) nāyaka, (12) pauravaśāhārika, (13) karmāntika, (14) mantriparishadadyaksha (15) drāḍapālī (16) durgapāla, (17) antapāla, (18) ātavika

#### AGREEMENT OF THE LISTS

On comparing this with the previous list from the Mahābhārata they appear to agree in toto, pravāsta corresponding with kārī, gārādhikārī, samāharta with dravyasanchaya krit, sannidhātā with kṛtyākṛityeshu arthānām viniyojaka nāyaka with nagarādhyaksha, pauravaśāhārika with dharmadyaksha, karmāntika with kāryanirmāna krit, mantriparishadadyaksha with sabhādhyaksha, the rest having correspondence even in names. As we proceed, we shall find that the agreement in names is supported by more or less similarity of functions.

#### THE TIRTHAS EXHAUST ROUGHLY THE WHOLE SPHERE OF WORK OF A STATE

The reason for this traditional division of the state into eighteen tirthas probably lies in the fact that they exhaust roughly at least the whole sphere of work of a state and meet its indispensable requirements—providing

for the deliberation of state questions and assistance to the sovereign, both secular and spiritual, for his personal safety and convenience, for the administration of justice in the country, for its internal peace and external security, for the collection of state dues and their application, and lastly for the supply of material needs of the people by the exploitation of its natural resources—by manufactures, commerce and industries. The information gathered through secret agents regarding these tirthas is sufficient for ordinary purposes to show the inner workings of a state and the direction of its policy.

We find some of the officials existing in the Vedic period a few among whom having the same designations as those in later times. Some officials of the Vedic times figure among the lists of Ratnins found in several early Sanskrit works.

The Taittirīya Samhitā<sup>4</sup> and Taittirīya-Brāhmana<sup>5</sup> mention 1 Brāhmana, 2 Rājanya, 3 Senāni 4 Suta, 5 Grāmani 6 Kshattri, 7 Samgrahitri, 8 Bhāgadugha, and 9 Aśhāvāpa, excluding Mahishi (king's first wife) Vāvāta (king's favourite wife) and Parivṛkti (king's discarded wife) whom we need not notice for our purposes.

The Satapatha Brāhmana<sup>6</sup> enumerates all the above officers, adding Gonikartana and Pālāyala, while the Maitrāyaṇi Samhitā puts rājan for rājanya (perhaps implying the same person) gives Grāmani the name of Vaisya Grāmani adds Taksha Rathakārau and inserts Govikarta without interfering with the rest. The Kāthaka Samhitā<sup>7</sup> only substitutes Govyacha for Govikarta in the above list and omits Taksha Rathakārau.

The eight Viras (i.e. heroes, friends of the king) figuring in the Panchavimsa Brāhmana<sup>8</sup> are Purohita, Mahishi, Suta, Grāmani, Kshattri and Samgrahitri, adding nothing to the previous lists.

The two persons Brāhmana and Purohita

1 18, 9 1 ff

2 17, 3 1 ff

3 V, 3 1 ff

4 Kāthaka Samhitā XV, 4

5 The lists quoted by Weber in his 'Über den Rajas' (pp 21-22) differ in a few places from those cited above, but add no official with a new designation.

6 Stray references to the above officers occur in many other places as will be evident from the V I

7 Panchavimsa Brāhmana XIX, 1, 2

1 Panchatantra (F. K. Elhorn's ed.) III, slk. 67

Ibid, slk. 68

Ibid slk. 69

Ibid slk. 70

2 Raghuvamsa, sarga XVI verse 68

on which says Mallīkha Iti chaturvidham Sma dyupaya bhi kesha rajanin m dandan m kramat samād kramaḍeva prajunjanah sah rāja tirthan mantrādyakṣatrasatmā tirthaparyantam

3 S Supulavada Sarga XIV, verse 9.

4 See Arthashastra Bk I Gudhapurushaprani dhīp p 20

that on account of their crushing poverty they could ill afford to bear such increased cost. Why should India's millions be bled, Lancashire piously asked, to enrich the Indian mill owners, who were already deriving large profits?

### THE OTHER SIDE

The Secretary of State for India met the Lancashire objections by declining that financial considerations alone necessitated the increase in the cotton duties and not the desire to afford protection to the Indian industry. He stated that without taking such action the Government of India could not have made the generous contribution to the War Loan that it did. He regretted that 'the free gift of the people of India, made with general goodwill' should become the occasion of strife in this country, and said that he should be still more sorry if it became the occasion for strife between this country and India. He did not believe that the Indian industry would hurt Lancashire for according to his expert, the competition does not amount to more than 2 per cent of the whole Lancashire trade. He would not, he said, envy anyone in authority who would suggest that the tax be raised to the level of the new import duty for that "would be a calamity for India."

At the India Office and in Parliament Mr. Chamberlain used the 'Indian opinion' as his trump card. He got His Highness the Maharaja of Bikanir and Sir S. P. Sinha to give Lancashire an indication of how Indians felt in regard to the matter. Never before have the walls of the India Office or of St. Stephens heard persons in authority attach so much weight to what Indians thought and felt—the Indians who hitherto have been condemned as a 'microscopic minority' who did not know what was good for the Indian masses and who represented nobody but themselves."

The *Times* and other newspapers that are usually hostile to Indian aspirations supported the Indian case with similar arguments. No Indian would have exposed the interest that Lancashire feigned in the welfare of India's millions with more bitter sarcasm and greater skill than did these organs of British opinion. They welcomed the defeat of the Lancashire motion in the House of Commons as a great "act of justice to India."

In such circumstances, it would be no wonder if the victory over Lancashire would be considered in India as an Indian victory. It is quite likely that it may even be acclaimed as the beginning of a new era in which Indian opinion will be given the consideration that it deserves, and the Indian Government will be given freedom to arrange its fiscal policy to suit the Indian exigencies, irrespective of how such policies may prejudicially affect British industries.

### NOT A FREEDOM INDIAN ISSUE

Any Indian who was in England during the time of the controversy and who was capable of looking beneath the surface, would certainly not jump to these conclusions. He would know that Lancashire was engaged in a much greater struggle than merely to secure the modification of the recent changes in the Indian tariff. Everyone outside Lancashire who supported its cause realized that the real issue was between Free Trade and Tariff Reform, and was not merely a squabble between the Lancashire and Indian mill owners. Lancashire was defeated because the Free Traders did not deem it right to press for a decision at this time, and not because Parliament stood in awe of Indian opinion. These aspects of the question must be presented to Indian readers to enable them to view the case as a whole, and to avoid cherishing illusions in regard to the future that may be inspired by a partial statement.

First of all it must be remembered that Lancashire proclaimed, as soon as the increase in the Indian import duties was announced that the move was the introduction of the thin edge of the Tariff Reform wedge into Britain's Free Trade policy. The Tariff Reformers, it was asserted, could not make themselves heard during peacetime, for everyone could see that Britain had prospered and was prospering under Free Trade. But they observed that the war had generated heat and hatred and they were employing the passions that had been roused by inhuman German practices to foist their pet theories upon the unsuspecting public. These charges were made again and again in the course of the controversy, and continue to be made even now.

This attitude was assumed by Free-Traders all over Britain. The cry was taken

the Indian cotton duties was announced, a series of resolutions had been issued by Lord Balfour's Committee on After the War Trade Policy recommending the substitution of a system of Imperial Preference in lieu of Free Trade. Free Traders acknowledged that the Tariffists had scored an important victory. They at once set up a noisy agitation. The increase in the Indian cotton duties gave them the very opportunity that they were looking for, and for two weeks or more the Free Trade issue remained dominant. This must be considered a great achievement at a time when the energies of the nation are absorbed in war, an Irish crisis occurred and Dardennes report was issued.

A battle royal was raging when it leaked out that Mr Asquith and a considerable body of Liberals who have not forsaken Free Trade thought it best to refrain from joining the agitation. It has been suggested that they dared not press for a decision because they would have found the country overwhelmingly in favour of Tariff Reform. It has also been hinted that the Liberals did not dare to force a general election because, if they did so they would return to the House of Commons in greatly decreased numbers. I incline to the charitable view that Mr Asquith and the Liberals who stood by him were inspired by patriotic motives to abstain from making a Lancashire grievance interfere with the prosecution of the war.

Lancashire and its supporters profess that they foresaw that the matter would remain undecided. They claim that they sought to register an emphatic protest at the Government breaking the political truce, and making important fiscal alterations to the disadvantage of Lancashire and Free Trade.

These expressions may be sincere. But they have left Lancashire and the Free Traders angry. They feel that they have been "tricked," and they are lying low until they get the opportunity to wreak revenge.

The resentment is not of the kind that disappears in course of time. Lancashire is anxious for the future of its industry, and also for its school of political economy thought. Free Traders know that a great fight over Imperial Preference is impending. They are, therefore, preparing them-

selves for the struggle, whenever it may come.

### CLAIMS UPON INDIA

It seems to me that the Free Traders expect to further their object by making Indians feel that the Tariff Reformers have nothing to give them. Old speeches of the Right Hon. Andrew Bonar Law, the head of the Tariff Reform Party and the present Prime Minister, a right hand man, have been dug up to show that the Tariff Reformers feel that the British have claims upon India that would justify them in asking India to remain a Free Trade country to Britain even when she imposed tariffs against the rest of the world. The meaning of printing these extracts at this time is plain.

Another effort is being made to inspire Indians with the feeling that the Government is tinkering with the tariff in order to arrest the growth of political freedom in India. I quote an extract from the *Manchester Guardian* of March 13, as a sample of the assertions that are being made.

Why it may be asked should the Indian Government favour Protection? Partly because it is part of the education of a gentleman to despise trade and to be ignorant of economics but still more because the Indian Government looks upon Protection as an alternative to political concessions. It very willingly sacrifices Lancashire in the hope of delaying or averting advances towards self government. We can think what we like of the wisdom of such tactics and we can have our own view as to the just limits of the programme of India for Indians and as to the proper way of approximating towards self government in India. In our opinion on tariffs are no substitute for freedom and the economic injustice of tariffs is not the portal to political justice.

### THE APPLE OF DISCORD

The aspersions do not end here. A famous Labour leader, who is known to be India's friend, told me the other day that by raising the cotton question at this time the authorities had thrown "the apple of discord between Indians and the British Democracy." He said that the British workers are the best friends of the Indian aspirants for self government, but that they can be frightened by the cry that India is going to steal the bread out of their mouths.

Any movement to put on tariffs in India, he continued, "would be regarded by the British workers as an attempt to keep the British exports out of India." He

to entertain a dread vision of the cheap labour from India invading Britain, after the Indian capitalists had driven out British manufactures.

"Why could we not get together," he asked me, "and agree to take from each other what each is best fitted to give?"

I reminded him that he was not asking anything new. We have been told for decades that India was marked out by Providence to produce raw materials. But Indians felt that they could convert them at home into manufactures, instead of shipping them abroad, and they wanted to be allowed to become a great industrial nation.

The Labour leader did not like the idea of India being exposed to the horrors of industrialism. He wanted to see Indians stick to agriculture and handicrafts. In any case, he wished India would not repeat the mistakes made in this and other countries of capital crushing the worker. I knew he was sincere in his interest in the Indian working man and was not merely urging this point in order to handicap the nascent Indian industries.

My friend advised me that the less Indians talk about 'fiscal autonomy' the sooner they would get "self-government within the Empire." He could not see that self-government without power to protect and to foster industries was not worth the having.

In reading this report of my conversation with the Labour leader in question, the reader must remember that he was in no way connected with Lancashire. How much keener would he have felt on the

subject had he hailed from Lancashire and represented a Lancashire constituency!

We must never forget that the Lancashire workman made common cause with the Lancashire mill-owner. No Indian would, of course, censure the English for putting their own interests before that of Indians: but we must know the situation as it exists.

#### MAGNANIMITY AND SELF-INTEREST.

Some English people will have it, however, that the new era, in which British interests are not to over-ride Indian interests, has already dawned, but they are not at all sure that British magnanimity to India is consistent with Britain's existence. Here is an extract from *The Morning Post*, the high Tory paper, in which this opinion is expressed in bombastic terms:

"We are now deliberately giving to India, which we conquered for purposes of trade and hold not by consent but by the sword, an advantage over ourselves. We stand in mingled awe and doubt before such a magnificent experiment. Is a country right to depart from that 'healthy egotism' which some philosophers regard as the secret of life, of national life as much as the life of the individual? Hitherto we have given India peace and firm rule; but we have thrown upon her agriculture a burden too great for one industry to bear, especially as the failure of a monsoon or two monsoons is always a dread contingency for the Indian farmer. Now we say to India: 'Take back your economic freedom: protect yourselves even against us in our greatest industry, which once we took from you.' It is magnificent. But is it life? We shall see."

Indians must also wait and see what happens before they hail the reverse suffered by Lancashire as a promise of fiscal freedom and of industrial expansion.

## INDIAN PERIODICALS

P. N. F. Young contributes a thoughtful and dispassionate article to the *Young Men of India* for April on the burning subject of

#### Race Feeling

in India, in which an analysis of the causes and some practical suggestions for

remedying the deplorable state of things are set forth.

The writer is of opinion that there is probably very little real race-feeling at all. "It is by no means common," says the writer, "that dislike or aversion is simply due to difference in the colour of men's skins."

It is a very difficult thing to challenge the sense of race superiority because, more or less, all races seem to possess it. And surely there is always some ground for it. For it is certainly true, one would think, that in some respect or other every race has a superiority of its own. Unfortunately, people are not content with this and want to claim an all round superiority, and so friction arises.

### The writer goes on to say

The chief difficulty in this country seems to arise from three main causes—(1) Social diversities, (2) Differences of national temperament, and (3) Inherence of political outlook. Let us briefly consider these three in turn.

#### SOCIAL DIVERSITIES

Differences in dress and manners are of course very trivial in comparison with the greater things of life, and yet they exert a disproportionate influence over our minds, because they are what we have been accustomed to from childhood and from childhood have been taught to regard as right and fitting. Further, they are symbols to us of what we understand by civilisation—they have got into our blood. When, therefore, we meet people observing manners different from our own our natural impulse is to think of them as uncivilized or semi-barbarous. Community in manners is a social bond of no mean strength.

India, for the most part, eats with its fingers. Europe with knives, forks and spoons. Both methods are perfectly justifiable to an unbiased mind but Englishmen have been taught from childhood that to eat with one's fingers is a vulgar and unseemly thing. Here is obvious ground for instinctive prejudice. Again, both races practice some mark of respect on entering a sacred building, but the one takes off its hat, the other its shoes. Indian traditions of hospitality are free and untrammelled. A guest may come at almost any hour of the day, and expect to be fed at any hour. Western traditions are regulated and formal: we expect a guest to give some notice of his coming, and we give him entertainment at stated times. Matters are further complicated in our social relations with each other by disabilities imposed by the caste regulations as to with whom Hindus may eat, and by the fact that one race is meat eating and the other vegetarian. Once again the European sharply separates his time for business from his time for social intercourse, the Indian custom is to mingle business and social intercourse in a way bewildering to the former, whose precision and rigidity must, on the other hand, seem cold and unfeeling.

One of the most vital and important differences, as we all know, between the East and the West is the difference in ideal as to the position of woman. The whole tradition of the West is that the woman is socially equal to the man, or indeed socially superior. She is the foundation of all social engagements, it is she who issues invitations, as hostess she is more important than her husband, the host. This, no doubt, offends against the traditions of India. But so, in return, does Indian custom offend against English tradition. And even if it be at times somewhat hypocritically urged, there is, if not generosity, at least justice in the plea of the Englishman, that if Indian gentlemen will not open their doors freely to him he does not see why he should do so to Indians.

In England, class distinctions are of fundamental importance in social life. There is no getting away from them anywhere. Society is divided into a large

number of horizontal grades—the Court and the higher nobility; the lesser nobility and those in the higher professional posts in Army, Navy, Law, Commerce, and Church; the great grade of the middle classes; the lower middle class, mostly composed of tradesmen; the class of the skilled artisan; that of the unskilled workers. This classification is necessarily, from its brevity, rough and crude, but it will suffice for our argument. None of these ranks is entirely closed to any other—the son of a miner may rise to be Prime Minister and rank socially with the highest in the land. But there is one powerful unwritten law, obtaining everywhere, which lays it down that full social intercourse is only fitting among social equals. For instance, a member of the upper middle class will not normally invite a member of the lower middle class to dinner with him. Now whatever the advantages of this system may be (and it has some great ones), it involves, almost inevitably, 'the spirit of snobishness,' or the sense of social superiority, and that among Englishmen themselves. If Indians only understood this, they would not be surprised that Englishmen were snobbish to them—they would rather wonder how much of it has been broken down.

#### DIFFERENCES OF NATIONAL TEMPERAMENT

Englishmen are frequently accused of arrogance in India, and it is usually thought that this arrogance is assumed particularly in this country. This, however, is a great misconception. Continental critics have for centuries made the same complaint. It is not race feeling but national temperament. Would it be wrong, on the other hand, to say that the national temperament of this country was yielding and complaisant? But concession and compliance have their limits, and infinite tact is required to prevent two such opposites falling foul of each other. Again, the Englishman is not much of a talker, he is reserved towards those he does not know (what other nation, as somebody once asked, ever seeks for an empty railway carriage?). and in odd contrast with his arrogance, he is diffident in social matters and doubtful whether he will be welcome or not. Is it, on the other hand, an untrue characterization to say that Indians are naturally talkative, very friendly and ready to make acquaintance (barring certain well known exceptions) with any one, and remarkably lacking in what we should call shyness?

#### DIFFERENCE OF POLITICAL OUTLOOK

It is certain that the great majority of English civilians quite sincerely believe that their presence here is for the real good of India. Quite certainly many Indians think the opposite.

The following practical suggestions should be carefully read and pondered over by Englishmen and Indians alike:

Reduced to its simplest elements, the problem is one of 'superiority' on one side, and suspicion on the other—neither very enviable qualities. They are demons that all men of goodwill must do their utmost to cast out.

Secondly, let us try to avoid the pitfall of 'labels'. Few things do more harm in human relations than this practice of rough and ready classification of our fellowmen. It is so easy—and so fatal—to dub an Englishman 'Anglo-Indian,' in the offensive sense; or to hurl the accusation of 'seditionist' at the head of an Indian, without troubling to enquire



what the man really believes and thinks. It is simply an act of pitiful intellectual and moral slothfulness, to say nothing of a lack of common charity.

Next, let us avoid anything in the nature of an obsession on this subject. An exaggerated sensitive ness finds race feeling in all sorts of innocent actions where nothing of the sort is present. Charity demands that we should put the best construction on other people's actions, and not jump at once to an imputation of evil motive. And the best remedy is, probably, to cultivate a sense of humour in this matter. After all, in most cases they are very small things that cause irritation and annoyance. It is the part of the wise man to laugh rather than to fly into a rage.

In the opening number of the *Mysore University Magazine* A. B. Mackintosh tells us some interesting

### Customs of Scotch Students

We are told that Scotch students are more zealous of the old customs of collegiate life than English students at Oxford or Cambridge. The Scotch students have at their command a large number of student songs which are known to everyone. Their gathering, unlike those of English students, are always enlivened by these popular tunes.

In a way the life of the Scotch student is more picturesque. In the first place he wears at least at one university a scarlet gown. Then on his trencher he must wear the emblem of his year. If he is a first year man his tassel will be blue; if second it will be red; if third yellow. He will not be sorry to exchange the blue for the red, for the life of the 'Bejant,' or first year man is by no means unchequered; there are several ordeals through which he must pass. The first is that of "passing over." This delightful proceeding may be seen in full swing at any of the gatherings at the beginning of the term. The dramatic setting is as follows—Place, a crowded hall, time, any. Enter a first year man, rather abashed. Immediately cries of 'Bejant,' 'Bejant,' and then 'Pass him over,' the student is then seized and raised aloft and then caught in turn by many hands he achieves a marvellous aerial progress, till at last, very hot and slightly bruised, he is once more restored to terra firma. He has learnt something of aviation.

A sterner ordeal now awaits him in the shape of the "trial." It has for long been the custom for the older students to hold a mock trial on all newcomers. It is a most solemn affair: a regular court is composed which includes a judge, counsel for the prosecution and defence, and a medical officer, who must satisfy himself as to the sanity of the accused before the trial begins. Then some great and sensational charge is brought against the poor suffering Bejant. But often the judge is merciful and the sentence is lenient. Sometimes the prisoner will be sentenced to be dropped into the sea and he will be dropped into a sandpit. During his blindfold passage through the air he may have unpleasant

anticipations of the temperature of the North Sea in January.

Then comes raisin day. On that day the Bejant must present to a third year man, on request, a bag of raisins. On that day the grocer's shops do a sharp trade in raisins. It is not the giving of the raisins that troubles the Bejant. It is the ill-concealed smile of the grocer that he chafes at, for he must buy the raisins himself and is not allowed to send a deputy. If the tertian (third year man) is kind hearted he will return a portion of the bag, so that the Bejant may be able to present to his land lady enough raisins for at least one snet pudding.

In most of the Scotch universities in times past there has been some blood spilt between town and gown. This has brought the colleges sometimes into contact with the police authorities. To-day, however, more amicable relations exist between the peelers (policemen) and the students. This truce is celebrated in the students' song 'Beloved Peeler' (Beloved Policeman). At the beginning of the year the students hold a banquet and make a torchlight procession. At the end of this they gather in a great mass outside the quadrangle. At this point there is always a policeman on duty. The students surround him in their hundreds and sing the song 'Beloved Peeler.' This renews the truce for a year. It is said that as the particular policeman's nerves may be rather tried by being made for the moment the centre of a universe of shouting and grinning students he is subsequently presented with a bottle of whisky. But of this there is no official verification.

### The Prohibition Movement in the U. S. A.

forms the subject of an important article contributed to the *Wealth of India* for February by St. Nihal Singh.

We are told that the movement to prohibit the manufacture, importation, and sale of spirits and wine in the States incorporated in the American Union, though only twenty years old, has driven the "saloon" out of 85 per cent of the territory embraced in the United States and already governs the life of 65 per cent of the American population. As a consequence, Mr. Singh tells us,

Former breweries are now making milk and producing vinegar and other products. The "saloons" are turned into restaurants, shops, etc. A cinema to which I used to go in one of the dry towns in Illinois used to be a liquor shop and I always doubted that it could have been more successful even economically, when it retailed whisky and beer, than when it furnished the men, women, and children of the town with innocent amusement.

The writer goes on to say Americans designate the States where prohibition reigns supreme as "dry." They are 23 in number, nearly half the number of the States federated in the American Union are under prohibition. In addition to the States and the Territory named, there are parts of America that have abolished the liquor traffic by means of 'local option'—that is to

say, by municipal or county vote, in contradistinction to State wide vote. The Prohibition area in these partially "dry" States is constantly increasing and before long it is expected that they will become altogether "dry."

The "dry" States are situated either in the Western or Southern part of the United States. The people in these regions are almost entirely engaged in farming, stock breeding, mining and the timber industry. A small percentage of them are employed in manufacturing industries, which are rapidly growing in some of these States, especially in the Southern States, which are ambitious to convert cotton and other raw materials, produced by them into finished goods and the territory of Alaska.

The vitality of the movement is shown by its success in South Dakota, Nebraska and Michigan. They have returned to the Prohibition fold after straying away from it. The liquor interests combined to have the Prohibition laws that were passed years before repealed, and carried on such a powerful agitation that they succeeded in their object. The people, however, realized in course of time that they had been tried and on November 7, 1916, they took decisive action against the producers and sellers of strong drink.

The success of the Prohibition movement lies in its irresistible appeal to all that is noblest and best in the voters. They are asked to take thought of the havoc wrought by liquor—the poverty, crime, and neglect of duty that follow in the wake of the traffic. They are made to realize the evil effects that result from the State quietly watching the destruction of human life and character, the ruin of fortunes and the blighting of the bodies and hopes of the rising generation, through indulgence in drink. As a necessary corollary, they are implored to put an end to this policy of *laissez faire* and to remove temptation from the path of persons who are weak-willed and stand in need of State protection against their own weakness.

It is not generally known in India that some of the large employers of labour in the United States have, for years been compelling their men to abstain from strong drink when off duty quite as much as when on duty. Many of the railways will not permit an employee to go aboard a train if he is not a teetotaler. Some companies compel the engine drivers—or engineers as they call them—to undergo a medical test for sobriety before they are allowed to enter the cabs. Such regulations have been dictated by dire necessity, and have not been imposed in order to satisfy a caprice of the almighty directors. The decrease of accidents and the saving of human life and compensation money have invariably resulted wherever these reforms have been instituted. The homes and family lives of the employees have been bettered, and the hearts of their wives and children gladdened. Surely the State has as much right to promote sobriety amongst the people who constitute it as private corporations have the right to effect that reform amongst their employees.

It used to be a favourite trick in one Prohibition town for persons desirous of obtaining a drink to claim that they have been bitten by a snake, and needed the liquor to neutralise the poison. About this an amusing story was told me in America.

A commercial traveller found himself, one day, in a Prohibition town. He tried in every way to secure some liquor, but was told that the only way he could get it was to be bitten by a snake. Some one whispered to him, however, that, just on the outskirts of the town, there lived a man who kept a snake especially for the purpose of biting those persons who wanted a drink. He made haste to find the man with the snake, but was disappointed to learn that the reptile was engaged for three years in advance to bite men who like him, were desirous of looking upon the wine when it was red.

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### The Mysore University

came into existence last July. The founding of a university in any part of India is welcome news to all Indians. We cull the following interesting informations about the latest born university in India, from the February number of the *Mysore University Magazine*.

At Mysore the following buildings are being erected—Two Lecture Theatres attached to the Maharaja's College, new Hostel blocks, and the University Union. The *Subjee* building is being transformed into the University Library, and it is contemplated to build in the immediate future a Sanskrit and Oriental Library, Professors' Houses, a Museum, Senate House, Gymnasium and swimming bath. At Bangalore the Central College buildings are to be extended, and additional hostel accommodation provided; a Union building is also to be built, and, as far as possible, residences for professors will be built in the vicinity of the site of the Central College.

The special and prominent features of the Mysore University may be summarised as follows—

A full-time vice-chancellorship; the extension of the High School course by one year, followed by a continuous B.A. course of three years, the special attention paid to the vernaculars; the curtailment and the more practical study of English; the institution of a B.Sc. course; the appointment of a number of tutors and of medically-qualified Physical Directors; increased hostel accommodation, and the supervision and licensing of the lodgings of non-residential students, and the encouragement of the social life by the building of Unions at Mysore and Bangalore.

The university, which is State-supported, has, within the few months since it was started, aroused sufficient interest to induce the offer of an encouraging number of endowments. These amount to Rs. 80,000.

## FOREIGN PERIODICALS

### Tomorrow in India

is the title of an elegantly written article appearing in the *Asiatic Review* for February, from the pen of Lady Katharine Stuart. From a perusal of the article we have been convinced that the erudite writer has not studied the problem she deals with, merely from the surface, but she has dived deep into the heart of things with a singularly unprejudiced and sincere mind and tried to find a solution.

The writer points out at the outset that "India, in claiming independence, and Great Britain, when insisting upon her dependence, have both a little overlooked the real state of things, which is their interdependence."

The Indian and the Englishman are to an extraordinary extent complementary and supplementary each to the other. Where one ends the other begins; what one lacks the other supplies; where one falls short the other excels; and so on. So much is this the case that they might almost be two halves of one whole. The average Englishman thinks in straight lines—if one may somewhat clumsily attempt to express in language his fine quality of directness. He has a great respect for concrete fact and he expresses himself best in action.

Turning now to the Indian you will find the antithesis of all this. The Indian thinks in graceful curves—if one may venture to thus describe the natural beauty and felicity of his expressions. He has a great reverence for abstract truth, and he expresses himself most perfectly upon the field of thought.

The English mind is objective; the Englishman looks at things; he takes them at their face value, so to speak. The garland for example that some jubilant procession has brought to the station is to him—well just a garland and no more; the accompaniment of what he would describe as 'fuss' is rather more embarrassing than gratifying. Now, the Indian does not look at things; he looks through them. As the Chinese philosopher put it:

"The true sages taking his stand upon the beauty of the universe, pierces the principle of things."

True culture! This is the goal of life to an Oriental; not fame or fortune. He aspires to be rather than to do. The Indian believes firmly that ideas govern the world, and that the greatest thing a man can do for his day and generation is to enrich it with fresh thought. Others may be figureheads, but the real leaders of men are those people who have ideas.

In the West there is a tendency to belittle every thing except deeds and to count as deeds only those wrought on the battle field or market place. This conception leaves out of count the toil of thinker and

poet, but the Empire has need of both—the man of thought as well as the man of action.

*In England religion is for man; in India man is for religion, and if man love much more woman! For the masses of India religion enters into their bathing their dress their meals their sleeping their conversation. It is to them the very breath of life. Their salutation is a benediction. Every wayfarer is a priest who invokes upon you the blessing of peace.*

*For generations Indian officials, military authorities, missionaries and their women folk, have been going out to India. But scarcely anybody came where India was, all passed by on the other side. And where was India? Standing sentinel over the garnered lore handed down to her from antiquity by generations. With amazement she realized the Sahib's indifference to this sort of treasure. She hid her feelings behind a stately reserve and heard the missionaries kindly meant suggestions to come across to them without much response. At last, however, came a Good Samaritan and he was an American—Colonel Olcott—but in his footsteps came a British woman Mrs. Besant. They came to learn and not to teach. They did not expect India to come to them. They went to India. The effect was electrical, it was epoch making! But there still remain people who imagine they are living in India. Not they! They are living in little Englands dotted all over the Peninsula.*

India cannot resist beauty. Beauty of form, beauty of expression, beauty of movement above all, for India stands for the soul side of things more than the form. May we not by sharing it double the joy given us by a thing of beauty? This fragment for example from the last volume of the late Stephen Phillips poems:

When Jesus greeted Joan in the after twilight,  
When the crucified kissed the burned  
Then softly they spoke together, solemnly sweetly,  
They two so branded with life  
But they spoke not at all of the Cross or of up-  
piled flaming  
Or the going from them of God  
But He was tender over the soul of the Roman  
Who yielded Him up to the priest  
And she was whist with pity for him that lighted  
The faggot in Rouen town

*There is no palpit like the grave, and out of his grave the poet now speaks bidding us all forgive and forget and join hands to the outstretching of new heavens and the up-building of a new earth.*

In conclusion Lady Katharine Stuart asks English ladies to open up avenues of friendship with Indian ladies. In this way much might be safely accomplished.

### Roumanian Folklore

A writer in *L'Opinion* (Paris) informs us that Roumanian folklore differs widely from that of the Servians and the Greeks "Desire the cult of the voluptuous," we are told, "is the dominant theme of the love-poetry of the Roumanians. In Greece or in Servia, contrary to the current prejudice love is above all a matter of the imagination." We are further told that "this sentiment of desire" of the Roumanians, "is very simple, even chaste, and hardly to be called indelicate."

We learn that the legends of Roumania have been lately collected by Demetrius Theodoresco. The following charming extracts will not fail to fascinate our readers on account of the overflowing poetry and irresistible beauty of expression.

'One time there happened what had never happened before and will never happen again. There was a young girl in a village of the mountain who was

stopped by the flowers as she passed them; and the flowers said to her 'Stay with us, O Sister.' And in the morning the sun said to her, 'Give me thy tresses that I may mingle them with my own and when I spend them over forest and plain, none shall be able to distinguish between my tresses and thy tresses.' And the river said to her 'Cross my waters and the very stones shall not be able to tell the lightness of thy feet from the lightness of my waters.'

But the maiden listened not to the flowers nor to the sun, nor to the river with its stones and its waters. She would not dance with the stars, nor mingle her locks with the tresses of the sun nor dip her bare feet in the river that called to her. The young girl desired only love. 'It is love that I want,' she cried. 'I wish for love.' If thou wilt wed me I will give thee my lips. Art thou come, thou whom destiny has pledged me? Come to my arms—come, that I may give thee the honey of my mouth."

When she departed leaving me alone in the garden, I planted the seed of a flower in the print of her foot, I watered it with my tears and it blossomed. But her hand never plucked it. The forget-me-not is withered. I have cast it upon the road; thus, doubtless, has she torn from her heart the memory of me."

## COMMENT AND CRITICISM

### "The Legal Exploitation of India's People."

I quite agree with all Mr. Pramathanath Bose says (on pages 32-37) with regard to the terrible burdens our British Judicial System has imposed upon India but I take some exception to his preliminary remarks on that much discussed subject, the Poverty of India, because like so many practised controversialists, he entirely ignores the very considerable amount of evidence there is on the other side. I would venture to refer him to a now fairly well known volume entitled *Truths about India* as well as a monumental paper by the late Mr. Charles McMillan entitled 'The Wealth and Progress of India: Facts and Fictions' published in the *Asiatic Quarterly Review* for January 1909.

Mr. Pramathanath Bose's case might have been more convincing if he had first dealt faithfully with them. To ignore the case for the other side is certainly far from convincing.

The startling fact so forcibly related by Mr. Pramathanath Bose that the comparatively few well-to-do people of India can afford to spend 1 millions sterling a year on lawyers alone quite apart from the other costs of litigation, seems to show that there is wealth as well as poverty in India just as there is in this and every other country.

East India Association, Yours truly,  
3 Victoria Street London J. B. PENNINGTON

### Primary Poverty.

I notice that in the *Modern Review* for April you quote from a letter which was sent from the *Tripathi* case Sociological Brotherhood to the *Madras* Newspapers on the question of Primary Poverty in Madras. You then draw an inference as to Primary Poverty in Bengal. I venture to think however, that in doing so you have made a very serious mistake. We came to the tentative conclusion that any family of four receiving in the city of Madras an income of less than Rs. 17 per month was in a condition of Primary Poverty. Please note however that we made no reference whatever to village life. The conditions of village life in South India are so very different from the conditions in the city of Madras that we deliberately felt our enquiry must be only for Madras city and thought that any enquiry into village poverty must be on an entirely different line. I hardly think, therefore, that your reasoning from Primary Poverty in the city of Madras to Primary Poverty in a Bengal District can stand. It may be true, but there is no evidence to show that it is true. We are anxious that our figures should be used only for one purpose—to attempt to establish the poverty line for the city of Madras. We do not think that they can reasonably be taken as a basis for all the rest of India.

I may add that our figure is not accepted by all in Madras as correct—some think it should be higher, others think it should be lower. We are

continuing our investigations on the point. Our investigation is not merely theoretical. We want now to try to find roughly at least what proportion of people in Madras city are below the Poverty line and what can be done to lift them above it.

We shall be very grateful for any help from any source in this direction.

Yours faithfully  
D G M LEITH

The Kellett Institute Triphane  
Madras S. E.  
7th April 1917

## MILTON'S CATEGORIES OF PUBLIC LEADERS

THE blind Latin Secretary of Oliver Cromwell lived in an age which was marked by tremendous political upheavals, and when the English Parliament was the one object that claimed all the concentrated attention of the entire continent of Europe. Here was a crisis of constitutional evolution, which called for the fullest and freest display of the leading aptitude of the men to whose care was committed the guidance of its destiny. It put the leaders of public opinion on their mettle, and afforded an opportunity to almost all the possible types of public idols to claim a niche in the pantheon of the so-called immortals. Milton, as an acolyte to the High Priest of that pantheon had the best of favourable opportunities to study the psychology of the immortals rather closely. For a considerable part of his life, he moved among one of the most distinguished constellations of the political luminaries, observing and noting their idiosyncracies in the native language of the Muse and having fully measured their appointed orbits, has left us the record of his observations in the second book of *Paradise Lost*. The "great consult" described there is not a mere excursion of poetic riches or a daring excursion of fancy in the limitless realm of speculation, but as approximate a picture of the men and manners of Milton's age as of our own. Moloch and Belial, Mammon and Beelzebub are not improbable figments that owe their existence to an opulent imagination, but are the faithful prototypes of characters as true to life today as they were the day before yesterday, and as in all probability, they will be tomorrow. Moloch, Belial, Mammon, Beelzebub, and Satan himself will always remain and may be referred to as the categories under

which almost all leaders of public opinion fall. The Satanic council, apart from its Mephistophelian character, will ever remain the most suggestive type of a council in any age. A study of these characters from that point of view is well worth the trouble it may involve.

Moloch represents the awe inspiring personality of a military commander, valiant and imposing a man to inspire men with respect for the sword, holding war as at once the highest achievement of honourable men and a panacea for all social and political evils, destined to sway the thought of masses by the direct and vigorous expression of his uncompromising determination. In the 'high debate' that took place in the lower regions, he was the first after Satan to speak on the difficult question of recommencing hostilities against the powers of Heaven, and declared with the firmness worthy of his determination "My sentence is for open war." The subtle genius of Milton has provided the most perfect definition of a military leader, worthy of the name, in that brief firm and frank sentence of Moloch. Could there be anything more honourable, more consistent with the spirit of noble vengeance, or more truly characteristic of the courage and resolution of a genuine soldier than the firm verdict of open war upon the omnipotent powers of Heaven? He adduced vigorous but frank arguments in support of his contention, and refused to see any half way house between "Victory or Revenge" and abject submission to the autocratic decision of the Almighty, nor would he tolerate the merest suggestion of resigning himself to the latter alternative. No military leader would be worthy of the name if he possessed less self-confi-

dence or less relentlessness. It would be vain to search for a truer type of a soldier or a genuine one with less tenacity of purpose or without this singleness of aim. But cast among a despicably degenerate people who were suffering from the soul vanishing demoralisation of fresh defeats he only succeeded in drawing expressions of petulant wrath and impotent tears from his hearers instead of swords from their sheaths. Molochs are the true heroes of conquering nations and are worshipped in their time but they are the villains of the vanquished and are often cursed in another age. They are the Arjuna's Pratapadityas, Chengiz Khans, Musas, Cids, Charles Martels, Napoleons and Washingtons. Even among the modern warriors—those who are now proving this prowess in arms—there are to be found men who are the representatives of Moloch (in no invidious sense) but present company should always be excepted. At times they are also rash but never infirm or unbending. They are the heroes and they the villains but they also vanish in the distance of time.

The next person who spoke in the Council was Belial the popular in act more graceful and humane with a phenomenally only tongue almost irresistibly persuasive with his apparently genuine but really hollow counsel for moderation and passivity one who could make the worse appear the better reason. He was a contrast to Moloch in almost every respect. To him the hearers would lend their ears no less than their souls for he was the man of pleasant platitudes and appealing sentiments. He understood the psychology of the masses and knew that the inherent tendency of mental activity is to choose the line of least resistance. He found no difficulty in persuading his fallen comrades and followers (with rare exceptions) to consider their existing state if not a matter for thanksgiving at least one for resignation and contentment lest their discontent should lead them to more woe. In his abundantly facile and profoundly cunning manner he poured ample quantities of oil on the tempestuous sea of passion and bitter vengeance stirred to its depths by the preceding speaker and with words clothed in reason's garb counsel'd ignoble ease and peaceful sloth not peace. He was not the shot to miss the mark. The

hearers swayed like a reed in the wind of his speech as he demonstrated to them the folly of any drastic measures, and were finally persuaded that his was the last word on the subject. Now, who is so familiar with Belial's breed which is rampant enough everywhere? Not incapable nor even unconscious of their duty, but disgracefully indolent and far too fond of ease to pursue their aim with any amount of perseverance shirking their duty in preference to hardships consequent upon the execution of it without stamina constantly seeking plausible excuses for want of resolution. But their capability becomes a dangerous weapon to be wielded against the true interests of the people who repose their trust in them. Unwilling to bear hardships themselves even for the sake of right they persuade others also to forego their right for a life of 'ignoble ease'.

Mammon who followed Belial, was no deliberate shirker like his predecessor, but a genuine pessimist bereft of hope of success as against the all too stupendous powers of Heaven the proposal to continue the strife only served to deepen his mental gloom and he roused his self sacrificing instinct to the pitch of martyrdom and therefore, when he rose to speak, he unconsciously and spontaneously lent support to Belial's view and declared sourly, but sagely that torments also in length of time become agreeable. He was no believer in rash and radical measures but was convinced that in the settled state of order alone could the banished crew of heaven compose their evils. He saw no sense in hesitating to confess his own impuissance as against the infinite might of God and therefore recognised salvation only in acquiescence in the decree of Heaven and emphatically advocated peace. To him Progress was synonymous with Peace and, therefore, the verdict of the military commander seemed to him to have been pronounced in wanton disregard of the good of the Satanic Fraternity. Pessimists may be incapable but they are never insincere. When they are also capable it is a case of inordinate obsession with some exaggerated idea that generally takes the wind out of their sail. They mean well and honestly desire to be of service but labour under disabilities of mental inhibition.

But Beelzebub the next speaker 'than

whom Satan except no higher sat was the man of the moment A firm proud dignified, purposeful consummately subtle and capable leader of the people whose very looks distinguished him from his colleagues is the very antithesis of the myopic rashness of Moloch the shameful degeneracy of Belial who lacked both sincerity and stamina and the melancholy martyrdom of Mammon the pessimist Even in his fallen condition he had not permitted his former glory to be obliterated from his memory which provided him with a perennial source of bitterness born of wounded pride and unmerited degradation also the stimulus to act in pursuance of his revenged purpose His proud mien at once marked him out as an heir to the imperishable heritage of a resplendent past his eyes reflecting deep hereditary pride and unmistakable capability It was neither for the wrath of Heaven nor his fallen condition to daunt or tame him He rose and in rising seemed a pillar of State deep on his front engraven Deliberation and public care Majestic in ruin even his very look drew audience and attention still as Night or Summer's noon tide air, when he addressed the Thrones and Imperial Powers off spring of Heaven Ethereal Virtues he artfully questioned Or these titles now must we renounce and changing style be called Princes of Hell? His criticism of the counsel for passivity and contentment was scathing and convincing to him the very suggestion of acquiescence in so base and revolting a state of slavery was simply outrageous He was not blind to the infinite resourcefulness of the heavenly power nor did he discount the wisdom of guarding against any fresh outburst of the Almighty's wrath but the mere thought of sitting with folded hands and prattling of peace with the Power that had wrought their ruin was repugnant to him In the plenitude of his gifted astuteness and in previous consultation with Satan himself he had devised the plan calculated to spite the Creator and to avenge the wrongs suffered by the vanquished hosts of heaven That plan he ingeniously unfolded before the Synod of Gods It was only too obvious that any attempt at open warfare would not merely be foiled but required fresh horrors and unthought of torments He was a practical genius indeed While fully alive to the manifest superiority of

the heavenly powers not yet minimising the obvious futility of open warfare he focussed the attention of his comrades upon a point in the Kingdom of God which in virtue of its being situated on the furthest confines was peculiarly exposed to attack and which at the same time housed the latest and the fairest of his creations—MAN

By sad ten onset ether with hell fire  
To taste ill's whole creation or possess  
All as our own and drive as we were driven  
The puny labours or find drive  
Seduce them to our Party that the Lord God  
May prove the foe and with repenting hand  
Abolish his own works This would surpass  
Common revenge

It would at least interrupt his joy From the point of view of the Allies the seduction of Ireland (the illustration is irresistible) seems to have been conceived in that spirit But he was undoubtedly a man of practical sense and his advice could not fail of effect The bold design pleased highly those infernal States and joy sparkled in all their eyes with full assent they vote It was however a tremendous undertaking and one which was fraught with unheard of perils They therefore fell to thinking as to who should be trusted with the mission The speaker continued

But first whom shall we send  
In search of this new world whom shall we find  
Sufficient? who shall tempt with wandering feet  
The dark unbottom'd infinite Abyss  
And through the palpable obscure find out  
His uncouth way or spread his airy light  
Upborne by indefatigable wings  
Over the vast abrupt ere he arrive  
The happy Isle what strength what art can then  
Suffice or what evas on bear him safe  
Through the thick Sentries and Statues thick  
Of Angels watch on guard? He e he had need  
All circumstance on and we now o less  
Choose our suffrage for on whom we send  
The weight of all and our last hope relies

The attempt was far too perilous for any one to declare his willingness to undertake it

all sat mute  
Pondering the danger with deep thoughts and each  
In other's countenance read his own dismay  
Astonished

At last  
Satan who now transcendent glory raised  
Bore his fellows with Monarchical pride  
Conscious of his heat worth

rose and addressed his colleagues and comrades After enumerating the dangers and depicting the perils of the proposed voyage he declared in firm tones

' But I should ill become this throne, O Peers  
And this Imperial Sov'reignty, adorn'd  
With splendour, arm'd with power, if aught propos'd  
And judg'd of public moment, in the shape  
Of difficulty or danger could deter  
Me from attempting.'

Milton's Satan was a character true to life, and not in the least exaggerated or poetically embellished. A most deserving and astute leader of the exiled crew of heaven, he knew their weaknesses and foibles, as well as their strength and aspirations, and attuned his activity according to the occasion with a view to maintain "his bad eminence" among them.

He had a surpassing aptitude for leadership, and was pre-eminently fitted to be at the steering wheel of any barque. Thoroughly conversant with the art of winning laurels, displaying his talents to advantage, earning golden opinions of people, *exercising consummate tact* in retaining the adherence of his colleagues, and finally providing people with excellent opportunities to lionise him—nay deify him, he was an Augustus-Cæsar on a considerably larger scale. Perhaps Milton had Oliver Cromwell himself before him. Not only did he know how to play upon the feelings of the masses, and the egoism of the members of his cabinet, but he was a finished diplomat, and was fully alive to the necessity of steering clear of rivals, and never failed to devise means to stand alone on the pedestal surrounded by admiring multitudes. The moment he had announced to the applauding audience his intention to attempt the perilous voyage, he suspected that some others also might be encouraged to volunteer to go, and that would not be consistent with his position as the unrivalled hero. And realising the importance of forestalling any such rival he bid the banished hosts make merry

" while I abroad  
Through all the coasts of dark destruction seek  
Deliverance for us all this enterprise  
None shall partake with me

He would allow no division of honour, but win "the high repute" all by himself "through hazard huge." Each time he seemed to risk his life or power he was hailed by his followers as their true hero, and was lauded by them 'for despising his own safety' for their sake. His apotheosis had long been reached in heaven itself; these were only extra feathers in his cap. His deeds, however, so far from being dictated by any altruistic motives were the

offspring of his overweening passion for "Power," which he could enjoy undivided, only if he remained as a peerless leader.

These are some of the types described by Milton. The others, the favoured and obedient angels, the Son of God, the disobedient ancestor of Man, and many others are also models, but of a different kind. Nor are the prototypes of Norman Angells, Bernard Shaws, or Robert Blatchfords to be found there, for Illusionists, Positivists, and Chauvinists do not seem to have struck Milton's fancy. But the types of leaders, whose weakness and strength lie in oratory, and whose preposterous lives have nothing but a span of speech to bequeath to the world, have been almost faultlessly and perhaps circumspectly described by the poet in the persons of Satan, *Moloch, Behai, Mammon, Beelzebub*, and some other minor models. It would be almost impossible to conceive of any public leader who escapes these categories. Genuineness is again embraced under another type—Christ, who comes down on earth to expiate the sins of others, to be crucified for a multitude of sinners. But Christs are not born frequently, in fact, they are the *illusions* after which people run only to find men of flesh and blood in their place—men palpitating with hot blood, and breathing the same foul air as the seekers do. 'Yes, men, men, indeed, who infest this little planet of ours, whose specious deeds descend from "glory" or close ambition varnished over with zeal.' From under the well-wrapped cloak of public zeal, the good of humanity, or patriotism, often enough, inconveniently protrudes the unholy face of self-seeking, or oftener still, the sour visage of disappointed ambition. They form themselves into a covenanted fraternity of log-rollers, and sprawl on public platforms, and leisurely yawn on holy pulpits. They string a few cædèd phrases together, and prate of rights and demands almost *ad nauseam*. But it may be confidently asserted that under cover of pleasant platitudes they dwell in blissful ignorance of their duty. Thoroughly infatuated with themselves, they find a peculiar charm in the phrase "Rights and Demands," and either never tumble to the word Duty or deliberately ignore it. Was it not Giuseppe Mazzini who said that the struggle of the believers in



Rights would last only so long as temptations were not put out of their way but the work of the votaries of Duty would cease only with their life. The struggle of the latter shall be unto the bitter end to get wrongs righted they shall face personal hardships and perils with an equanimity and resignation worthy of a sainted martyr. Hanging and quartering shall not deter them crucifixion and burning at the stake shall not daunt or tame them. Theirs is the divine mission and theirs the eternal cause and nothing but the fulfilment of their mission shall quench the passion with which they are inspired. They shall defy circumstances and create their own for the accomplishment of their object. But for all that the Divine spark is essential.

As a matter of general rule leadership has in the conception of the public been generated into a sort of lucrative profession which attracts a very considerable number of aspirants of a large variety of

capability and qualifications. It holds out brilliant prospects to the successful. Not alone does it lead to high honours, public eminence and the undisputed right to the control and disbursement of public funds, but often enough to a decent pension in tail as the lawyer would say. We have only to look round to recognise Belshazzar and Beelzebub for they abound on our earth. Molochs are rare and so are Mammons, genuine soldiers and honest pessimists are a noble type but so are Sultans are born once in a blue moon for their capabilities are of the highest and they certainly are the shapers of destinies and the authors of memorable achievements.

Milton's genius has given the world among a thousand and one other things at least one thing of ever fresh importance and that is his comprehensive definitions of public leaders.

M ASAF ALI

## GOLD AND INDIAN CURRENCY

By M S SETHA AYYANGAR B.A.

INDIA has world wide trade. She has to bear her Home charges. Of late Great Britain and all other civilised countries have changed their currency. Post War problems are busily discussed. It is time that India should see if in her interests under the present altered conditions her currency—the life blood of industrial circulation—also requires revision.

Ranade the great scholar and statesman has as a result of careful study said that in the application of economic principles the historical is opposed to the deductive method of taking account of the past with a view of making a reliable forecast of the future should be applied to India since the time when her history is known to rest on solid facts has been the place upon which time after time foreign nations ancient medieval and modern

have invariably fixed their longing eyes. Her commerce has not been inconsiderable.

The value or the relation between two things in utility at a particular time and place is always expressed in terms of money. India had the use of money for a long time past. It is said in *Numismata Orientalia* that in all countries the metal first used for exchange was silver. Be it Palestine Egypt Greece or Italy. Sir A. Cunningham the first Archaeological Superintendent of India and a great numismatist dates 1000 B.C. as the time when silver was first coined in India. Later researches place it as 700 B.C.

Prof H. D. Macleod takes a somewhat different view at least with reference to India when he says

It is imagined by a not inconsiderable number of persons that silver only has been the currency of India from time immemorial and that the Nat has

attached to it. This is however entirely erroneous. Silver was first forced upon the entire Native population by the Company in 1818 and it was only in 1883 it has become the exclusive currency of India as a consequence of Lord Dalhousie demonetising gold. The Natives themselves greatly preferred the ancient standard gold.

Mr L. C. Probyn is equally emphatic when he says

The history of the Hindu system of currency was of gold and although the Muhammadan conquest introduced a silver rupee a local gold standard part of the currency prevailed in Southern States where they did not gain the ascendancy of a gold currency continued in force even after the British conquest.

Sir David Barbour opines

It is beyond doubt that both metals were used simultaneously by the great nations of antiquity—the Babylonians, the Assyrians, the Lydians, the Persians, the Egyptians, the Greeks and the Romans.

Ancient history reminds us that gold was used to be collected from the beds of certain rivers in North India. Professor Macleod finds that the Phoenicians brought vast quantities of silver and exchanged them for the gold dust of the Lower Indus. History further records that

The Persians King Darius who invaded India about 500 B.C. exacted 360 talents of gold dust from the King of Northern India, probably the part now known as the Punjab as tribute. This gold dust Darius got to need as Dorcas.

Coming to mediæval times we find that before the Muhammadan invasion and even sometime after the same gold was the standard of value. It was the chief current coin at any rate in all large transactions. Silver to a small extent and copper (for small and trifling transactions) were also coined. Shells (Cowries) were used in exchange in the unprogressive parts of the country. During the Muhammadan era Altmashit was the Sultan of Delhi who in 1233 A.D. first introduced the silver coin *Tanka* since then silver received a decided impetus and the standard coin at any rate in Northern India where the Muhammadan throne was seated was silver. India was then a collection of small independent states scattered all round. Railways were unknown. Even trunk roads had not been formed. Internal communications were difficult. Each state issued its own coins. They seldom—there was neither need nor facility—found currency in other neighbouring States. There were therefore a great number (about a thousand) of different coins of various metals and sizes. During the Muham-

madan rule whose sway extended over a considerable portion of the country, a rather bold scheme for reforming the currency was devised by Mohamad Toghlok. His reform was to debase the silver coin and to circulate copper pieces at the nominal value of silver coins. This is indeed a prototype in principle of the present paper currency. Nearly three centuries elapsed when during the reign of Sher Shah in 1542, the name of Rupee was given to the coin with its present weight of 180 grains. An effort—though futile it proved to be—at introducing a uniform standard in this Empire was conceived by Akbar. This is perhaps in anticipation of the present world wide attempt (this time almost a decided success) at a uniform standard for all civilised countries taking active part in international trade. As Southern India was farther from the central authority of the Moguls it was left practically unaffected by that influence and consequently she alone maintained her wonted gold standard in currency till the gold pagoda was displaced by the Company Rupee of 1818.

In modern times the East India Company on its establishment in India adopted the Moghul coinage. In course of time it obtained permission from the indigenous ruler to mint native coin at this Company's mint with a slight modification. In 1806 the bi-metallic basis was accepted by the Court of Directors. They denied any wish on their part to force silver to the exclusion of gold. Anyway both gold and silver were the standard and both kinds of coins found currency till India first became a silver using country when in 1835 silver coins became legal tender to the exclusion of gold. The rupee (180 grains with 165 silver plus 15 alloy) was first coined then. The rule was honoured more in its breach. Gold mohurs also continued to be minted and circulated. In 1841 gold currency had to be recognised. But towards the end of 1852 Lord Dalhousie being alarmed at the great discoveries of gold in Australia and California and the probable deterioration of the value relatively to silver issued a historic despatch dated 25th January 1852 which declared that "No gold coins will be received on account of payments due or in any way to be made to the Governments in any public treasury within

Several responsible Indian ministers such as Sir Richard Temple favoured the introduction of a gold standard and a gold currency in India as necessary and expedient. The policy inaugurated in 1853 had the effect of silver falling rapidly in price. Many European countries de-monetised silver. The burden of India to pay up her Home charges in England became greatly enhanced. The gold price of silver fell for example

In 1872	1 Rupee =	1s 11d
76		1s 5½d
85		1s 6¼d
87		1s 4 89d
92		1s 2 95d

Silver depreciating so steadily the Indian Government could not meet the home dues without resort to fresh new taxation being resorted to. It was during this period that the Income Tax Act of 1886 the Salt Tax Act of 1887 were passed and the revenue raised thereunder made up for the evil effects of the depreciation of the rupee. The Government had to find extra money for the exchange compensation allowance. They wanted to try bi-metallicism. It could have been an excellent remedy if all the other trading nations had also consented to the arrangement. They would not and the attempt of the Indian Government failed.

This state of things led to the second or the Herschell Commission. The Commission sat. They were not unanimous in their opinions. Bi-metallicism was thought expedient. But England would not change as average money wages had not fallen though prices of commodities had fallen, without England the centre of money market other countries would not change. There was a good deal of doubt and uncertainty in the minds of the Commissioners. This is seen from the words of Lord Herschell uttered when leaving the last meeting of the Commission. Well at any rate our work has had one effect it has made all of us more modest than when we began. Accepting the recommendations of this Commission the Indian mints for silver were closed to the free coinage by private persons but the Government reserved its right to coin to remedy any shortage. Gold sovereigns or half-sovereigns were to be received in the Treasury, and rupee was to be given in exchange at 1s 4d a rupee though gold was not made legal

tender to private persons yet it was accepted in payment of Government dues at Rs 15 for a sovereign. These measures were adopted no doubt as a preliminary to the introduction of a gold currency in India because it was anticipated that silver would be less imported, gold would enormously flow into the country and thus pave the way for the much desired gold currency and that the rate of exchange of silver would get steady. It was also taken for granted that no further steps should be taken till the results of the closing of the mints will have been fully ascertained.

From 1893 to 1898 was a period of experiment and transition. The difficulty was augmented by the famine of 1896-97 and the war on the North Western Frontier. The years were years of deficit and surplus alternately. Though the rate of exchange fell it did not fall in proportion to the fall in the gold price of silver, and the progress towards the ratio of 1s 4d to the rupee was steady as is seen below—

1893 94	1 Rupee =	1s 2 54d
94 95		1s 1 00d
95 96		1s 1 638d
96 97		1s 2 45d
97 98		1s 3 406d
98 99		1s 3 978d

In 1898 it was thought necessary to facilitate this growth to borrow money to form a gold reserve and to stop relative redundancy of the currency by melting down rupees. This led to the Fowler Commission of 99.

The Act of 1899 based upon the recommendations of this Commission provided that sovereigns were made legal tender for the public and that the Indian mints would be opened for coining sovereigns. Thus the introduction of gold mono-metallicism was well nigh complete. Only the amount of rupees in circulation had to be slowly restricted. The Commissioners further recommended the fixing of the rate of exchange at 1s 4d per rupee and that the profit made by the coinage of rupees at this rate of exchange should go to form a fund—the gold standard reserve—to provide a reserve sufficient to convert into sterling such amount of silver as may seek export at any time. Silver also is legal tender. Gold no doubt was our standard for our external trade but a legal standard so to say. That this closed

voiced forth the Indian feeling when he said that the gold reserve is *our own Indian money* and that as a matter of natural pride it should be in our own country (India) as a visible possession. It must also be noted that under the head of Paper Currency Reserve which is held against the Notes equal to their full value a portion of the reserve is located in London, though the object is the redemption of notes in circulation in India which implies that the whole should be in India. The reserve on 31-3-1913 is as follows —

Gold in London	9 15 Crores
Gold in India	29 37
Silver in India	16 45
Securities of Government of India	10 00
Securities of British Government	1 00
Total	68 97

To sum up The ancient standard of value in India was gold. When the East India Company entered gold and silver coins were current side by side in North India though in South India gold coins were commonly current. Silver was first forced upon the Indians by the East India Company in 1818. Lord Dalhousie made silver the sole standard in 1853. Gold struggled for existence later suffering demonetisation and revulsion in its favour alternately. From 1866 to 1913 was a period of experiments—costly they were—and of commissions to inquire into the laws of currency. Silver currency was sought to be abandoned in favour of gold currency by way of saving the situation re falls in exchange necessitating the closing of mints for silver in 1893. Prior to 1893 the people had been accustomed for generations to the full value of coins in currency transactions. Halting efforts were made to introduce the gold currency. Hopes nevertheless were raised that it would soon be achieved only to be blighted at last by the mandate of the Chamberlain's Commission of 1913. The situation now is this. India has world wide trade. Her destinies are bound up with those of the British Empire. All the civilised countries except China have changed their standard of value and currency to gold. It cannot be long ere she also changes her standard of value. India's silver currency with its rapid fall of the price of silver is inexpedient. Bimetallism is out of question as it was not agreed to

by other nations. India cannot afford to stand aloof from the world's concert. The only outstanding alternative is the adoption of gold currency as obtaining in England and elsewhere. With this the rupee will represent a fixed portion of gold. The notes and rupees will act precisely as if they were bits of gold by being made convertible into gold for foreign payment.

India wants that the result of the experiments made in England for 500 years be extended to her and that free mints for gold be opened in India adding to the financial support of the British Empire. No progressing nation could afford to adopt a different standard of value from that of the more civilised and wealthy countries. And any difference in standards of value between two nations having intimate and commercial relations is a great evil. And she ought no longer to be kept tied down with antiquated and out of date theories of currency and arbitrary notions of state management and control in this respect.

There is no longer any alarm that there may not be enough gold in the world to facilitate the introduction of gold currency in India as the gold production in the world is £100 000 000 every year and the Mysore Gold Mines alone show a gold output of over 3 crores of rupees per annum and as the economists of the world are devising means of finding out a new outlet for the excess output. Nor can it be safely said that there is danger of India hoarding up her gold as though gold were not used for a variety of purposes not always useful or artistic in Europe and America as well as in India. Further Gold currency alone would certainly obviate this tendency if any. Also there is unimpeachable and overwhelming evidence official and non official that gold is extensively used in India in bona fide currency and that the Indian peasant believes in the metallic currency. It is therefore fervently hoped that England will yield to the wishes of the people in this matter and that she will permit India to assimilate the Indian currency to hers and that the Indian reserves be mainly allowed to be kept in India so as to facilitate the flow of capital upon which the Indian industries could be founded and successfully built up and with which the Indian Railways and the Indian Irrigation Works could be constructed.

## HOW THE JUST MAN LIVES

**A**BOUT Habakkuk one of the minor Hebrew prophets nothing is known. The time when he lived and the occasion which called forth his prophecy are alike uncertain. The very meaning of his short book is open to doubt for his references to passing events cannot be identified without hesitation and the text in passages as it has come down to the present day reader is obscure and corrupted. Notwithstanding these disadvantages there remains enough of solid and tangible value in the book of Habakkuk to attract the admiration of Carlyle and to persuade the scholar Ewald to call Habakkuk the last pure light of Hebrew prophecy.

The German scholar Ewald is the best of all commentators upon the prophets of the Old Testament. Nobody else succeeds in giving us in quite such a kindling manner as Ewald the personal history of the prophets, the circumstances of the times in which they lived and the interpretation of their deepest thoughts and meanings. It is scarcely too much to say that without the assistance of Ewald it is impossible to study the ancient Hebrew religious writers intelligently.

I follow Ewald's interpretation of Habakkuk. What does the short piece of writing which bears the prophet's name contain? It contains a problem which is new in the history of prophecy and it contains an answer to the problem the best answer which seems humanly possible, but by no means a complete solution of the intellectual difficulty. The problem is this as Habakkuk states it: O Lord how long shall I cry and thou wilt not hear? I cry out unto thee of violence and thou wilt not save. Spoiling and violence are before me and there is strife and contention riseth up. The law is benumbed and justice doth never go forth. That is a picture of Jerusalem. The violent and unjust man flourishes and ought the prophet can see never gets unished. To this preliminary statement of the problem the Lord answers that the prophet is to look among the nations and

he will see the coming of a punishment for the violent and unjust in Jerusalem.

For lo I raise up the Chaldeans that rough and restless nation which march through the breadth of the earth to possess dwelling places that are not theirs. Their horses are swifter than leopards and are more fierce than the evening wolves and their horsemen bear themselves proudly they fly as an eagle that hasteth to devour.

This answer instead of satisfying the prophet only intensifies his difficulty. Granted that the Chaldeans are coming to punish the Jews who shall punish the Chaldeans? The Chaldeans are far more violent and unjust than the people whom they overwhelm. They exceed in daring and transgression their strength is their god. In which words Ewald supposes the prophet to allude to the custom the Babylonians seem to have practised along with other peoples of worshipping their weapons. The Scythians described by Herodotus used to sacrifice to their swords pouring libations of the blood of their captives. To their swords as symbols of the god of war the Scythians used to offer more sacrifices than to any other deity. Habakkuk thinking of the triumph of the Chaldeans can only see another example of the violent and unjust man flourishing. What answer can there be to this deepening of his perplexity?

He will stand upon his watch and set him upon the tower and will look forth to see what the Lord will speak concerning his complaint. And what the Lord speaks to Habakkuk is this: The just man shall live in his faithfulness.

What is the meaning of these words? St Paul quoted them and interpreted them to mean that the just man shall live by his faith i.e. by his faith in God and in all that St Paul held to be the essentials of faith and this is a very fine light indeed to throw upon the idea and the conduct of life. In belief in God we can find a consolation and compensation for many troubles and a strong support. But fine

as this idea is it does not seem to express quite clearly all that was in the mind of the prophet

For Habakkuk's word is not 'faith but faithfulness.' The just man shall live in his faithfulness that is to say in his persistence, in his steadfastness. When things are at their worst when violence and injustice seem to carry all before them, there remains to a just man his own will and perseverance and tenacity in going on his own way. He must be true to himself even at such a time when the stock to his faith is even worse than the shock around him to peace and prosperity. And this fidelity is his one support and the one thing which cannot be taken away from him. 'No other consoling prospect says Oswald than faithfulness in the midst of trial.

'The just man shall live in his faithfulness is the clearest word which Habakkuk can find with which to answer his own difficulties. This word carries us no farther at first sight than the colloquial counsel to grin and bear it. Those simple words grin and bear it have helped many a brave man to be true to his better self in a time of suffering. They do not explain why the suffering comes and they do not imply any prospect of speedy release from endurance. They simply counsel us to endure when we have to endure and they are sternly truthful recommending themselves to sternly truthful men. How fine is the word grin — grin and bear it not laugh and bear it. Laughter being impossible under many circumstances in which a man should try to be as gay as he can. At first sight the words of Habakkuk seem to carry us no farther than the proverb grin and bear it. But the closing words of the book seem to show us that Habakkuk meant more than this. Faithfulness seems to him to mean faithfulness not only to courage and fortitude and perseverance but to faith itself which circumstances perplex and obscure and to hope which seems to be extinguished. In the midst of injustice the will to abide by justice remains still the most precious thing in the world and this perception is so clear that nothing need take it away. In faithfulness to his perception remains the just man's life. And behind his perception of the unchallengeable excellence of justice Habakkuk feels the force of a conviction that

nothing so excellent as justice can be ultimately destroyed. At the close of the prophecy we have these wonderful words which were intended in their literal sense and not in any merely figurative way of speaking —

Though the fig tree should not blossom  
Neither shall fruit be in the vines  
The labour of the olive shall fail  
And the fields shall yield no meat  
The flock shall be cut off from the fold  
And there shall be no herd in the stalls  
Yet will I rejoice in the Lord  
I will joy in the God of my salvation

These are the words of a patriot and a believer in the destiny of his own people when he sees an overpoweringly strong enemy coming up against his native land to destroy the fields and the vineyards and to carry the people into exile. In spite of all that seems to crush his nation he will continue to cherish the hopes that he had entertained for a glorious destiny for the Hebrew people. He cannot give up so dear a part of his life's dream but will cling to it in spite of every forbidding appearance.

What does this firm attitude of the prophet's mind prove to us but that man's faith in good is indestructible? The prophet has not been afraid to look at his doubts he has given them their full weight and he confesses that he is unable to answer or to dispel them but in spite of them he finds hope and persistence remaining with him. And so doing he stands as it were in the very soul of the persevering Hebrew people. The Hebrews as a nation have been remarkable for their faith in good which is to come to victory in spite of a thousand defeats and overthrows. Habakkuk is one of the chosen mouthpieces of the Hebrew national genius and the faith that was in the Hebrew people and in their prophets is a faith for nations and individual men. A faith for nations — in the good which they can work out by endeavour carried on through many centuries, a faith for individuals — who have to be encouraged to hope and strive and endure in spite of all that sets itself against them. Look in your heart cries the prophet and you will find beneath all depression and woe and despair something that persists in you and prevents you from giving up finally faith and hope and life.

This is the lesson I believe.

Watts intended to convey in his fine painting of Hope of which a reproduction was presented not long ago in the Modern Review. In the picture we have a bent human figure seated upon the globe of the world crouching over a harp passionately listening to the one chord of the harp which remains unbroken. Mr Watts writing his own explanation of the picture says that Hope strives to get all the music out of the one remaining string—a pathetic account of his meaning which the painter probably felt to be only one aspect of it. The picture means much more than Mr Watts was able to explain in words. The hope in men's hearts—their ultimate faith—is something far better than a fear lest the last chord of consolation should break in twain. What in the picture means the listening attitude? What means the eagerness of attention? It is the ultimate earnestness of human nature which solemnised by encroaching fears and by hopes which have perished—listens to its own spirit for the last and deepest voice of courage. In the harp of the human spirit there is always one chord which still vibrates. The painter has painted his own thought of human nature—the answer with which he meets all difficulties and questions and doubts. Listen well to the heart of mankind; it seems to say—and you will find that the profoundest murmur there is still of hope and love and faith and courage. The just man can be stripped of everything but his steadfastness.

Habakkuk is unable to believe in the longevity of injustice. He has questioned himself well in this matter and for the life of him he cannot believe that the unjust man's prosperity can be of long continuance. He denounces unjust possessions.

Woe to him that increaseth that which is not his—or how long? Such possessions he will not call property but heavy debts. The unjust man's creditors will rise up one day and his tormentors will spoil him. Woe to him that getteth an evil gain for his house that he may set his nest on high that he may be delivered from the hand of ruin. I or the stone shall cry out of the wall and the beam out of the timber shall answer it. Woe to him that buildeth a city with blood and establisheth a state by iniquity. These words

are an allusion to the Babylonians' passion for building and compelling conquered nations to build for them. Men can only build lastingly when they build justly. Every unjust edifice shall perish in the better days that will come to humanity when the earth shall be filled with the knowledge of the glory of the Lord as the waters cover the sea. The forests of Lebanon whose cedars have been hewn down and the animals hunted from their rest upon the mountain cry out against the invader. These words and images suggest the prophet's unflinching faith in justice. The Babylonians have gods who raise no objection to their career of devastation and pillage. But what profiteth the graven image that the maker thereof hath graven it—the molten image and the teacher of lies—that the maker of his work trusteth therein? Woe to him that saith to the wood—Awake to the dumb stone—Move! Or as we should exclaim today—Woe to him who trusts in false ideas—such a false idea for instance as that justice can be disregarded with impunity to individual or state.

Shall the graven image teach a man anything? Behold it is laid over with gold and silver and there is no breath at all in the midst of it. But the Lord is in his holy temple—let all the earth keep silence before Him.

Habakkuk there contrasts with inferior forms of thinking his own faith in the part which justice inevitably plays in shaping the destinies of mankind. To this faith he is held in spite of every adverse circumstance. Although he saw his own people overpowered and dragged into exile although he saw the strong triumph and no apparent check placed upon the strong man's violence he could not get away from his inward certainty that justice and goodness overrule human destiny. I or though injustice prevail, justice still remains better than injustice. It is this invincible knowledge which keeps the just man staunch and enables him to live in his steadfastness or faithfulness solving thus for him the practical moral problem of his life though it returns no answer to his speculative questionings.

P. F. RICHARDS

## NOTES

## Primitive Democracies

We have shown in a note in the March number of this Review that the ancient and medieval forms of democracy in the West and the East were different from its modern forms. Ancient democracies may be considered primitive and crude. But that is no reason why we should look down upon them, as being inferior in every respect to well-organised autocracies. We should never forget that

"the tendencies in the direction of democratic government do mark progress in social integration, however feeble may be the teleic power displayed. crude and imperfect as such governments may be, they are better than the worst of autocracies. Stupidity joined with benevolence is better than brilliancy joined with rapacity, and not only is autocracy always rapacious, but democracy is always benevolent." P. 279, *Outlines of Sociology*, by Lester F. Ward: New York, The Macmillan Company.

It has to be observed in this connection that though democracies as democracies are undoubtedly benevolent, they may under certain circumstances cease to be so in their treatment of dependent peoples; and then they become more dehumanising than the tyranny of individual despots.

## Personal Freedom and Slavery in Ancient Greece and Ancient India.

Democracy in ancient Greece took the form of "city-states," the characteristic of which was that all the citizens could assemble together in the city at regular intervals for legislative and other purposes. But the qualification for citizenship was rigorous; thus Pericles restricted citizenship to those who were the sons of an Athenian father, himself a citizen, and an Athenian mother. "This system excluded not only all the slaves, who were more numerous than the free population, but also resident aliens, subject allies, and those Athenians whose descent did not satisfy this criterion."

In ancient India the slaves formed an insignificant fraction of the population. But it was not merely in the small number of slaves that ancient Indian society was

superior to ancient Greek society. The status of slaves here was higher and their treatment better than in ancient Greece and Rome and in the plantations of Christian slave owners.

In his "Buddhist India" Prof. Rhys Davids divides the people into the four social grades of Kshatriyas, Brahmanas, Vaisyas, and Sudras. Below all four, that is below the Sudras, we have mention of other "low tribes" and "low trades"—*hina-jatiyo* and *hina-sippami*. "Finally we hear in both Jain and Buddhist books of aboriginal tribes, Chandalas and Pukkusa, who were more despised even than these low tribes and trades." Besides the above, says the author, "who were all free-men," there were also slaves: "individuals had been captured in predatory raids and reduced to slavery, or had been deprived of their freedom as a judicial punishment; or had submitted to slavery of their own accord. Children born to such slaves were also slaves; and the emancipation of slaves is often referred to. But we hear nothing of such later developments of slavery as rendered the Greek mines, the Roman *lati fundia*, or the plantations of Christian slave-owners, scenes of misery and oppression. For the most part the slaves were household servants, and not badly treated; and their numbers seem to have been insignificant." According to the report of Megasthenes "all the Indians are free," and "not one of them is a slave." On this Prof. Rhys Davids observes that the evidence of Megasthenes "only shows how very little the sort of slavery then existing in India would strike a foreigner accustomed to the sort of slavery then existing in Greece."

In the development of political theory and the practice of citizenship, according to modern ideas, ancient Greece and Rome surpassed ancient India. But a far larger proportion of the people enjoyed natural human freedom in ancient India than in ancient Greece or Rome. The Sanskrit word *Dasa* means a slave and also refers to Sudras in general. This has led many



able, practicable and just' But if our political opponents think that it is 'the moon' in politics, we present to them the observations of Lord Acton on the need and utility of such a moon In our opinion it is only the absolute independence of India which can be described as 'a remote and ideal object' Our political opponents are guilty of excess or exaggeration when they assert that nothing but personal rule or nothing but the bureaucratic system of government can suit India Both in theory and in practice they persisted in this opinion so long that the counterbalancing excess or exaggeration made its appearance a decade ago in the desire for absolute independence which was given the name of extremism It was obvious that extremism in one direction led to extremism in a contrary direction, but this our political opponents would not admit However is Indian extremism, except among a few revolutionaries, has made room for the reasonable practicable and just demand for Home Rule, Anglo Indian extremism should also agree to meet us half way

Anglo Indians are probably to a man opposed to Indian Home Rule Among Indians too there are those who are opposed to it To both these classes of opponents we appeal to name some 'remote and ideal object' which would captivate the imagination by its splendour and the reason by its simplicity and evoke 'an energy' which could not otherwise be evoked Let them supply that abstract idea or ideal state whose attraction 'can unite in a common action multitudes who seek a universal cure for many special evils and a common restorative applicable to many different conditions' In our opinion Home Rule is a cure for many special political and economic evils and a restorative applicable to many different conditions

### "Stake in the Country"

The Home Rule agitation being at its strongest in the Madras Presidency it is natural that various sorts of opponents of the desire for self rule should make their appearance there Among them are men with a 'stake in the country' We do not wish to indulge in the trite pleasantry of asking how many acres make a visacre but we wish to ascertain who are really

the men who have the greatest stake in the country We know, of course, that when certain animals are kept tied to stakes driven deep into the soil, they cannot move forward But it would be incorrect to conclude therefrom that the logically true converse proposition would be that those individuals who are absolutely incapable of progress or are the least capable or desirous of progress have the biggest stakes in the country

We do not think that big landholders and wealthy capitalists are the only men who have a stake in the country or that their stake is the biggest We are supported in this opinion by what Lord Acton thought He felt strongly that the stake in the country argument really applied with the fullest force to the poor, for while political error means mere discomfort to the rich it means to the poor the loss of all that makes life noble and even of life itself As he says in one of his published letters

The men who pay wages ought not to be the political masters of those who earn them for laws should be adapted to those who have the heaviest stake in the country for whom misgovernment means not mortified pride or stunted luxury but want and pain and degradation and risk to the crown lives and to the rich lives a soul

So long as the Indian ryots artisans and labourers themselves are not sufficiently educated to organise themselves and stand up for their rights like the labouring class in Western countries their spokesmen and champions can be found chiefly among the educated independent middle class, and to some extent among educated and capable landholders and capitalists Government can have no difficulty in recognising this fact For it has passed tenancy legislation to protect the peasantry against those men among the landholding class who are greedy and grasping and also grandmotherly Court of Wards legislation to protect incapable landholders against themselves

### Motor Cars for Commissioners in the U P

Recent discussions in the Imperial and Provincial Legislative Councils have more than their usual importance In many cases there has been much plain speaking both on the part of the officials and on that of the non official members In fact the issues between bureaucracy

d noticed as "white niggers." Yet among these very men so intolerant of anything approaching the assertion of a spirit of liberty by any Asiatic people, there were some who could well appreciate and sympathise with the aspirations of European bondsmen, and could regard with admiration the struggles of the Italian, the Switzer or the Pole to liberate himself by a sanguinary contest from the yoke of the usurper. But the sight of the dark skin sealed up their sympathies. They contended not merely that the love of country, that the spirit of liberty as cherished by European races, is in India wholly unknown but that Asiatic nations and especially the nations of India have no right to judge what is best for themselves, have no right to revolt against the beneficence of a more civilised race of white men who would think and act for them and deprive them for their own good of all their most cherished rights and their most valued possessions."

We are sure there are very many Englishmen now who would be ashamed to give expression to such sentiments.

In our February and April numbers we have drawn attention to and commented upon the Premier's previous declarations to the effect that the present war was a fight for human liberty and that the world stood on the verge of the greatest liberation that has been seen since the French Revolution. On the 6th April he dictated to the American Press Representative the following message to the American people, on behalf of the War Cabinet —

"America at one bound has become a world power in a sense she never was before. She waited until she found the cause was worthy of her traditions" and the American people held back until they were fully convinced that the fight was not a sordid scrimmage for power or possessions but an unselfish struggle to overthrow a sinister conspiracy against human liberty and human right. Once that conviction was reached the great republic of the west leapt into the arena and she stands now side by side with the European democracies, who, bruised and bleeding after three years of grim conflict, are still fighting most savagely for the ever-menaced freedom of the world. The glowing phrases of the President's noble deliverance illumine the horizon and make clearer than ever the goal we are striving to reach. There are three phrases which will stand out for evermore in the story of this crusade. The first is: The world must be safe for democracy. The next is: The menace to the power of freedom lies in the existence of autocratic Governments, backed by organised force which is controlled by their will and not by the will of their people. The crowning phrase is that in which the President declares: A steadfast concert for peace can never be maintained except by a partnership of democratic nations. These words represent the faith which inspires and sustains our people in the tremendous sacrifices they have made and are still making. They also believe that the unity and peace of mankind can only rest upon democracy upon the right of those who submit to authority to have a voice in their own Government upon respect for the rights and liberties

of nations both great and small and upon the universal dominion of public right. To all these Prussian military autocracy is an implacable foe. The Imperial War Cabinet, representative of all the peoples of the British Empire, wish me on their behalf to recognise the bravery and courage which calls the people of the United States to dedicate their whole resources to the service of the greatest cause which ever engaged human endeavour.

We are in the heartiest agreement with the political ideal which has found expression in the Premier's message. We only hope that the principles of democracy will not be confined in their application only to the white and the occidental population of the earth and to Japan, but that the other races inhabiting the vast countries of Asia and Africa will have the advantage of democratic ideals. Mr Lloyd George is quite right in holding that "the unity and peace of mankind can only rest upon democracy, upon the right of those who submit to authority to have a voice in their government, upon respect for the rights and liberties of nations, both great and small, and upon the universal dominion of public right. But unless the peoples of Asia and Africa are governed according to these democratic principles, there cannot be "peace and unity of mankind." There can be no unity between bondsmen and their masters. And if Asia and Africa continue to be considered the happy hunting ground of the strongest nations of the earth, there will always be quarrels about the portions to be possessed and exploited by them. But if democratic principles are given effect to everywhere, there cannot be any such quarrels. Moreover, as under such conditions the protected backward peoples cannot but be sincerely attached to their protectors, there will be less temptation for robber nations to wage war in the expectation of rebellions breaking out among the subject peoples.

That democracy means lasting peace was emphasized by Mr Lloyd George in his speech before the American Luncheon Club also. He said

When this War began two-thirds of Europe was under the sway of autocratic rule. It is the other way about now, and democracy means peace. (Cheers).

The democracy of France did not want war. The democracy of Italy hesitated long before entering the war and the democracy of Britain shrank from it and shuddered and would never have entered the cauldron but for the invasion of Belgium. Democracy sought peace and strove for peace and if Prussia had been a democracy there would have been no war. (Cheers).

any class, we must, so far as in us lies, try our best to give equality of opportunity to all classes of our countrymen. Freedom all round, should be our motto. Social opinion has its police value in keeping men in the right path. But the ideal man is not he whom fear of the police or of society keeps straight; self-reverence ought to suffice to make a man what he ought to be. But whatever may be the value of social opinion, social tyranny is a curse. Like other kinds of tyranny, it dehumanises and makes cowards of its victims.

### "Strong Political and National Feelings" and Caste.

Some political reformers have been convinced of the need of social reform for the political enfranchisement of India. Social reformers, too, may persuade themselves to believe that the strengthening of political and national feelings can bring about social reform. In the last note we have given a concrete example to show how this may come about. The underlying reason will be understood from the following passage extracted from an address delivered by Sir K. G. Bhandarkar as President of the Aryan Brotherhood Conference, Bombay:—

"The germs of the caste system existed among the nations of the West. There were no inter-marriages between the Patricians and the Plebeians of ancient Rome for a long time, and there were traces even amongst the Greeks, Germans and Russians of the same prohibition and of not eating together. But these traces disappeared in the course of time among those nations, while they have had a luxuriant growth in India until they have developed into a mighty and extensive banyan tree casting the dark shadow of its branches over every province, city and village of India, and what is the reason? This is what Mr. Stuart, a French scholar who has written an essay on 'Caste,' says on the subject.

"The growth of strong political and national feeling constantly tended in the West to weaken and at last succeeded in removing these (caste) restrictions."

"He suggests that absence of such feelings in India may be one reason why the disabilities have not also there been gradually softened away. Not only have political and national feelings not grown among us, but whatever rudiments of those feelings existed at and before the time of Buddha have on the contrary softened away, and now there is no trace of them."

In Japan caste existed before the new era. Strong political life and feeling put an end to it, or it may be that caste was destroyed partly in order to strengthen and consolidate national life;—it does not

matter which. In India, too, a genuine national and political feeling may help in killing caste, and social reform may foster the growth of real national and political life.

### The Services Commission and the late Mr. Gokhale

The majority report of the Public Services Commission says: "We...are confident that in many of our recommendations the spirit of his [Mr. Gokhale's] counsels will be found reflected"! Mr. Ramsay MacDonald has also written:

Mr. Gokhale came and saw me frequently during the last days he spent in this country, and though then dissatisfied on some points almost exclusively concerned with the minimum proportions of Indians assigned to some of the Services, he was in complete agreement with the scheme we had devised for Indian candidates for the Indian Civil Service, and as the Commission subsequently made alterations which went some way to meet his views, I am of opinion that he would have added his signature to ours, and would have contented himself by appending memoranda of his own, indicating detailed points of disagreement.

Whereupon Mr. Gandhi along with Mr. C. F. Andrews, who had been to see him at Motihari, has issued the following:—

"We would wish to give our own personal evidence in answer to Mr. Ramsay MacDonald's suggestion that Mr. Gokhale would probably have signed the majority report of the Public Services Commission if he had lived. We have both of us distinct recollection of Mr. Gokhale himself saying that though he had not given up all hope of bringing the other members of the Commission, or at least some of them, to his point of view, yet he was afraid that he would be obliged in the end to draw up a minority report in conjunction with Mr. Abdur Rahim."

Mr. MacDonald must have misunderstood Mr. Gokhale; we are unwilling to believe that he is guilty of deliberate falsehood. In any case, to bring in the name of Mr. Gokhale can serve no good purpose. Supposing the greatest patriot among us makes a mistake, we are not sheep that we shall blindly follow him. The Public Services Commission has been worse than a waste of time, energy and money. Both Government and the people should give it a decent burial, if possible, and proceed to reconstruct the Services in entire disregard of its Report.

### Education in England.

According to the Viceroy and other rulers of India, the true of the Secretary of State for India and British Cabinet ministers "is fully occupied with the immediate task of bringing this war to

a victorious conclusion." That may be true in the main. Nevertheless British statesmen are able to spare time for the solution of the Irish problem, the problem of national education in Great Britain, &c. Regarding education Reuter has sent the following telegrams —

LONDON, April 19th

In the House of Commons, Dr Fisher, introducing the estimates, which are three millions eight hundred and twenty nine thousand above those of last year, emphasised the necessity for removing deficiencies in our education system as revealed by the war — "Reuter"

London, April 20th

Dr Fisher scored a triumph in the House of Commons yesterday, and his proposals were unanimously approved. They are described as marking a new educational era. The bulk of increase in the Estimates is due to the increase in teachers' salaries. The proposals include the raising of the school age to fourteen, development of agricultural education in village schools, liberal scholarship and maintenance grants for the poor in secondary schools and universities, reduction of multiplicity of examinations, and national physical training — "Reuter"

Reuter had previously cabled to India a summary of the report of the British Departmental Committee on Juvenile Education, in which among other things the committee recommended the introduction of compulsory full education up to the age of 14 years, and partial up to 18, with a proposal that State grants should be very substantially increased. We now see that the State grants have actually been substantially increased.

Educationally England is far ahead of India, and the war is certainly not a more absorbing problem in India than in England. But whereas in England they have money, energy and attention to spare to be devoted to the extension and improvement of education, here in India every excuse is taken advantage of to delay the solution of our educational problems and to cut down educational expenditure.

In India it is taken for granted that education must be suited to a pupil's station in life,—whatever that may mean, and that it is not to the interest of poor students to have University education; in England Dr. Fisher's proposals include "the construction of an educational ladder from the elementary school through the secondary school to the University." In certain districts of Bengal boys from primary schools have been actually refused admission into high schools.

It is quite true that improvement in any

direction is dependent on improvement in all other directions. But no kind of reform or improvement to any marked extent is possible in India without universal national education. Universal national education is impossible without universal literacy. We must do our best to make every one literate. He who will not do his bit in this direction, has no right to pose as a critic or a patriot.

### China's Final Blow to Opium.

*The Journal of Race Development*, published by the Clark University, U. S. A., discusses the question of the opium traffic in China and says —

'Anticipating the end of the opium connection with Great Britain, the Chinese Government recently communicated with the British Minister in Peking, requesting that a British envoy be deputed to China to head an investigation into the opium suppression campaign in China. At the same time circulars were sent to all the provinces preparing them for the impending complete extirpation of the traffic as follows (1) All the opium plantations in the land were ordered to be swept away during a period of three months from September to November, 1916; (2) the trading in opium had to be entirely stopt between December, 1916, and March, 1917, (3) smoking of opium is to cease in a period of three months from March to June, 1917."

That there has been a moral awakening in China is shown by the fact that these provisions have been received with popular favour.

"Bonfires have been frequent since these orders went into effect, the Chinese Opium Prohibition Bureau, at Kalgan, making perhaps one of the most spectacular affairs. A large quantity of opium was gathered together with all the opium smoking instruments the officials could lay their hands on, invitations were issued, and a delegate from the National Opium Prohibition Union was requested to come as a witness. The acting president, Mr. An Ming, responded, and the ceremony proceeded in due and thorough order, lasting from eight in the morning to one in the afternoon, with the civil governor of Kalgan, the police authorities, and citizens from all neighbouring sections an enthusiastic audience. This is typical of scenes being enacted in many parts of China."

Vested interests did not, however, surrender without a struggle, though the Chinese Government could neither be bribed nor frightened into giving up their principles.

"The Shanghai Opium Committee, the only legal surviving distributor of opium, having secured a license to carry on its traffic until March 31, 1917, in the provinces of Kwangtung, Kiangsu, and Kiangsi. To their bribe of \$16,000,000 for the privilege of an extension, to their threat of withholding their extra duty of \$1,750 per case, the Government has lent a deaf ear. The opium

must go and as quickly as possible. The threat of the Combine to stop the payment of the additonal duty even if it is carried out—which is unlikely—would only mean a loss to the Government of something like \$5,000,000. According to trustworthy information the Combine can sell between October 1916 and the 31st of March 1917, three thousand cases at a valuation of \$3,000 per case which would give the Government a revenue of \$3,000,000, a small sacrifice where the physical and moral welfare of the country are at stake. And President Li and his Cabinet have lost no time in declaring that there shall be no compromise.

At a meeting at Caxton Hall to wind up the Society for the Suppression of Opium Trade, Bishop Brent paid a tribute to the power China had shown in ridding herself of the terrible incubus of the opium trade even during a great revolution. Only those who knew the Chinese at close quarters could appreciate their wonderful potentiality as a nation.

The Chinese Minister said that the Chinese Government would not rest until even clandestine opium smoling had been entirely stopped.

### China Waking Up

*The Indian Witness* the Methodist organ in Upper India, says that General Li Yuan Hun, president of the Chinese Republic, has suppressed lotteries in Canton and other cities and refused an offer of £3,000,000 for the sale of opium in Shanghai after March 31st, and observes: "The Chinese Republic may yet put to shame some of the older governments that lay claim to high principles and righteousness." Lotteries in aid of the War Loan are being promoted in our midst.

There are some other signs of China's awakening of a different kind, noted by the Peking correspondent of the *North China Daily News* of Shanghai. He writes:

The President's visit to Pootungfu yesterday is suggestive of the process of development slowly but surely taking place in China. A thousand students graduated at the Military Academy in the old capital of Chihli and the President went one hundred miles by train to attend the graduating exercises leaving at 9 A.M. and returning at 4 P.M. There are contained three facts remarkable because they are indicative of a state of things inconceivable in China a generation ago.

The least significant fact is that it is possible to journey a hundred miles from Peking into the interior to do solid business at one's destination and to return to the capital all within a few hours.

Next comes the fact that one thousand young Chinese of the better classes have just completed a military education of a modern character fitting them for commissioned rank.

It is the ruler of the State who is waking up

and out of his palace drives along streets in his motor brogues through crowds at railway stations makes a popular address to a crowd of lads and all the time is doing what everybody thinks natural and proper.

Truly the times are changing. This trip of the President is indicative of nothing less than a revolution of thought in the mind of China, a revolution of which the possibilities are equally endless and encouraging.

### Material for Paper Pulp in India

In a paper read before the Indian section of the Society of Arts on the economic development of Indian forest products, Mr R S Pearson, Imperial Forest Economist expressed the opinion that there was a large field for the development of bamboo and elephant grass as raw material for paper making in India.

Sir Robert Carlyle, who presided, said that he regarded the question of the development of the forests of India as a most important one. India needed an increase in revenue in order to meet the great need for larger expenditure in many directions—especially on education, agriculture and industry. Although the forests of India were equal in extent to those of Spain, Portugal and Belgium combined, they represented only three pence in the acre gross revenue. The development of the forests was impossible without expenditure. Good staff, the most advantageous use of the money, good roads and best machinery were all necessary.

We agree. But the staff should be Indian trained for the purpose. The industrial development of India in any fresh direction should not be made the occasion for *permanently* saddling the country with new white officials. In 'The Combined Civil List for India' corrected up to 1st January, 1916, among the names of 235 officers of the Imperial and Provincial Forest Departments, we have found only two or three Indian names. The number is probably the same now. In any case it cannot be more than half a dozen out of 235. The three Indian names are Gustasp Noshirvan, Framroz Rustumji Madan, and, probably, D L Sathe.

### Punjab Government's Attitude Towards Home Rule

At the last meeting of the Punjab Legislative Council held on the 25th April, the Lieutenant Governor turning to the Home Rule movement, said:

Honble Members will remember that some two months ago my Government passed orders forbidding two gentlemen, who were prominently identified with that propaganda from entering the province. I took that action not because I desire to stifle or repress any reasonable political discussion, but because I was and am convinced that an agitation for home rule in this province on the lines advocated by the leaders of the movement and as it would be interpreted by those to whom it would be addressed would stir up the dying embers of revolutionary fires which we have almost succeeded in extinguishing and set parts of the province in a blaze once more. I desire to make the attitude of the Government in this matter quite clear. The Government while opposed to any sudden or catastrophic constitutional change recognised there is a growing desire for an increased measure of self government.

As the law gives the Lieutenant Governor power to forbid any one to enter his province, he was technically within his rights in prohibiting the two gentlemen from entering the Panjab. But why did the Government order say that they intended to go to that province though they had no such intention? The people of the Panjab and their spokesmen would be able to say how far their ruler is justified in thinking that the Panjabis are so ill informed as to mistake a constitutional movement for self government for a revolutionary one, and how far such a mistake would "stir up the dying embers of revolutionary fires" and "set parts of the province in a blaze." From a distance the Lieutenant Governor's reading of the situation seems to us wrong.

It is not unsatisfactory that Sir Michael O'Dwyer's Government has advanced so far as to recognise that "there is a growing desire for an increased measure of self government." But is it enough merely to register such a recognition? Is it not necessary to satisfy that desire? Lord Chelmsford has paid high compliments to Sir Michael, and in return the latter repeats his lordship's dictum about catastrophic changes. But surely some non catastrophic changes may be made. May we know their character?

### Labour Emigration under Indenture

At the Interdepartmental Conference on Indentured Emigration of Indians to some colonies the only Indian who will be present to take part in the discussion is Sir S P Sinha. Other Indians, particularly those more conversant with the subject, ought to have been allowed to take part. Very few Bengali labourers emigrate to

Fiji, &c, as indentured coolies. Therefore, Indian members from the chief recruiting provinces, such as the U P, Madras, &c, should have been chosen. The presence of Messrs Gandhi, Andrews, &c, also would have lent weight to the deliberations of the conference.

That indentured emigration is to be abolished has already been promised by Government. What the Indian public have urged that it should be abolished immediately. The moral atmosphere in Fiji has become so foul and the white settlers there have grown so accustomed to treat the coolies like slaves that even free recruited labour must for years be unable to escape ill treatment and moral infection. The tradition and the atmosphere must change. That must be the work of a decade. Labour, moreover, is not at all abundant in India. We, therefore, cordially endorse Mr C F Andrews's changed opinion on the subject. He has sent the following statement to the Government of India for the Interdepartmental Conference in London to be held this month.

"I am aware that the conclusion I have reached on this subject must appear revolutionary, in the light of what I have written before. But I have been driven to it by what appears to me the inevitable logic of facts."

Originally I had a firm conviction that it was good for Indians even of the coolie class to emigrate. My one objection was to the indenture system itself and I expected that if the indenture system were removed other things would right themselves. But I have been forced step by step to the conclusion that at present any form of recruited emigration of the ordinary Indian villagers to far distant lands under strange conditions is likely to lead to great moral evils.

There are other grounds of objection to Indian recruited labour emigration. The political argument, for instance is very strong indeed. The economic argument also that India itself is short of labour, is not without weight. But the moral argument appears to me to go deepest. And as far as my own personal judgment is concerned, the verdict on that side is final.

It is difficult to set down in any detail the causes of this moral deterioration which I have noticed in South Africa and Fiji and I shall not attempt to do so. But it is easy to grasp the central fact that Indian village life is a very complex growth which needs much greater knowledge of its conditions before you can successfully transplant it. The following extract written by a Planter, who knew the conditions of Fiji, appears to me to go to the root of the matter—

"Coming to the actual conditions of the Fiji people it was clear that they could not be tolerated. The causes of the disgraceful depravity were indicated as—(1) the breaking of family life (2) the herding of the people together in barracks (3) no provision for the rites and customs of their own home surround

ings. It seems to me that the chief offenders were the Indian Government, who ought not to have sanctioned the emigration without themselves undertaking to provide the people which they would have had to do by transplanting bodily whole villages or a considerable part thereof.

Is any scheme for transplanting the whole village to Fiji is not a practical question. There seems no need to discuss it at this juncture. What now appears to me as certain is that, just as 'individual indentured labour recruiting' has failed in the past so in the long run 'family' recruiting would be a failure also though for a time it might mitigate the moral evil. It will be seen that this point goes far beyond the mere question of abolition of indenture.

In taking up this position I am well aware that I am going much further than anything published in Mr Pearson's and my Report on Fiji. I have not had any opportunity of going over with Mr Pearson the reasons which have led to this new conclusion and therefore I would wish it to be clearly understood that I speak only for myself. One point however should be noted viz.—how in the Report itself we urged that a break or pause of at least two years should be made in Fiji Indian labour before any new system were tried.

For my own part I can see that this suggestion was inadequate. My present opinion is that no alternative system of distant emigration of unskilled Indian labour is likely to succeed at present—at least of all in those countries which have suffered from the moral evils of indenture. The simpler problem of transplanting Indian labour within the borders of India itself should first be tried. Perhaps in some future generation a wider range of emigration under much more intelligent conditions may be undertaken by Government. But the acknowledged failure of the past should make us very careful before we start another State attempt in this direction.

### Baroda Caste Usages Bill

A draft bill has been recently published in Baroda under the orders of His Highness the Maharaja Gekwad for extending the jurisdiction of the civil courts so as to include certain caste questions within actionable matters under the civil laws. The object of the bill is laudable. It is to give redress to the progressive minority against caste tyranny. The preamble and some sections of the bill are extracted below.

Whereas Caste usages and practices are in vogue in this State which in course of time have lost their social value and now only hinder the physical, moral or material welfare of the people and whereas there exists a body of enlightened opinion in the castes whose usages and practices they are which revolts against them but is powerless to throw off their yoke and whereas it is expedient in the public interest to foster such enlightened opinion and help it to assert itself it is hereby enacted as follows—

(3) Notwithstanding anything contained in the civil Procedure Code a suit shall lie to declare that a specified usage or practice is such that it can no longer be enforced as the usage or practice of a specified caste, or that it can only be enforced with the modifications and limitations specified

And the court if satisfied that the usage or practice is such as—

(1) To offend against public morals and public policy, or (2) To unnecessarily restrict marriage within the caste or (3) To be ruinously expensive, or (4) To unnecessarily restrict the liberty of travel or (5) To hinder the physical, material or moral welfare of the members of the caste, or (6) That it has ceased to command the approval of a large minority of the caste including not less than one fourth of its total adult male members may make the required declaration qualified, if necessary by such modifications and limitations as may seem just and reasonable.

#### ILLUSTRATIONS.

##### Clause (1)

1 A does not observe the custom of lamentation and beating of breasts (by women) in public on the occasion of a death in the family, for which he is fined by the headmen of the caste.

2 A does not get the hair shaved off or the moustache and beard removed on completion of funeral obsequies and hence the invitation to caste (dinner) to A is stopped.

##### Clause (2)

1 A is fined for giving or accepting a girl in marriage beyond the caste (शीर्ष) generally agreed upon.

2 A person belonging to one sub-caste marries a girl of another sub-caste for which he is excommunicated.

##### Clause (3)

1 is excommunicated for not giving the prescribed number of caste dinners on occasions of marriage, funeral obsequies or consummation of marriage.

##### Clause (4)

It is resolved that A should pay a certain fine for foreign travel or sea voyage and that he is to be excommunicated on failure to pay it.

##### Clause (5)

A is excommunicated for not getting a girl married although she is past a certain age.

(6) A final judgment passed in terms of section 4 shall be published by posting copies of the same in every Chora or other public place in villages and towns included in the limits of the territorial jurisdiction of the court. On the due publication of the judgment so passed it shall be unlawful to do or coerce any member of the caste to do any act disallowed by the judgment and to omit or coerce any member of the caste to omit anything required to be done by the judgment.

(7) Whoever does any act which it is unlawful to omit under section 6 shall apart from any liability which he may incur for the act or omission under any other law for the time being in force be punished with simple imprisonment which may extend to six months and shall also be liable to fine.

The ideal method of social reform and of the redress of social grievances is that which depends on the change in social opinion brought about by education and by social reform propaganda. But it is a slow process. There is no reason why any person should suffer pecuniarily or be persecuted or be obliged to behave like a coward, because he does not, in matters of mere custom or usage, hold the

same opinions as his fellow castemen Baroda has, therefore, done well in introducing this bill. The position of the British Government is different. In British India we must overcome caste tyranny by the operation of enlightened public opinion and individual moral courage. But social tyranny must be killed if the general level of mindliness in thought and action in our country is to be equal to that of countries which are socially and politically the freest.

### State versus Company Management of Railways

The following editorial note appears in *The Statesman* of April 4:—

The Board of Trade regulation enabling the department to take over the English canals is one of the most important administrative measures of the war period. For thirty or forty years the British railway companies bought up the canals and killed their traffic to suit their own purposes while the administrative authorities looked on and did nothing to check the process. The Liberals, when they were out of office declared they would do something to revive the canals. A Commission was actually appointed when they returned but nothing practical came of it. The fact that action can now be taken is due to the nationalisation of the railway system. Germany's trade progress during the past thirty years has been due to many factors but hardly a single one of them is more important than the magnificent system of canals and canalised rivers which worked in co-operation with the State railways permits of through freights for goods at very low rates from every corner of Germany to all her ports and to all her internal trading centres.

Reading between the lines the intelligent readers will not find it at all difficult to understand how *The Statesman*, which has of late been so persistently averse to the assumption by the Government of the management of Railways in India, lest such a course of action on its part leads to inefficiency of control, is in full sympathy with the idea of State control not only of Railways but also of Canals in England, in imitation of the system obtaining in Germany where efficiency is the watchword. *O si sic omnia*. The reason for this seemingly inconsistent attitude on the part of an Anglo-Indian journal is, however, not far to seek—the trick is too transparent to escape undetected India, according to our contemporary, is nothing else but the exploiting ground for Englishmen of all classes and conditions and here Railways managed by the Companies go to swell their pockets while their State control and

State working cannot but, for obvious reasons, benefit to some extent the poor Indian taxpayer in various ways, and this is too much for a self-seeking Anglo-Indian to bear with journal calmness and equanimity. This is the whole secret of the business. It is not that our friend lacks in intelligent appreciation of things, but it is that he lacks in sympathy and magnanimity in discussing questions affecting the interests of the vast majority of His Majesty's Indian subjects. R M

### Vacation Work for Hon'ble Members.

At the last meeting of the Bengal Legislative Council Lord Ronaldshay is reported to have observed—

I would venture to suggest to Hon'ble Members that they might find some useful work during the Council vacation in turning over in their own minds methods by which further funds might be collected by the Government and in going round their constituencies and in educating constituents upon that point so that if the time does come when the Imperial Government consider it wise and right to impose further taxes for the prosecution of further reforms then the people will have been educated up to it and they will more readily consent to additional taxation. That is only a suggestion I throw out as to how Hon'ble Members might usefully employ their spare time during the Council vacation.

It may be taken for granted that His Excellency the Governor of Bengal did not throw out this suggestion in a playful mood.

There is no question that more money ought to be spent on general, agricultural, industrial, technical and commercial education, on sanitation, and agricultural and industrial development, in order to bring Bengal to an equal level with the advanced countries of the world. But how to find the money? The official solution of the difficulty lies in additional taxation. But is the country economically in a position to bear more taxation? The non-official answer is in the negative. If the people cannot afford to pay more taxes how can the efforts of honourable members make them acquiesce in additional taxation? No persuasive words of the honourable gentlemen can increase the incomes of the people. If their incomes increase, they can pay more taxes. But increase of income depends on the improvement and extension of agriculture and on industrial development. But these themselves depend on additional expenditure. It is a vicious circle. The solution lies to



some extent in retrenchment of expenditure and in the application of the proceeds of all taxes to the objects for which they were levied. For instance for years the receipts from the Road Cess and the Public Works Cess were not spent entirely on the objects for which they were levied. Lord Carmichael agreed to set right this diversion of funds from their proper objects. Some of these objects were rural water supply, rural drainage and construction of village roads. If the money collected for these purposes had been throughout rightly spent Bengal would have been healthier than it is, thus increasing the people's earning capacity and agricultural produce would have been easier to transport than now.

It has been repeatedly pointed out that both civil and military expenditure has increased more rapidly than the growth of revenue warranted. The older territorial distribution of the country was more economical than what obtains at present. But even keeping the territorial boundaries exactly as they are at present all the Commissionerships may be abolished. They do not exist in Madras and Madras is not less efficiently governed than any other province. If democratic principles were largely followed in Indian administration there would be less sedition and therefore expenditure on the secret and other police services could be reduced. We have shown in our last number how better education and better sanitation would reduce crime and at the same time increase the earning power and tax-bearing capacity of the people. It is therefore, practicable to reduce police expenditure by direct and indirect means. It is undoubtedly a more urgent and important duty to improve and extend education and sanitation than to divide districts and increase expenditure by appointing new magistrates, judges, police superintendents and constructing new office buildings for new district headquarters. Unquestionably executive officers have now more duties to discharge than formerly. But the proper remedy lies in the extension of local self-government not in the multiplication of officers and districts. The public should be trusted and entrusted with more work. The European servants in India as they are called are the most extravagantly paid services in the world as we have shown more than once.

And because the Europeans servants of the crown are paid extravagant salaries Indian public servants have to be paid on a more liberal scale than the 'market prices' of professional labour would require. The most important means of retrenchment would be to replace all European officers except the few whose services might be indispensable for the time being by Indian officers. Justice also demands that this should be done and moreover, India is too poor a country to be able to bear the burden of the most highly paid services in the world. The employment of Indians would also increase the efficiency of the administration as they would be in greater sympathy with the aims and aspirations of the people and more amenable to public opinion.

Lord Ronaldshay speaks of a time when the Imperial Government may consider it wise and right to impose further taxes. As we find the British Premier and other British statesmen repeatedly declaring that the present War is a war for the vindication and safeguarding of democratic principles it may not be considered impertinent if we suggest that the people of this country be allowed in pursuance of democratic methods to have an effective voice in determining when it may be wise and right to impose further taxes for the prosecution of further reforms. Lord Curzon and men of his school are of opinion that as the British Government is responsible for the good government of India and as good government is possible only if the British spirit and British methods are followed and as further, British officers alone can be imbued with the proper British spirit and follow British methods hence there ought to be a great preponderance of British officers in all services requiring the power of control initiative &c. It is not our purpose to examine this contention here. What we say is that the spirit of the British constitution requires that there should be no taxation without representation, and that the people should control all expenditure. So we desire that these British principles should be followed in India. We do not want anything un-British. In fact we desire nothing more than to exercise what Mr. Lloyd George describes as 'the right of those who submit to authority to have a voice in their own Government.'

### Prof Chandrabhushan Bhaduri

Professor Chandrabhushan Bhaduri has retired from the Presidency College after 30 years' service. His name is not as well known as it ought to be. He has been literally a silent worker and has never advertised himself or asked his friends to do so. As his old pupils and admirers say in their farewell address, he is "one of the makers of modern chemistry in Bengal." The cause of chemical science, and especially its technical side, has always been sacred to you. Both in the College and beyond, you have ever sought to advance the knowledge and practice of chemistry. When the story of the development of the chemical industry in Bengal comes to be written, your name, sir, is sure of obtaining a high rank as one of its early promoters and pioneers. The Bengal Chemical and Pharmaceutical Works and the Bengal Miscellany owe their inception and subsequent success and reputation in a great measure to yourself. Prof Bhaduri had no training in foreign lands, and had not the advantage of practical training in any factory. Yet he succeeded in mastering many manufacturing methods, adapting them to Indian conditions, and in erecting large sulphuric acid and other plants. Dr P C Ray, who presided over the meeting at which the farewell addresses were given to Prof Bhaduri, bore remarkable testimony to his character and talents. Prof Ray said that Prof Bhaduri was the greatest master of practical chemistry in India. Coming from such a source this is high praise indeed. And yet this expert began life as a demonstrator on Rs 40 per mensem and ended his career in the provincial service. Dr Ray said that when he first joined service in the Presidency College Mr Bhaduri used to work for 12 hours a day, and that his own success as a professor and experimenter was due not a little to the help received from the latter. Prof Bhaduri is now busy as ever, with various projects, a spirit distillery being one of them. He is nearing 60. He at present works for 14 or 15 hours a day. His heart's desire is the establishment of a small laboratory for the carrying on of experiments in industrial chemistry, so that before large scale commercial production is commenced, processes and methods may be thoroughly tested.

### 'Step by Step'

In the course of his reply to the address presented to the Viceroy in Lahore by the Sikhs His Excellency said:

I sympathise whole heartedly with Indian aspirations and I hope it will be my lot, during my period of office to assist them to find greater scope. But let me repeat here a warning which it is my duty constantly to reiterate in these times of exuberant political activities when people's minds are disturbed and opinions are unsettled by the conflict and crash of Empires—let me repeat that the ideal which is best suited for India is not so much rapid progress as steady progress. Do not expect violent changes. If progress is to be sure it must be consolidated step by step.

This is similar to what the Viceroy said in reply to the address of the Indian Association in Calcutta.

The growing self-respect and self-consciousness of her people are plants that we ourselves have watered and if the blossom is not always what we expect it is not for us to blame the plant. There are doubtless some of you who think our footsteps halting and our progress slow but I should be dishonest if I held out any hope that progress will be rapid. Neither the British constitution nor the British temperament is fond of catastrophic changes nor are such changes consistent with development on sound and healthy lines. Progress should be steady and sure and in regard to it I believe that my views are in close harmony with those of my predecessor who was so happy as to win the confidence of India and using Lord Hardinge's words I hope some day to see India hold a position of equality to the longest sister nations of which the British Empire is composed.

What the Viceroy said in the Punjab might have been more appropriate if uttered in Petrograd.

If a man is lying still it is superfluous to tell him that he must not run too fast. If a man is accustomed to ride he may be warned not to gallop at a breakneck pace, but such advice is unnecessary in the case of one who has not got a horse and therefore does not propose to ride.

The Viceroy speaks of 'the ideal which is best suited for India' being "not so much rapid progress as steady progress. Do not expect violent changes. If progress is to be sure it must be consolidated step by step." We do not believe that India is outside the world. We believe the pace of progress which suits Japan and the Philippines will suit India too. Has not progress been sure and has it not been consolidated in Japan and the Philippines? The most irrefutable argument in the armoury of our rulers is the peculiarity of India. It is irrefutable because really there is no other country in the world

In the state of Nature, if the environment be favorable, then there is progress if unfavorable, then there is degeneration. But in the case of man,

"It is by resisting the environment that man has attained those qualities of mind and heart which differentiate him from other animals, and not by yielding to it; and that man progresses on the principle of resistance and not on that of adaptation. Evolution produced the ape effort has produced man." P. 93

It is not so much by evolution as effort that social progress takes place. The same writer has pointed out that—

'Society is not an organism. It differs from an organism in the following essential particulars:

The units of an organism have no individual existence; they are parts essential to the whole and exist for the sake of the whole.

The units of a society have an individual existence.

How nearly a government can attain perfection depends upon the individual character of those subject to it and how nearly the individual character can attain perfection depends to a great extent upon the government to which it is subjected. These two factors cannot be treated apart; one is a function of the other.

And so, even if it be taken for granted that we have not "evolved" sufficiently in the right direction to be fit for even a qualified form of self-government, our Government is to blame to a very great extent for such a state of things.

#### PROGRESS AND ECONOMIC CONDITIONS

There can be no progress unless the economic conditions of a society are bettered. The celebrated founder of continental socialism Karl Marx's proposition was

That in every historical epoch the prevailing mode of economic production and exchange and the social organization necessarily following from it form the basis upon which it is built up and from which alone can be explained the political and intellectual history of that epoch.

Again, he wrote —

Social life at any one time is the result of an economic evolution.

Demolins a French writer, maintains that the majority of different racial characteristics are the results of socio-economic changes which are themselves referable to physico-economic causes.

Prof. Seligman also writes that

'The more civilized the society, the more moral its mode of life. But to become more civilized permit the moral ideals to percolate through socially lower strata of the population we must have an economic basis to render it possible. With very improvement in the material condition of the

great mass of the population there will be an opportunity for the unfolding of a higher moral life, but not until the economic conditions of society become far more ideal will the ethical development of the individual have a free field for limitless progress.' Seligman's *Economic Interpretation of History*, p. 132.

in the records of the past the moral uplift of humanity has been closely connected with its social and economic progress and that the ethical ideals of the community which can alone bring about any lasting advance in civilization, have been erected on and rendered possible by the solid foundation of material prosperity. *Ibid* pp. 133-134.

#### Equal Opportunities

In reply to the address of the Moslem community the Viceroy said in Lahore

Do not forget that the policy of Government is always one of equal opportunities and that the benefits to be derived from equal opportunities can only be realised if all classes are equally zealous to make the best of the opportunities which are given them. When it can be shown that the opportunities are not equal there is a case for the Government to help but when they are equal then it is for the community to take action and the Government is powerless.

We agree. Only "all classes" ought in our opinion to include Anglo Indians, in both the old and new senses. Indians do not enjoy equal opportunities with them.

#### 'Time Fully Occupied'

In reply to the address of the Punjab Chief's Association at Lahore the Viceroy observed

It is impossible for me as I have said on former occasions to discuss questions which are under the consideration of the Secretary of State and with regard to which we can hardly expect an answer from those whose time is fully occupied in the immediate task of bringing this war to a victorious conclusion.

This is true to a considerable extent, though it may not be entirely and literally correct. It is also true, however, that the question of Irish Home Rule, the problem of national education, the problem of bringing British laborers 'brick to the land, etc., are receiving attention in England. But we may be expected to be satisfied with the Viceroy's reply seeing that India does not count to the same extent as, for instance, Ireland does.

#### Soldiers and Officers

Referring to the desire of many young men of the better educated class to become commissioned officers in the army, Lord Chelmsford said in his reply to the address of the Punjab Chief's Association:

If the number coming forward for service proves large enough to justify the formation of a unit in the

But ab- you may rest assured that every opportunity will be given to enable those enrolled to qualify themselves for advancement according to their natural aptitudes. I need hardly remind you how ever that they must be trained as soldiers before they can aspire to be officers and that in the army as in other walks of life people must learn to walk before they can expect to run.

We do not remember to have ever read or heard that any Indian ever wanted to run before he had learned to walk. If any body knows of any such man of course outside a lunatic asylum it would be interesting to make his acquaintance. We are sure the Viceroy has been misinformed if he has been told there are such men in India.

Young men in India want to be commissioned officers just in the same way as young Englishmen get such posts that is to say after receiving an officer's training they do not want to be appointed straight from their desks to the command of regiments. In England men do not generally receive first a private's training then a private's experience of actual fighting then an officer's training and last an officer's commission though many rise from the ranks. Eligible young men there are trained to be officers. So far as Indians are concerned there is no possibility for the best trained and most experienced privates to receive a King's commission nor is there any institution for training our young men to become commissioned officers we mean officers holding the King's commission.

We do not know why Lord Chelmsford has failed correctly to understand the exact aspiration of those of our young men who want to become officers. But in order that there may not be any further misconception in future we may repeat that they want to undergo exactly the same training as is given to British young men at Sandhurst or at Quetta, Sargur and Wellington that they want to undergo exactly the same tests (except that of race) as young Englishmen undergo and that they want to receive the King's commissions. They do not in the best want things to be made easy for them.

#### Mr C R Das's insinuations against Sir Rabindranath Tagore

The address delivered by Mr C R Das from the presidential chair of the Bengal Provincial Conference contains several insinuations against Sir Rabindranath

Tagore. It is not our purpose to attempt to deal with all of them. In fact we should not have felt it necessary to notice any of them had not Mr Das spoken from the presidential chair of the Bengal Provincial Conference and mentioned the *Modern Review* by name as the source of his information and if there had been any protests from the delegates. As he has not given any reference to any particular issue page and passage of this Review which in fairness he ought to have done we are unable to argue with him. He admits that he has not read the whole of Sir Rabindranath Tagore's address (which of the several addresses delivered by the poet in America he means he does not say—probably he refers to *The Cult of Nationalism*) he also says that for that reason he has probably formed a wrong idea of the address but nevertheless he has not been able to resist the temptation of making ungenerous insinuations against the poet. The presidentship of the Bengal Provincial Conference is a responsible position. As Mr Das was chosen to fill that position he ought to have tried to ascertain whether any copy of the complete address was available for perusal. But we do not think he made any such endeavour. We know if he had made the attempt he could have got a copy. Only a few brief extracts have appeared in our review. Some comments have also appeared. They may supply material for discussion. But nothing has been published in our pages which can justify Mr Das's insinuations.

Mr Das insinuates that Rabindranath's knighthood has debased him. Sir Rabindranath is no longer the lover of his country which plain Rabindranath was. To all who know the poet and have read his past and recent utterances and works this must appear as a most grotesquely absurd insinuation. We are sure it was unworthy of the chair Mr Das occupied.

Every one in Bengal knows that nobody made much of the poet's knighthood—neither himself nor his friends and admirers. As Mr Das seems to read our Review we may be allowed to ask him to draw correct conclusions from the following passages among others.

Apparently, he cares precious little for his title of English knighthood and the degree of doctorate. Indeed, he seems to

regard them with half amusement (*The Modern Review* February, 1917, p 218)

No sentiment seems to command him as loyally as loyalty to India itself. This loyalty is no mere academic formula, no pose but a reality. It is with him something vivid tangible. It is something alive practical fit to live and work for. I shall be born in India again and again remarked Tagore with a smile lighting up his face. With all her poverty misery and wretchedness I love India best. (Ibid p 220)

These two extracts are from an article by Rabindranath Tagore.

As for Rabindranath's address on the Cult of Nationalism we are sorry to be unable to give an idea of it in a few sentences. *The Seattle Post Intelligencer* in September, 26 1916 said of it in time to

It would be impossible to separate the committee's closely knit and scourge and pitiable that without doing great wrong to the rivalry between large space universally and colleges and world of constant to a single could be imbued mass. The individual is in of furthering nation and all nations' souls' of now separated into power-ware of the opinion

One more sentence exists and result that is that in Portland, Oregon for which this same address does not blame either Indian relations, its affiliated colleges Portland Oregon against harmful rivalry fortunate that we think healthy emulation impression of safety and beneficial. In cut

Dr Das' words of harmful rivalry has glorified this emulation been also made of some? We do not think it was because the power of the members of the committee all competent men and some enjoying deserved eminence to discover a *via media*. It cannot be contended that it is the rivalry between the university and some colleges which alone can be harmful rivalry between college and college in teaching for the I A I Sc H A & B Sc examinations is more extensive and is possibly harmful. This harmful rivalry has to be eliminated or minimized while the healthy spirit of emulation and co-operation should be conserved and stimulated. This is a problem for the university to solve and its solution if achieved might have pointed way to the means of destroying harmful rivalry in post graduate teaching and encouraging healthy emulation and co-operation. As the committee has dealt

to record obituary of post graduate teaching in Calcutta, not in the most satisfactory way they might have followed to a greater extent the methods in vogue in the colleges and universities of Oxford and Cambridge than they have done.

And this leads us to say that they have adopted some of the cardinal principles laid down in the Final Report of the Royal Commission on University Education in London, and in this they have done right. We will here refer to two of the principles on which the London Commission lay great stress. One is (para 70) that it is to be desired that the highest university teachers should take their part in undergraduate work and that their spirit should dominate it all. This is actually done in Cambridge. As regards this principle the committee observe: We agree with this opinion and would like to see all those engaged in M. A. and B. Sc. work taking also some part in the undergraduate instruction at least in its higher stages. Unfortunately, the conditions that prevail here are somewhat different from those obtaining in London and render the realization of such an ideal impracticable at present. Under the committee's scheme the only persons who will do both undergraduate and post graduate work will be (a) teachers whose services are lent from time to time by a private institution and (b) teachers in colleges whose attainments specially qualify them for post graduate instruction and who undertake at the request of the university and for a remuneration decided on by it to deliver a course of lectures on selected topics. But the number must necessarily be small and therefore it is some undergraduates of a few colleges only who can be influenced by them.

The second principle laid down by the Haldane Commission which we will refer to is embodied in the following passage (paragraph 71) —

It is also a great advantage to the undergraduate students of the University that post graduate students should be allowed to separate institutions. They ought to be in constant contact with those who are doing more advanced work than themselves and who are not too far beyond them but stimulate and encourage them by the familiar presence of an attainable ideal.

Cambridge presents a concrete example of this wholesome principle. The Calcutta Committee have also



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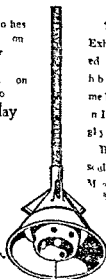
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The statue is seven feet in height, and is mounted on a six foot pedestal. It is the work of Mr G. K. Mhatre, the well known Bombay sculptor. Mr Mhatre has been considerably handicapped by the fact that there was only one photograph of the late Mr Ranade, who had a strong dislike for the camera, but those who knew him declare that the likeness is extraordinarily good. Mr Ranade is shown standing in a characteristic attitude. He is wearing his judicial robes and is carrying in his right hand a legal scroll and the reproduction is so faithful that even the defect which Mr Ranade had in the right eye is clearly shown. Mr Mhatre found the folds of the robes presented special difficulties and he had to place a cushion in marble at the back as a support.

The arrangements for the raising of subscriptions and the erection of the statue have been carried out by a committee which had the Chief Justice (Sir Lawrence Jenkins) as the president, and Mr Narottam Morari Goculdas as Secretary.

## INSIST ON HAVING

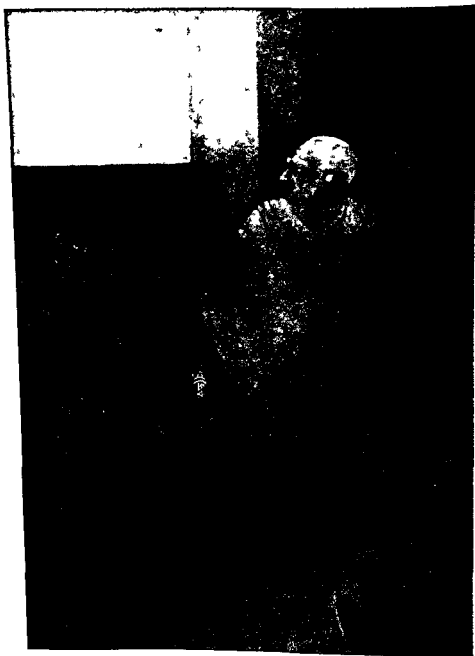
# State Management of Railways

**The Hon Mr. R. P. Paranjpye says —**

I am distinctly in favour of State Management. The way in which companies manage railways is not entirely in Indian interests and Indian opinion cannot be brought to bear upon the Directors in cases of hardship. With Government gradually getting more and more responsive to public opinion, it is the interest of all Indians to get Government to take the railways directly under their own management. There are again many improvements and reforms which cannot be immediately translated into dividends but which are all the same essential in view of the wider interests of the country. These can only be effected under direct Government management.

**Colonel G F O Boughiey (late of the Indian State Railways) says —**

'India is a country where it is particularly difficult to find new sources of revenues, and the great and growing railway revenues should on no account be alienated to companies. Such difficulties and disadvantages as there may be in retaining the railways in the hands of the State should be boldly faced and adequately provided for, seeing that the balance of advantage is in favour of this course.'



A MENDICANT  
By Babu Chandra Roy

# THE MODERN REVIEW

VOL. XXI  
No 6

JUNE, 1917

WHOLE  
No 126

## THE SPIRIT OF JAPAN

By SIR RADINDRANATH TACORI

ONE morning the whole world looked up in surprise, when Japan broke through her walls of old habits in a night and came out triumphant. It was done in such an incredibly short time, that it seemed like a change of dress and not like the slow building up of a new structure. She showed the confident strength of maturity and the freshness and infinite potentiality of new life at the same moment. The fear was entertained that it was a mere freak of history, a child's game of Time, the blowing up of a soap bubble, perfect in its rondure and colouring, hollow in its heart and without substance. But Japan has proved conclusively that this sudden revealment of her power is not a shortlived wonder, a chance product of time and tide, thrown up from the depth of obscurity to be swept away the next moment into the sea of oblivion.

The truth is that Japan is old and new at the same time. She has her legacy of ancient culture from the East,—the culture that enjoins man to look for his true wealth and power in his inner soul, the culture that gives self-possession in the face of loss and danger, self-sacrifice without counting the cost or hoping for gain, defiance of death, acceptance of countless social obligations that we owe to man as a social being,—the culture that has given us the vision of the infinite in all finite things, through which we have come to realise that the universe is living with a life and permeated with a soul, that it is not a huge machine which had been turned out by a demon of accident or fashioned by a teleological God who lives in a far away heaven. In a word modern Japan has come out of the immemorial East like a lotus blossoming in an easy grace, all

the while keeping its firm hold upon the profound depth from which it has sprung.

And Japan, the child of the Ancient East, has also fearlessly claimed all the gifts of the modern age for herself. She has shown her bold spirit in breaking through the confinements of habits, useless accumulations of the lazy mind, seeking safety in its thrift and its lock and keys. Thus she has come in contact with the living time and has accepted with an amazing eagerness and aptitude the responsibilities of modern civilisation.

This it is which has given heart to the rest of Asia. We have seen that the life and the strength are there in us, only the dead crust has to be removed, that we must nakedly take our plunge into the youth-giving stream of the time-flood. We have seen that taking shelter in the dead is death itself, and only taking all the risk of life to the fullest extent is living.

Japan has taught us that we must learn the watchword of the age, in which we live, and answer has to be given to the sentinel of time, if we must escape annihilation. Japan has sent forth her word over Asia, that the old seed has the life germ in it, only it has to be planted in the soil of the new age.

I, for myself cannot believe that Japan has become what she is by imitating the West. We cannot imitate life, we cannot simulate strength for long, nay, what is more, a mere imitation is a source of weakness. For it hampers our true nature, it is always in our way. It is like dressing our skeleton with another man's skin, giving rise to eternal feuds between the skin and the bones at every movement.

I have not had the opportunity of coming into intimate touch with Japan and forming my own opinion of what she

the heart to the soul of the world is not confined to a section of your privileged classes: it is not the forced product of exotic culture, but it belongs to all your men and women of all conditions. This experience of your soul in meeting a personality in the heart of the world, has been embodied in your civilisation. It is civilisation of human relationship. Your duty toward your state has naturally assumed the character of filial duty: your nation becoming one family with your Emperor as its head. Your national unity has not been evolved from the comradeship of arms for defensive and offensive purposes or from partnership in raiding adventures dividing among each member the danger and spoils of robbery. It is not an outgrowth of the necessity of organisation for some ulterior purpose, but it is an extension of the family and the obligations of the heart in a wide field of space and time.

And this has made me all the more apprehensive of the change which threatens Japanese civilisation as something like a menace to one's own person. For the huge heterogeneity of the modern age whose only common bond is usefulness is nowhere so pitifully exposed against the dignity and hidden power of reticent beauty as in Japan.

But the danger lies in this: that organised ugliness storm the mind and carries the day by its mass by its aggressive persistence by its power of mockery directed against the deeper sentiments of heart. Its harsh obtrusiveness makes it forcibly visible to us overcoming our senses—and we bring to its altar sacrifices as does a savage to the fetish which appears powerful because of its hideousness. Therefore its rivalry to things that are modest and profound and have the subtle delicacy of life is to be dreaded.

I am quite sure that there are men in your nation who are not in sympathy with your national ideals whose object is to grow. They are rough in their boast that they have modernised Japan. While I agree with them so far as to say that the spirit of the race should harmonise with the spirit of the time I must warn them that modernising is a mere affectation of modernism just as affectation of poetry is poetising. It is nothing but mimicry—only affectation is louder than the original and it is too literal. One must bear in mind that those who have

the true modern spirit need not modernise just as those who are truly brave are not braggarts. Modernism is not in the dress of the Europeans, or in the hideous structures where their children are interned when they take their lessons, or in the square houses with flat straight wall surfaces, pierced with parallel lines of windows where these people are caged in their lifetime, certainly modernism is not in their ladies' bonnets carrying on them loads of incongruities. These are not modern but merely European. True modernism is freedom of mind, not slavery of taste. It is independence of thought and action not tutelage under European schoolmasters. It is science but not its wrong application in life,—a mere imitation of our science teachers who reduce it into a superstition absurdly invoking its aid for all impossible purposes.

I do not for a moment suggest, that Japan should be unmindful of acquiring modern weapons of self-protection. But this should never be allowed to go beyond her instinct of self-preservation. She must know that the real power is not in the weapons themselves but in the man who wields those weapons, and when he, in his eagerness for power, multiplies his weapons at the cost of his own soul, then it is he who is in even greater danger than his enemies.

Things that are living are so easily hurt therefore they require protection. In nature life protects itself within coverings which are built with life's own material. Therefore they are in harmony with life's growth or else when the time comes they easily give way and are forgotten. The living man has his true protection in his spiritual ideals which have their vital connection with his life and grow with his growth. But unfortunately, all his armour is not living—some of it is made of steel inert and mechanical. Therefore while making use of it man has to be careful to protect himself from its tyranny. If he is weak enough to grow smaller to fit himself to his covering then it becomes a process of gradual suicide by shrinkage of the soul. And Japan must have a firm faith in the moral law of existence to be able to assert to herself that the Western nations are following that path of suicide where they are smothering their humanity under the immense weight of organisations in order

to keep themselves in power and hold others in subjection

Therefore I cannot think that the imitation of the outward aspects of the West, which is becoming more and more evident in modern Japan, is essential to her strength or stability. It is burdening her true nature and causing weakness, which will be felt more deeply as time goes on. The habits, which are being formed by the modern Japanese from their boyhood,—the habits of the Western life, the habits of the alien culture,—will prove, one day, a serious obstacle to the understanding of their own true nature. And then if the children of Japan forget their past, if they stand as barriers clogging the stream that flows from the mountain peak of their ancient history, their future will be deprived of the water of life that has made her culture so fertile with richness of beauty and strength.

What is still more dangerous for Japan is not this imitation of the outer features of the West, but the acceptance of the motive force of the Western civilisation as her own. Her social ideals are already showing signs of defeat at the hands of politics, and her modern tendency seems to incline towards political gambling in which the players stake their souls to win their game. I can see her motto, taken from science, "Survival of the fittest," writ large at the entrance of her present day history—the motto whose meaning is, "Help yourself, and never heed what it costs to others" the motto of the blind man, who only believes in what he can touch, because he cannot see. But those who can see, know that men are so closely knit, that when you strike others the blow comes back to yourself. The moral law, which is the greatest discovery of man, is the discovery of this wonderful truth, that man becomes all the truer, the more he realises himself in others. This truth has not only a subjective value, but is manifested in every department of our life. And nations, who sedulously cultivate moral blindness as the cult of patriotism, will end their existence in a sudden and violent death. In past ages we had foreign invasions, there had been cruelty and bloodshed, intrigues of jealousy and avarice, but they never touched the soul of the people deeply, for the people, as a body, never participated in these games. They were merely the out-

come of individual ambitions. The people themselves being free from the responsibilities of the baser and more heinous side of those adventures, had all the advantage of the heroic and the human disciplines derived from them. This developed their unflinching loyalty, their single minded devotion to the obligations of honour, their power of complete self surrender and fearless acceptance of death and danger. Therefore the ideals, whose seats were in the hearts of the people, would not undergo any serious change owing to the policies adopted by the kings or generals. But now, where the spirit of the Western civilisation prevails, the whole people is being taught from boyhood, to foster hatreds and ambitions by all kinds of means—by the manufacture of half truths and untruths in history, by persistent misrepresentation of other races and the culture of unfavourable sentiments towards them by setting up memorials of events, very often false, which for the sake of humanity should be speedily forgotten, thus continually brewing evil menace towards neighbours and nations other than their own. This is poisoning the very fountain head of humanity. It is discrediting the ideals, which were born of the lives of men, who were our greatest and best. It is holding up gigantic selfishness as the one universal religion for all nations of the world. We can take anything else from the hands of science but not this elixir of moral death. Never think for a moment, that the hurts you inflict upon other races will not infect you, and the enmities you sow around your homes will be a wall of protection to you for all time to come. To imbue the minds of a whole people with an abnormal vanity of its own superiority, to teach it to take pride in its moral callousness and ill begotten wealth, to perpetuate humiliation of defeated nations by exhibiting trophies won from war, and using these in schools in order to breed in children's minds contempt for others, is imitating the West where she has a festering sore, whose swelling is a swelling of disease eating into its vitality.

Our food crops, which are necessary for our sustenance, are products of centuries of selection and care. But the vegetation, which we have not to transform into our lives does not require the patient thoughts of generations. It is not easy to get rid

of weeds, but it is easy, by process of neglect, to ruin your food crops and let them revert to their primitive state of wildness. Likewise the culture, which has so kindly adapted itself to your soil,—so intimate with life, so human,—not only needed tilling and weeding in past ages but still needs anxious work and watching. What is merely modern—as science and methods of organisation—can be transplanted, but what is vitally human has fibres so delicate, and roots so numerous and far reaching that it dies when moved from its soil. Therefore I am afraid of the rude pressure of the political ideals of the West upon your own. In political civilisation, the state is an abstraction and relationship of men utilitarian. Because it has no roots in sentiments it is so dangerously easy to handle. Half a century has been enough for you to master this machine and there are men among you, whose fondness for it exceeds their love for the living ideals which were born with the birth of your nation and nursed in your centuries. It is like a child, who in the excitement of his play imagines he likes his playthings better than his mother.

Where man is at his greatest he is un-conscious. Your civilisation, whose main spring is the bond of human relationship, has been nourished in the depth of a healthy life beyond reach of prying self-analysis. But a mere political relationship is all conscious, it is an eruptive inflammation of aggressiveness. It has forcibly burst upon your notice. And the time has come when you have to be roused into full consciousness of the truth by which you live so that you may not be taken unawares. The past has been God's gift to you, about the present, you must make your own choice.

So the questions you have to put to yourselves are these,—“Have we read the world wrong, and based our relation to it upon an ignorance of human nature? Is the instinct of the West right, where she builds her national welfare behind the barricade of a universal distrust of humanity?”

You must have detected a strong accent of fear whenever the West has discussed the possibility of the rise of an Eastern race. The reason of it is this: that the power, by whose help she thrives is an all-power so long as it is held on her

own side she can be safe, while the rest of the world trembles. The vital ambition of the present civilisation of Europe is to have the exclusive possession of the devil. All her armaments and diplomacy are directed upon this one object. But these costly rituals for invocation of the evil spirit lead through a path of prosperity to the brink of cataclysm. The furies of terror, which the West has let loose upon God's world, come back to threaten herself and goad her into preparations of more and more frightfulness, this gives her no rest and makes her forget all else but the perils that she causes to others and incurs herself. To the worship of this devil of politics she sacrifices other countries and its victims. She feeds upon their ~~primita~~ and grows fat upon it, so long as the carcasses remain fresh—but they are sure to rot at last, and the dead will take their revenge by spreading pollution far and wide and poisoning the vitality of the feeder. Japan had all her wealth of humanity, her harmony of heroism and beauty, her depth of self-control and richness of self-expression, yet the Western nations felt no respect for her, till she proved that the bloodhounds of Satan are not only bred in the kennels of Europe, but can also be domesticated in Japan and fed with man's miseries. They admit Japan's equality with themselves, only when they know that Japan also possesses the key to open the floodgate of hell fire upon the fair earth, whenever she chooses, and can dance, in their own measure, the devil dance of pillage, murder, and ravishment of innocent women while the world goes to ruin. We know that, in the early stage of man's moral immaturity, he only feels reverence for the god whose malevolence he dreads. But is this the ideal of man, which we can look up to with pride? After centuries of civilisation nations fearing each other like the prowling wild beasts of the night time, shutting their doors of hospitality, combining only for purpose of aggression or defence, hiding in their holes their trade secrets, state secrets, secrets of their armaments, making peace offerings to the barking dogs of each other with the meat which does not belong to them holding down fallen races struggling to stand upon their feet, counting their safety only upon the feebleness of the rest of humanity, with their right hands dispensing religion to weaker

peoples, while robbing them with their left,—is there anything in this to make us envious? Are we to bend our knees to the spirit of this civilisation which is sowing broadcast over all the world seeds of fear, greed, suspicion, unashamed lies of its diplomacy, and unctuous lies of its profession of peace and good will and universal brotherhood of Man? Can we have no doubt in our minds when we rush to the Western market to buy this foreign product in exchange for our own inheritance? I am aware how difficult it is to know one's self, and the man, who is intoxicated furiously denies his drunkenness, yet the West herself is anxiously thinking of her problems and trying experiments. But she is like a glutton who has not the heart to give up his intemperance in eating and fondly clings to the hope that he can cure his nightmares of indigestion by medicine. Europe is not ready to give up her political inhumanity with all the baser passions of man attendant upon it, she believes only in modification of systems and not in change of heart.

We are willing to buy their machine-made systems not with our heart, but with our brains. We shall try them and build sheds for them but not enshrine them in our homes or temples. There are races who worship the animals they kill we can buy meat from them when we are hungry, but not the worship which goes with the killing. We must not vitiate our children's minds with the superstition that business is business war is war, politics is politics. We must know that man's business has to be more than mere business and so have to be his war and politics. You had your own industry in Japan, how scrupulously honest and true it was you can see by its products—by their grace and strength their conscientiousness in details where they can hardly be observed. But the tidal wave of falsehood has swept over your land from that part of the world, where business is business and honesty is followed in it merely as the best policy. Have you never felt shame when you see the trade advertisements not only plastering the whole town with lies and exaggerations but invading the green fields where the peasants do their honest labour and the hilltops which greet the first pure light of the morning? It is so easy to dull our sense

of honour and delicacy of mind with constant abrasion while falsehoods stalk abroad with proud steps in the name of trade politics and patriotism, that any protest against their perpetual intrusion into our lives is considered to be sentimentalism unworthy of true manliness.

And it has come to pass that the children of those heroes who would keep their word at the point of death who would disdain to cheat men for vulgar profit, who even in their fight would much rather court defeat than be dishonourable, have become energetic in dealing with falsehoods and do not feel humiliated by gaining advantage from them. And this has been effected by the charm of the word 'modern.' But if undiluted utility be modern beauty is of all ages if selfishness be modern the human ideals are no new inventions. And we must know for certain that however modern may be the proficiency which clips and cripples man for the sake of methods and machines it will never live to be old.

But while trying to free our minds from the arrogant claims of Europe and to help ourselves out of the quicksands of our infatuation we may go to the other extreme and blind ourselves with a whole-sale suspicion of the West. The reaction of disillusionment is just as unreal as the first shock of illusion. We must try to come to that normal state of mind by which we can clearly discern our own danger and avoid it without being unjust towards the source of that danger. There is always the natural temptation in us of wishing to pry back Europe in her own coin and return contempt for contempt and evil for evil. But that again would be to imitate Europe in one of her worst features which comes out in her behaviour to people whom she describes as yellow or red, brown or black. And this is a point on which we in the East have to acknowledge our guilt and own that our sin has been as great, if not greater, when we insulted humanity by treating with utter disdain and cruelty men who belonged to a particular creed, colour or caste. It is really because we are afraid of our own weakness which allows itself to be overcome by the sight of power, that we try to substitute for it another weakness which makes itself blind to the glories of the West. When we truly know the Europe which is great and good,



the churning up of the unspeakable filth which has been accumulating for ages in the bottom of this civilisation,—the voice which cries to our soul, that the tower of national selfishness, which goes by the name of patriotism, which has raised its banner of treason against heaven, must totter and fall with a crash, weighed down by its own bulk, its flag kissing the dust, its light extinguished? My brothers, when the red light of conflagration sends up its crackle of laughter to the stars, keep your faith upon those stars and not upon the fire of destruction. For when this conflagration consumes itself and dies down, leaving its memorial in ashes, the eternal light will again shine in the East,—the East which has been the birth-place of the morning sun of man's history. And who knows if that day has not already dawned, and the sun not risen, in the Easternmost horizon of Asia? And I offer, as did my ancestor rishis, my salutation to that sunrise of the East, which is destined once again to illumine the whole world.

I know my voice is too feeble to raise itself above the uproar of this bustling time, and it is easy for any street urchin to fling against me the epithet of 'unpractical.' It will stick to my coat-tail, never to be

washed away, effectively excluding me from the consideration of all respectable persons. I know what a risk one runs from the vigorously athletic crowds to be styled an idealist in these days, when thrones have lost their dignity and prophets have become an anachronism, when the sound that drowns all voices is the noise of the market-place. Yet when, one day, standing on the outskirts of Yokohama town, bristling with its display of modern miscellanies, I watched the sunset in your southern sea, and saw its peace and majesty among your pine-clad hills,—with the great Fujiyama growing faint against the golden horizon, like a god overcome with his own radiance,—the music of eternity welled up through the evening silence, and I felt that the sky and the earth and the lyrics of the dawn and the dayfall are with the poets and idealists, and not with the marketmen robustly contemptuous of all sentiments,—that, after the forgetfulness of his own divinity, man will remember again that heaven is always in touch with his world, which can never be abandoned for good to the howling wolves of the modern era, scenting human blood and howling to the skies.

## LETTERS

EXTRACTS FROM OLD LETTERS OF RABINDRANATH TAGORE.

(Specially Translated for the Modern Review).

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(55)

On the way to Goalundo,  
21st June : 1892.

I have been sitting along the whole day. It surprises me that, though I have so often passed this way and enjoyed the peculiar pleasure there is in floating along between the two banks of a river, yet a few days on shore makes it impossible to recall it exactly.

This sitting all by myself and gazing on and on, as an endless variety of pictures of sand banks, fields of crops and villages

come into sight on either side, and then pass away ; clouds floating in the sky, and the blossoming of colours at the meeting of day and night ; boats gliding by, fishermen catching fish, and the liquid, caressing sounds made by the water through the livelong day ; in the evening the calming down of the broad expanse of the waters into stillness, like a child lulled to sleep, while all the stars in the boundless open sky keep watch ; then, as I sit up on wakeful nights, sleeping banks on both sides, the silence broken only by the occasional cry of a jackal in the woods near a

village and the splash made by fragments of the high cliff like bank which tumble into the water as the keen current of the Padma cuts its way further and further underneath—these ever changing pictures flit by while a corresponding stream of fancy flows within banked on either side with picture after picture of fresh desire

Not that the outside view is always of particular interest—a yellowish sandbank innocent of grass or tree stretches away an empty boat is tied to its edge the bluish water of the same shade as the hazy sky flows past—yet I cannot tell how it moves me I suspect that the old desires and longings of my servant ridden childhood—when in the solitary imprisonment of my room I pored over the Arabian Nights and shared with Sindbad the Sailor his adventures in many a strange land—are not yet dead within me and these became roused into activity at the sight of the empty boat tied to the sand bank

If I had not heard fairy tales and read the Arabian Nights and Robinson Crusoe in my childhood I am sure views of distant banks or the furthest edge of fields would not have stirred me so—the whole world in fact would have had for me a different aspect

What a maze of fancy and fact becomes tangled up within the mind of man! How the different strands—petty and great—of story and event and picture get knotted together!

56

Shehdrah

22nd June 1892

Early this morning while still lying in bed I heard the women at the bathing place sending forth joyous peals of Ulu Ulu! The sound moved me curiously though it is difficult to say why

Perhaps such joyful outbursts put one in mind of the great stream of festive activity which goes on in this world with most of which the individual man has no connection What an immense world what a vast concourse of men yet with how few has one any relationship! Distant sounds of life wafted near bearing the tidings of unknown homes make the individual realise that the greater part of

the world of men does not cannot, own or know him, then he feels so deserted so loosely attached to the world, occupying so little room in so remote a corner, and a vague sadness creeps over him

Thus these cries of Ulu! Ulu! made my life past and future seem like a long long road from the very ends of which these sounds were coming to me And this feeling colours for me the beginning of my day

As soon as the manager with his staff and the ryots seeking audience come up the scene this faint vista of past and future will be promptly elbowed out and a very robust present will salute and stand before me

(57)

Shazadpur

27th June 1892

Yesterday in the afternoon it came on so threateningly I felt a sense of terror I do not remember ever to have seen before such angry looking clouds

Swollen masses of the deepest indigo blue were piled one on the top of the other over the edge of the sky looking like the puffed out moustaches of some raging demon

Through the jagged edges of the clouds where they met the furthest line of the horizon there shone forth a blood red glare as from the eyes of a monstrous sky filling bison with tossing mane and head lowered in fury to strike the earth

The crops on the fields and the leaves of the trees trembled for fear of impending disaster shudder after shudder ran through the waters the crows flew wildly about distractedly cawing

(58)

Shazadpur

20th June 1882

In to-day's letters there was a touch about A———s singing which made my heart yearn with a nameless longing Each of the little joys of life which remain unappreciated amid the hubbub of the town send in their claims to the heart when far from home I love music so and there is no dearth of voices and instruments in Calcutta yet I turn a deaf ear to them. But though I may fail to realise it at times this needs must leave the athirst

\* A peculiar shrill cheering given by women on auspicious or festive occasions

As I read to-day's letters I felt such a poignant desire to hear A——s sweet song, I was at once sure that, of the many suppressed longings of creation which cry out for fulfillment, this was one. Our lives are famished for want of neglected joys within our reach, while we are busy pursuing chimerical impossibilities.

The emptiness left by easy joys, untasted, is ever growing in my life. And the day may come when I shall feel that, could I but get back the past, I would strive no more for the unattainable, but drain to the full these little, unsought, everyday joys which life has to offer.

(59)

Shazadpur  
29th June 1892

I wrote yesterday that I had an engagement with Kalidas, the poet, for this evening. As I lit a candle, drew my chair up to the table, and made ready, not Kalidas but the postmaster, walked in. A live postmaster cannot but claim precedence over a dead poet, so I could not very well tell him to make way for Kalidas, who was due by appointment,—he would not have understood me had I made such a request. Therefore I offered him a chair and gave old Kalidas the go by.

There is a kind of bond between this postmaster and me. When the post office was in a part of this estate building, and I used to meet him every day, I wrote my story of The Postmaster one afternoon in this very room. And when the story was out in the *Hitabadi*, he came to me with a succession of bashful smiles, as he deprecatingly touched upon the subject. Anyhow, I like the man. He has a fund of anecdote which I enjoy listening to. He has also a sense of humour.

Though it was late when the postmaster left, I started at once on the *Raghuvansh*,\* and read all about the *Swayamvarat* of Indumati.

The handsome, gaily adorned princes are seated on rows of thrones in the assembly hall. Suddenly a blast of conch-shell and trumpet resounds as Indumati, in bridal robes, supported by Sunanda,

is ushered in and stands in the passage between them. It was delightful to dwell on the picture.

Then as Sunanda introduces to her each one of the suitors, Indumati bows low in loveless salutation, and passes on. How beautiful is this humble courtesy! They are all princes. They are all her seniors for she is a mere girl. Had she not atoned for the inevitable rudeness of her rejection by the grace of her humility, the scene would have lost its beauty.

(60)

Shelidah,  
20th July 1892

I nearly lost my life a while ago.

I was coming from Pantn to Shelidah. There was a good breeze to which the boat was sailing along at a great rate. The river was an immense sheet of water, at the height of the rainy season, and big waves rolled by which I was watching from time to time and then going on with my work.

At about half past ten, the Gorai Bridge came in sight, and the crew began speculating whether there was sufficient headway for the mast to get through. They were not anxious, for we were going against the current, and the boat could easily be stopped by simply lowering the sail, should the mast eventually prove too high.

But as we came up we discovered not only that the mast would not clear the bridge, but that a whirl had been set up which reversed the current on this side of the river. It was evident that we were in a critical situation but there was no time even to think. Before we could stir, the boat was on the bridge, and the mast which had fouled the girder, creaking and groaning with the strain, was making the boat heel over.

As I kept helplessly shouting to the men to get out of the way (for the mast might at any moment crash down on their heads) a passing boat, in the nick of time, hurried up to the rescue and took me off, and then eased the strain on our boat by towing at it in the opposite direction. Meanwhile the boatman jumped off, with the end of a rope in his teeth, and swam to the bank, from which he tugged the boat away from the bridge with the assistance of the crowd which had assembled.

They all said that Allah had saved us,

\* A drama by Kalidas who is perhaps best known to European readers as the author of *Sakuntala*.

† An old Indian custom according to which a prince chooses among assembled rival suitors for her hand by placing a garland round the neck of the one whose love she returns.

for the boat did not appear to have any chance of surviving the shock. That is just the way with material forces. There was the contact of wood and iron over head, and the push of water underneath, and but one conclusion seemed inevitable for neither would the water stop for a moment nor the mast lower its height by a hairs breadth, nor the iron bridge yield an inch from its position in spite of all our complaining and protesting.

(61)

Sheldah  
21st July 1892

I arrived at Sheldah last evening and am off this morning to Pabna. The river is in full flood. It is racing along like a wild horse with tossing mane and waving tail, and its swelling waves are rocking us along. The motion is delightfully exhilarating.

The abounding wealth of sound of this brimming rushing river is impossible to describe. It is beside itself with irrepressible liquid gurglings as though overcome by the first impetuous onrush of youth. And yet so far, it has only been the *Gora*, we have yet to fall into the *Padma*, whose banks must be utterly out of sight. That hoyden is doithless still more mad, and there is no holding her within any sort of bounds. She reminds me of Kali, the goddess with dishevelled locks, out to dance the dance of destruction.

The rains have given the current a new 'edge', says the boatman—a very apt description, for it is like nothing so much as keen steel hacking away at its banks as destructively as the whirling blades on the wheels of the war chariots of the ancient Britons.

Yesterday's accident was indeed a serious one. I actually said 'how'd you do' to King Yama.\* We do not realise that death is a next door neighbour, till we come across an event of this kind. Even the event itself is not much good as a reminder for I have already forgotten the face of him whom I caught a glimpse of yesterday.

Though we do not think of Death till he is actually an unwelcome guest he is always inquiring after us from behind the scenes. However, I beg leave to tell him with my *salaams* that I do not care a rap

\* God of Death.

whether he raises waves from beneath, or blows a storm down from the sky,—my sail will be up! His worst is well known,—let him do it, I refuse to make an outcry.

(62)

Sheldah,  
3rd Bhadra (August) 1892

Ah, the beautiful autumn mornings, how they pour honey on the senses! The breeze is as sweet as the song of the birds.

To see the golden sunshine over the smiling, rain washed country along the brimming river, makes one feel that some resplendent god is courting this beautiful earth of ours in the first blush of her youth, and for that shines this sun, and the breeze blows, and thrills pass through the fields and the leaves of the trees. For that, too is this depth of fullness in the river, this softness of verdure over the land, this pure brilliance of blue in the sky, and this prevailing spirit of half dream half ecstasy.

As love makes even the biggest concerns of the world dwindle into insignificance, so in the presence of the presiding spirit of this place the hustle and bustle, the hurry and worry of Calcutta seem so trivial, so very distant. The sky the light, the air, the song which surround me here, seem to be etherialising me and drawing me into themselves as if One had taken up the whole of me on His brush and was there with giving one more touch of colour to the gorgeous autumn scene, adding a rapturous flush to all this blue and green and gold. I am enjoying it all so much.

'I know not what my heart wants,' is a line I feel ashamed to repeat and would not have repeated in Calcutta. But here it is somehow different, and though it may sound like unmitigated poetizing, there seems no harm in saying it. Many stale old poems, which in Calcutta seem only fit to be thrown into the fire of ridicule blossom out, when brought here, into fresh bud and leaf and flower.

63

Sheldah,  
20th August - 1892

'If only I could live there!' is often the thought when looking at a beautiful landscape painting. That is the kind of longing which is satisfied here, where one feels as if living in a brilliantly coloured picture, with none of the hardness of reality.

When a child, illustrations of woodland and sea, in Paul and Virginia, or Robinson Crusoe, would waft me away from the everyday world, and the sunshine here brings back to my mind the feeling with which I used to gaze on those pictures.

I cannot account for this exactly, or explain definitely what kind of longing it is which is roused within me. It seems like the throb of some current flowing through the artery connecting me with the larger world. I feel as if dim, distant memories come to me of the time when I was one with the rest of the earth, when on me grew the green grass, and on me fell the autumn light, when a warm scent of youth would rise from every pore of my vast, soft green body at the touch of the rays of the mellow sun, and a fresh life, a sweet joy, would be half-consciously secreted and inarticulately poured forth from all the immensity of my being, as it lay dumbly stretched, with its varied countries and seas and mountains, under the bright blue sky.

My feelings seem to be those of our ancient earth in the daily ecstasy of its sun-kissed life, my own consciousness seems to stream through each blade of grass, each sucking rootlet, to rise with the sap through the trees, to break out with joyous thrills in the waving fields of corn, in the rustling palm leaves.

I feel impelled to give expression to my blood tie with the earth, my kinsman's love for her, but I am afraid I shall not be understood by all,—they will think it a grotesque idea.

64

Bogha,

18th November 1892

I was wondering where your train has got to by now. This is the time for the sun to rise over the ups and downs of the treeless, rocky region near Nawadli station. The scene around there must be brightened by the fresh sunlight through which distant blue hills are beginning to be faintly visible. Cultivated fields are scarcely to be seen, except where the primitive tribesmen have done a little ploughing with their buffaloes, on each side of the railway cutting there are the heaped up black rocks, the boulder marked footprints of dried up streams, and the fidgety black wag tails, perched along the telegraph wires. A wild, scarred and

scarred nature lies there in the sun, as though tamed at the touch of some soft, bright, cherubic hand.

Do you know the picture which this calls up for me? In the *Sakuntala* of Kalidasa there is a scene where Bharat, the infant son of King Dushyanta, is playing with a lion cub. The child is lovingly passing his delicate, rosy fingers through the shaggy fur of the great beast, which lies quietly stretched in trustful repose, now and then casting affectionate glances out of the corner of its eyes at its little human friend.

And shall I tell you what the dry boulder strewn water courses put me in mind of? We read in the English fairy tale of the Bades in the Wood, how the little brother and sister left a trace of their wanderings, through the unknown forest into which their step mother had turned them out, by dropping pebbles as they went. These little streamlets are like lost babes in this great world, into which they are sent adrift, and that is why they leave stones, as they go forth, to mark their little course, so as not to lose their way when they may be returning. But for them there is no return journey!

65

Natore,

2nd December 1892

What depth of feeling and breadth of peace there is in a Bengal sunset amidst the trees which fringe the endless solitary fields, spreading away to the horizon.

How lovingly, and sadly withal, does our evening sky bend over and meet the earth in the distance! The mournful light, which it casts on the earth it leaves behind, gives us a taste of the divine grief of the Eternal Separation, and eloquent is the silence which dwells over earth, sky and waters.

As I gaze on in rapt motionlessness, I fall to wondering—if ever this silence should fail to contain itself, if the expression it has been seeking from the beginning of time should ever pierce its way through, then what a profoundly solemn, what a poignantly moving, music would rise from earth to starland!

With a little steadfast concentration of effort, we can translate for ourselves, into music, the grand harmony of light and colour which permeates the universe. We have only to close our eyes and

with the ear of the mind the vibrations of this ever flowing panorama.

But how often shall I write of these sunsets and sunrises? I feel their renewed freshness every time, but how am I to get such renewed freshness for my attempts at expression?

(66)

Shelidah,  
9th December 1892

I get back my peace of mind after many days, now that I am once more in my boat, alone. We are going along with the tide and a good breeze also fills our sail.

The winter's day has been slightly warmed by the afternoon sun. There is not another boat on the river. The distant sandbank is looking like a yellow streak between the blue of the sky and the blue of the water. I am reclining by the open window enjoying the gentle breeze playing over my head.

I am feeling weak and relaxed after my painful illness and in this state the ministrations of nature are sweet indeed. I feel as if, like the rest, I too am lazily glittering out my delight at the rays of the sun, and my letter writing progresses but absently minded.

Every time I start for my journey on the *Padma*, I have a great fear lest it should have become stale. But as soon as the boat casts off, and the ripples lap up all round it, then a tremor in light and air, a murmur of sound in the sky, a spread of blue, a line of fresh green, a veritable riot of song and dance and beauty is disclosed on every side and my heart is captivated afresh.

The world is ever new to me, like a loved old friend of this and former births the acquaintance between us being both long and deep.

I can well realise how, in ages past, when the earth in her first youth came forth from her sea-bath, and saluted the sun in prayer, I must have been one of the trees sprung from her new formed soil spreading its foliage in all the freshness of first life.

The great sea was rocking and swaying, and smothering, like a foolishly fond mother, its first born land with repeated caresses, while I was drinking in the sunlight with the whole of my being, quivering under the blue sky with the

unreasoning rapture of the new born, holding fast and sucking away at my mother earth with all my roots. In blind joy all my leaves burst forth and my flowers bloomed, and when the dark clouds gathered, their grateful shade would comfort me with a tender touch.

From age to age, thereafter, have I been differently reborn on this earth. So when ever we now sit face to face, alone together, various memories of the old days, one after another, gradually come back to me.

My mother earth sits to day in the cornfields by the river side, in her raiment of sunlit gold, and near her feet, her knees, her lap, I roll about and play. Mother of a multitude of children, she attends but absently to their constant calls upon her, with an immense patience, but also with a certain aloofness. And so, to day, my mother earth is seated there, with her far-away look towards the edge of the afternoon sky, while I keep chattering on untiringly.

(67)

Bahia,  
Tuesday, February 1893

I feel I do not want to wander about any more. I am pinning for a corner in which to nestle down snugly, away from the crowd.

Indra has two aspects—being in one a *Grihasta*, in the other a *Sannyasin*\*. The former refuses to budge from his corner in his home, the latter has no home at all. I find both these within me. A cosy corner attracts me, yet I respond to the call of the world outside. I want to roam about and see all the wide world, yet I also yearn for a little sheltered nook, like a bird with its tiny nest for a dwelling, and the vast sky for flight.

I hanker after a corner only because it serves to bring calmness to my mind. My mind really wants to be incessantly busy, but in making the attempt it knocks up so often against the crowd at every step, that it gets utterly frenzied and keeps buffetting me from within its cage. If only it is allowed a little leisurely solitude, it can look about, think away to

\* *Grihasta* is the stage of Householder in Hindu life. *Sannyasin* the stage of the homeless Ascetic.

its heart's content and express its feelings to its own satisfaction

This freedom of solitude is what my mind is fretting for day and night it

would be alone with its imaginings, as the Creator broods over His own creation

*Translated by*  
SURENDRANATH TAGORE

## KRISHNAKANTA S WILL

By BANIKCHANDRA CHATTERJEE

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### CHAPTER XXVII

**K**RISHNAKANTA S death was lamented by young and old for although like most rich men he was proud of his wealth and power he was charitable kind and well meaning and always ready to help any one in trouble So his death as might be expected produced a great sensation in the village A great man had passed away said some Others declared that the village had lost in him a friend and protector There was one an old man who in somewhat poetic language observed that in time of trouble he was their chief refuge while generally speaking he might be compared to the charitable banian whose thick foliage and long out spreading branches afford a cool shade to weary and sun smitten travellers on the way

Krishnakanta s loss was greatly felt by his relations most of all by Bhramar She was sent for by her mother in law a day or two after this sad event for she must not now be allowed to stay away at her father s When she arrived she wept aloud for Krishnakanta

On any other occasion Bhramar would have resolved to have that unpleasant matter—the matter touching Rohini—out of her husband even though it might have been thought likely to lead to a scene but this was not the time and her heart was full of sorrow On her arrival she was crying and she cried bitterly when she saw her husband Gobindalal too shed tears plentifully for by his uncle s death the family sustained a heavy domestic loss

Both Bhramar and Gobindalal concluded that before the matter could be settled they must wait until the customary period of mourning was over Bhramar

said Gobindalal one day in tones of great regret I want to talk to you but we must wait a few days

She felt as though she would cry With an effort however she checked her emotion Just as you please she only said

That day passed The sun rose and sank and rose and sank again and many times after that But no one perceived that a change had come over Bhramar No one knew that a cloud hung over her mind that a cankerworm had got into her to eat into her vitals She was very different from what she used to be On her face was missed that smile which was once her own Yet she smiled and Gobindalal smiled But where was the smile which belonged to them in the days past and which seemed to spring from the very core of their hearts? Where was the smile which at one time seemed to say they were very happy and could never be more happy? Then Bhramar was proud that she had a husband so handsome and so very kind and loving Then Gobindalal was thankful and happy in the thought that he had a wife so devoted and so very good But these feelings were replaced by a coolness to which they had been strangers before

They were not what they used to be There was something strange in their behaviour in all things They talked little if at all and were often at a loss to know what to say though not long before they had a world of things to say and never tired of talking There was now to be marked an absence of that love which was strikingly noticeable in all their actions before Often from his gloom which was so trying to him Gobindalal loved to seek refuge in the comforting thought of Rā Poor Bhramar! she in her anguish

upon Death to take her, for she had no peace, no happiness in her

### CHAPTER XXVIII

Krishnakanta's *sraddha*\* went off happily. It was performed in a grand style. Heaps of money were expended. Feasts were held for days together, and largesses were given to Brahmans in a bountiful manner. To poor people cloths were distributed, and lots of money were given away in alms. Those who were friends of Krishnakanta declared that not less than a lac of rupees was spent, some again, who were not very well disposed towards him, observed that the expenditure could not have exceeded twenty thousand rupees, even taking the most liberal view of it. The actual sum expended, however, was a little over fifty thousand.

For some days there was great bustle and excitement in the village. Haralal had come home, and being the eldest son of his father, according to the rule the *sraddha* ceremony was gone through by him.

After it was over Haralal wanted to look at the fresh will made by his late father. The will was read out in the presence of a few friends and relations. Although it seemed that Haralal had a design, there were so many witnesses to the will that it was useless for him to try to carry it out. So one day without any more ado he left the house and was gone.

"I bring you good news," said Gobindalal to his wife.

"What good news?" asked Bhramar as she looked up, wondering what was coming.

"You have had the half share of the property. It has been given you by will."

"No! You are the lord of it!"

"Properly speaking I have nothing to do with it," said Gobindalal.

"But what is mine is yours, and what is yours is mine, you cannot deny it," she said.

"It won't do for you to talk like this, Bhramar. There is a deal of difference between you and me nowadays."

"Oh, how could you say so!" she said.

"You pain my heart to talk like this."

"But the property is yours," he said.

"I will not live on your bounty. I will not be a burden on you, I say."

His words pained her extremely, but presently she felt a pride swelling in her heart. "What do you mean to do then?" she said, looking up to his face.

"I will earn my own bread," said Gobindalal.

"Earn your bread! what do you mean?"

"I mean I will work for my bread, and I do not mind going to any distant part of the world to earn it."

"But the property," said Bhramar, "was acquired by your father, and as you are his heir, not I, your uncle had no right to dispose of it in the way he had done. The will is illegal and cannot stand. I do not speak my own views on the subject, but this is the opinion of my father who asserted that the will was illegal."

"Why, do you mean to say that my uncle's procedure was illegal and wrong? I am sure he knew better. And since he has given the property to you, it is properly and legally yours, and I have no right whatsoever to it."

"Well, if you think so I am ready to make it over to you in writing," she said.

"And am I sneakingly to accept the gift at your hands?"

"Sneakingly! Oh, what is this you say! You know that I am but your servant."

"It is all very fine to say that, but words will not mend matters now, I tell you."

"Oh, what have I done! I was given in marriage to you when I was a little girl, and now I am seventeen. And all these years I have been with you, knowing nothing but you. Under your tender care I have grown and you have been ever so fond of me. What have I done that you are so hard upon me? Oh, tell me what I have done!"

"You know—you remember it well," said Gobindalal.

"Oh, I am very sorry I went to my father's. I went because I was angry with you—my own husband. But I am very sorry for it. I ask a thousand pardons. Will you not forgive me? Oh, I know nothing beyond you."

And Bhramar fell at her husband's feet and wept.

Gobindalal spoke not a word. There was his wife, a suppliant at his feet,

\* A rite or ceremony in which balls of rice are offered to the dead man and a feast is given to fellow-castemen and others.



entreating him to take pity and forgive her, but he spoke not a word. He was thinking of Rohini. How beautiful and clever she was! And what was Bhramar by her side? What recommendation had she save that she was a good and gentle girl? But he did not mean to forsake her, he wanted only to live apart from her for a time. And Rohini—he could throw her over any moment when he had got tired of her.

'Oh, have pity on me,' entreated Bhramar, her eyes bathed in tears. 'Speak a kind word, oh, do O God!' and this was in store for me!'

Her appeal surely rose to heaven, but Gobindalal paid no heed to it.

"Oh, speak but one kind word," she urged again. 'Will you not?'

"I want to leave you," said Gobindalal deliberately, and steeling his heart against all pity.

She was stunned. She said no more. She rose from her lowly position, paused, moved up to the door. Going out she stumbled, fell down and swooned away.

#### CHAPTER XXIV

'What have I done that you want to leave me?' This question Bhramar never put to Gobindalal, but after the scene described in the preceding pages this was upon her mind night and day. Gobindalal too asked himself what her fault was. Bhramar was surely in the wrong, he thought, for she ought to have considered before she wrote such a sharp letter to him. We will, however, give the debate that he had with his conscience.

Gobindalal! Her fault is she was jealous. And isn't it quite as bad as anything?

*Conscience.* Hadn't she a good reason to be jealous? You cannot deny your illicit connection with Rohini.

G. When she first had her suspicions I was quite innocent.

C. Yes, but in your mind you knew you were guilty. And since by your conduct you gave your wife reason to be jealous as much before as after committing yourself to evil, could she have been anything but jealous?

G. But it seems to me that had she not been jealous I should never have gone wrong. Do we not sometimes drive an honest man to go astray by giving him a bad name?

C. The fault then, in your opinion, lies not at the door of him who goes to the bad, but him who gives him a bad name. Nice argument this!

G. Nice or not nice, I am sure she ought never to have gone to her father's since she was told that I was coming home and was on the way. Besides I think she could never have found it in her heart to write such a stinging letter to me if she had had the least regard for my feelings.

C. If she knew that she had had good grounds for her suspicion she was perfectly justified in acting as she had done. Can a wife see her husband go wrong and not resent it?

G. But she knew nothing for certain, and she acted on a mere rumour, which she should not have done. She ought to have asked me.

C. And did you care to ask her?

G. I did not.

C. Then how could you hold her wrong for never telling her suspicions to you? But that's not it. I will tell you what it really is.

G. And that is?

C. It is just this. You took a fancy to Rohini, and so you wished in your mind to get her. But why did Krishna Kanta give your share of the property to your wife? Because, besides feeling sure she would soon want to make it over to you, he hoped that such a step might open your eyes to your folly and win you back from the path you are treading.

G. She does want to make it over to me, but I will not accept it, not I.

C. Why? The property is yours. It was acquired by your late father, and you are his heir.

G. But since my uncle, on his death bed, bestowed it upon her, it is no longer mine.

C. Your uncle had no right to bestow it upon your wife. He knew that very well, but he did so, thinking it might disenchant you, as I have said, and make you turn from the path you are pursuing.

G. But I will not stoop to accept a gift from my wife. I had much rather starve than do so.

C. In other words you would sooner give up your wife and give up your property than lose Rohini. Well, then go your way. If you are resolved upon your ruin no one can help it.

## CHAPTER XXX

Gobindalal's mother had heard of her son's irregularities. She had noticed his apathetic behaviour to his wife, but she cared not to try to set things to rights again. The fact was she had become jealous and ill-disposed towards her daughter-in-law for the reason of her son's share of the property being made over to her. She might have cared to do every thing for her had she been able to see that in disposing, as he had done, of Gobindalal's share of the property Krishnakanta had been actuated by nothing but an anxious earnestness to correct his nephew. She thought that henceforth she was to be dependent on her daughter-in-law, that she was to have no will of her own but to bend in all things to hers, which she could never bear. For this reason she resolutely made up her mind to pass the remaining days of her life in the holy place, Benares. On another occasion when she had expressed a desire to go and live there Gobindalal had opposed. Now when she spoke her mind to him he readily and gladly consented to take her up there.

On the very day that she had a talk with her son Bhramar went to her father's for a few days. When she expressed her wish to go on a visit to her parents her mother-in-law made no objection but willingly consented to her going. While his wife was away Gobindalal raised upwards of a lac of rupees by disposing of a few jewels of his own, and also by effecting, under the rose, the sale of a small estate, which he held in his own name. Afterwards having fixed an auspicious day for their departure he wrote to inform his wife of it, asking her to come at once. Bhramar made not a day's delay, but came directly on receipt of her husband's letter. On her arrival she entreated her mother-in-law with tears in her eyes not to leave her alone. She said she was but a raw and ignorant girl and knew nothing of house-keeping, and that if she went she should keenly feel her absence in all things. Her mother-in-law by way of comforting her said that after she was gone her daughter would take care of her and help her with her advice in all household affairs. 'Be sides' she added, 'you have now become the mistress of the house and you must not flinch from your duty however onerous it may at first seem to you. Come, drive

your tears, and don't make yourself miserable for nothing.' But Bhramar kept crying and would not be comforted.

Presently she rose and went to seek her husband. A vague fear that this might be their last meeting troubled her very much. Finding him, and falling at his feet, weeping, she said, 'You are going to accompany mother, tell me, oh, tell me, I pray, when I may expect you back.'

'That I cannot tell. But I have no very great mind to return,' he said.

She stifled a pang. She gulped down a sob that rose in her throat. 'What do I care?' she said to herself springing to her feet abruptly. 'I can take poison and be rid of my trouble for ever.'

The day on which they were to start soon came. The railway station where they were to take train was about two miles from their village. The auspicious hour for their departure was at hand, and the porters were busied in taking out the trunks and other baggage to carry them to the station. Such of the servants as were to accompany their mistress were ordered to keep ahead and walk with the porters. The women of the neighbourhood were assembled to see Gobindalal's mother depart, and they shed tears with her daughter because she was going to leave them and her home for ever. It was soon time to depart. She went and bowed down before their household god, and great was her emotion when, kissing her daughter and bidding her neighbours farewell she seated herself in the palanquin to be borne to the station, leaving Gobindalal to follow.

Meanwhile Gobindalal went to take leave of his wife. On entering her room he found her in tears. 'Bhramar,' said he, 'I am going to accompany mother.'

She quickly brushed away her tears. 'Mother is going to live permanently at Benares. And you—are you not going to return?' she said.

Gobindalal made no answer, he was rather surprised at the manner of her putting the question. His wife, receiving no answer, said again, 'You have often told me there is nothing like being truthful. Tell me truly when you will get back. I am sure you will not tell me a falsehood.'

'Well I don't like to hoax anyone,' he said. 'Truth to say, I have no mind to return.'

"Why have you no mind? Will you not tell me?"

"Since you ask me I must tell you that I hate to be a hanger on."

"Oh, how you pain me to talk like this!"

"Maybe I do. But did you ever care to think that you were taking an unadvised step when you went to your father's?"

"I didn't, and I repented for it afterwards. I fell at your feet and craved your pardon. Oh, is it such a great offence that it cannot be forgiven? Will you not forgive and forget? To forgive is divine, you said it yourself."

"Yes, but you are the possessor of the half share of the estate. I shouldn't wonder if you think that you are now free to do as you like."

"Oh, you wrong me to talk like this. But you do not know what I have been doing. Look at this paper, do."

Through her father's help Bhramar had made over the half share of the property to her husband, and the paper she now placed in his hand was a deed of conveyance duly executed and registered.

When Gobindlal had glanced over it he tore up the paper. "I will not accept a gift from you," he said.

"It is useless to destroy it," she said. "There is a copy of it at the Registrar's office, my father has told me."

"I don't care. I will not accept a pie at your hands, that's all. Now good bye."

"When do you come back?" she asked again.

"I don't know. I may not."

"Oh, how can you be so cruel?"

"I tell you seriously. I have no mind to return."

"Is there not One above?" she gasped forth in a piteous wailing tone.

"Spare now your sermon, please. It is getting late,—I must be off."

His words smote heavily on her heart. She felt as if some one had struck her a deadly blow. Tears started to her eyes, but by an uncommon effort she quickly mastered them and sent them back to the source from which they sprung. "Go," she said with agony in her eye, "and return not if that, as you say, be your intention. I am innocent, you know I am, and yet you want to forsake me. But remember there is a God! Remember you will have to repent one day! If you think you can find one who can love you as truly and

devotedly as I love you, you are greatly mistaken. But you will find your mistake one day, I am sure you will. Then you will seek me, and you will know the agony of remorse when you think what a grave wrong you have done me. Go, say you will not come again if you like. But if I have been ever faithful to you, as faithful in thought as in deed, I say you will seek me, you will come to me again, and you will call me by my name as fondly as you used to do, and weep bitter tears."

Here her feelings choked her. She could say no more. She fell on her knees, stooped to kiss his feet, then rose and left the room.

## CHAPTER XXXI

At one time when she was very happy with her husband, Bhramar had lost a child, a boy, at her lying-in, and now the reminiscence of that sad incident served to add fuel to the flame of her grief. She bolted herself into her room and bewailed the loss of her child, throwing herself down on the bare floor. "O my child, my baby," she wailed, "where are you gone? Had you been alive could your father have ever thought of leaving me? For your sake he would have borne with me even if I had been a bad and quarrelsome woman. He would have overlooked for your sake a hundred faults in me. Come, my sweet one, oh, come and be the comforter of your poor unhappy mother. Oh, pity and return! Cannot one, who is dead, be restored to his sorrowing mother?"

With bended knees and joined palms she implored God why He could be so cruel to her. "Say Thou, O God," she continued, "what I have done to deserve this punishment. My child I have lost, my husband has left me! Oh, why could his heart be turned against me who loved him better than life itself! How happy we were, how well we loved each other. His love had turned our home into an Eden, and I thought myself the happiest of women in the world. Oh it is so hard!—so hard! To have won the greatest joy that life can give—and then to lose it all!"

It seemed to her that God was cruel, and she could do nothing but weep. So she wept and cried, and she prayed God to end her sorrows by putting an end to her existence.

Leaving his wife Gobindlal walked pensively to the outer house. He

sting of his conscience How happy he had been with her! The thought of it was enough to draw a tear from his eye He could not but feel that he was doing her a great wrong Her unselfish love, which was ever eloquent in her eyes—eloquent equally in everything she did or said, he remembered He could feel that what he was going to leave he could nowhere have again He thought he would go back to her and tell her that he would soon return and that he was ashamed of his unjust behaviour to her and was sorry But he lacked the moral

courage to go back to her and say it So he thought he must go now, for he was not going to leave her for good, and could come back whenever he liked Thus thinking he mounted his horse which was just then brought in saddled, and was soon off In a minute he dismissed all painful thoughts from his mind, and as he rode on he found himself thinking of Rohini whose beautiful face floated before his mind's eye

End of Part I

(To be continued)

TRANSLATED BY D C ROY

## THE LOST JEWELS

BY SIR RABINDRANATH TAGORE

**M**y boat was moored beside an old bathing ghat of the river, almost in ruins The sun had set

On the roof of the boat the boatmen were at their evening prayer Against the bright background of the Western sky their silent worship stood out like a picture The waning light was reflected on the still surface of the river in every delicate shade of colour from gold to steel blue

A huge house with broken windows, tumble-down verandahs and all the appearance of old age was in front of me I sat alone on the steps of the ghat which were cracked by the far reaching roots of a banyan tree A feeling of sadness began to come over me, when suddenly I was startled to hear a voice asking

Sir, where have you come from?

I looked up and saw a man who seemed half starved and out of fortune His face had a disipated look such as is common among my countrymen who take up service away from home His dirty coat of Assam silk was greasy and open at the front He appeared to be just returning from his day's work and to be taking a walk by the side of the river at a time when he should have been taking his evening meal

The new comer took his seat beside me on the steps I said in answer to his question

"I come from Ranchi"

What occupation?"

"I am a merchant"

What sort?"

"A dealer in cocoons and timber"

"What name?"

After a moment's hesitation I gave a name but it was not my own

Still the stranger's curiosity was not satisfied Again he questioned me

"What have you come here for?"

I replied

"For a change of air"

My cross-examiner seemed a little astonished He said

"Well sir I have been enjoying the air of this place for nearly six years and with it I have taken a daily average of fifty grains of quinine, but I have not noticed that I have benefited much"

I replied

"Still you must acknowledge that, after Ranchi, I shall find the air of this place sufficient of a change"

"Yes indeed" said he "More than you bargain for But where will you stay here?"

Pointing to the tumble-down house above the ghat, I said

"There"

I think my friend had a suspicion that I had come in search of hidden treasure However he did not pursue the subject

He only began to describe to me what had happened in this ruined building some fifteen years before

I found that he was the schoolmaster of the place. From beneath an enormous bald head his two eyes shone out from their sockets with an unnatural brightness in a face that was thin with hunger and illness

The boatmen having finished their evening prayer turned their attention to their cooking. As the last light of the day faded the dark and empty house stood silent and ghostly above the deserted ghāt

The schoolmaster said

Nearly ten years ago when I came to this place Bhusan Saha used to live in this house. He was the heir to the large property and business of his uncle Durga Saha who was childless

But he was modernised. He had been educated and not only spoke faultless English but actually entered Sahibs' offices with his shoes on. In addition to that he grew a beard, thus he had not the least chance of bettering himself so far as the Sahibs were concerned. You had only to look at him to see that he was a modernised Bengali.

In his own home too he had another drawback. His wife was beautiful. With his College education on the one hand and on the other his beautiful wife, what chance was there of his preserving our good old traditions in his home?

Sir, you are certainly a married man, so that it is hardly necessary to tell you that the ordinary female is fond of sour green mangoes, hot chillies and a stern husband. A man need not necessarily be ugly or poor to be cheated of his wife's love, but he is sure to be too gentle.

If you ask me why this is so I have much to say on this subject for I have thought a good deal about it. A stag chooses a hardwood tree on which to sharpen its horns and would get no pleasure in rubbing them against a banana tree. From the very moment that man and woman become separate sexes woman has been exercising all her faculties in trying by various devices to fascinate and bring man under her control. The wife of a man who is of his own accord submissive is altogether out of employment. All those weapons which she has inherited from her grandmothers of the untold

centuries are useless in her hands, the force of her tears, the fire of her anger and the snare of her glances lie idle.

Under the spell of modern civilisation man has lost the God-given power of his barbaric nature and this has loosened the conjugal ties. The unfortunate Bhusan had been turned out of the machine of modern civilisation an absolutely faultless man. He was therefore neither successful in business nor in his own home.

Mam was Bhusan's wife. She used to get her caresses without asking, her Dacca muslin saris without tears and her bangles without being able to pride herself on a victory. In this way her woman's nature became atrophied and with it her love for her husband. She simply accepted things without giving anything in return. Her harmless and foolish husband used to imagine that to give is the way to get. The fact was just the contrary.

The result of this was that Mam looked upon her husband as a mere machine for turning out her Dacca muslins and her bangles—so perfect a machine indeed that never for a single day did she need to oil its wheels.

Bhusan's wife did not talk very much nor did she mix much with her neighbours. To feed Brahmins in obedience to a sacred vow or to give a few pice to a religious mendicant was not her way. In her hands nothing was ever lost, whatever she got she saved up most carefully with the one exception of the memory of her husband's caresses. The extraordinary thing was that she did not seem to lose the least atom of her youthful beauty. People said that whatever her age was she never looked older than sixteen. I suppose youth is best preserved with the aid of the heart that is an ice chest.

But as far as work was concerned Manimalika was very efficient. She never kept more servants than were absolutely necessary. She thought that to pay wages to anyone to do work which she herself could do was like playing the pickpocket with her own money.

Not being anxious about anyone, never being distracted by love, always working and saving, she was never sick nor sorry.

For the majority of husbands this is quite sufficient, not only sufficient but fortunate. For the loving wife is a wife who makes it difficult for her husband to forget her and the fatigue of perpetual

remembrance wears out life's bloom. It is only when a man has lumbago that he becomes conscious of his waist. And lumbago, in domestic affairs, is to be made conscious, by the constant imposition of love, that you have such a thing as a wife. Excessive devotion to her husband may be a merit for the wife, but not comfortable for the husband,—that is my candid opinion.

I hope I am not tiring you, Sir? I live alone, you see, I am banished from the company of my wife and there are many important social questions which I have leisure to think about but cannot discuss with my pupils. In course of conversation you will see how deeply I have thought of them.

Just as he was speaking some jackals began to howl from a neighbouring thicket. The schoolmaster stopped for a moment the torrent of his talk. When the sound had ceased and the earth and the water relapsed into a deeper silence he opened his glowing eyes wide in the darkness of the night and resumed the thread of his story.

'Suddenly a tangle occurred in Bhusan's complicated business. What exactly happened it is not possible for a layman like myself either to understand or to explain. Suffice it to say that, for some sudden reason he found it difficult to get credit in the market. If only he could, by hook or by crook, raise a lakh and a half of rupees and only for a few days rapidly flash it before the market, then his credit would be restored and he would be able to sail far again.

So he began to cast about to see whether he could not raise a loan. But, in that case, he would be bound to give some satisfactory security, and the best security of all is jewelry.

So Bhusan went to his wife. But unfortunately he was not able to face his wife as easily as most men are. His love for her was of that kind which has to tread very carefully, and cannot speak out plainly what is in the mind, it is like the attraction of the sun for the earth, which is strong yet leaves immense space between them.

Still even the hero of a high class romance does sometimes when hard pressed have to mention to his beloved such things as mortgage deeds and promissory

notes. But words stick, and the tune does not seem right, and shrinking of reluctance makes itself felt. The unfortunate Bhusan was totally powerless to say, "Look here, I am in need of money, bring out your jewels."

He did broach the subject to his wife at last, but with such extreme delicacy, that it only titilated her opposition without bending it to his own purpose. When Mani set her face hard and said nothing, he was deeply hurt, yet he was incapable of returning the hurt back to her. The reason was that he had not even a trace of that barbarity, which is the gift of the male. If anyone had upbraided him for this, then most probably he would have expressed some such subtle sentiment as the following—

'If my wife, of her own free choice is unwilling to trust me with her jewelry, then I have no right to take them from her by force.'

What I say is has God given to man such ferocity and strength only for him to spend his time in delicate measurement of fine spun ideals?

However that may be, Bhusan, being too proud to touch his wife's jewels, went to Calcutta to try some other way of raising the money.

As a general rule in this world the wife knows the husband far better than the husband ever knows the wife, but extremely modern men in their subtlety of nature are altogether beyond the range of those unsophisticated instincts which woman-kind has acquired through ages. These men are a new race, and have become as mysterious as women themselves. Ordinary men can be divided roughly into three main classes, some of them are barbarians, some are fools and some are blind, but these modern men do not fit into any of them.

So Mani called her counsellor for consultation. Some cousin of hers was engaged as assistant steward on Bhusan's estate. He was not the kind of man to profit himself by dint of hard work, but by help of his position in the family he was able to save his salary, and even a little more.

Mani called him and told him what had happened. She ended up by asking him, 'Now what is your advice?'

He shook his head wisely and said, 'I don't like the look of things at all.' The

fact is that wise men never like the look of things

Then he added 'Babu will never be able to raise the money, and in the end he will have to fall back upon that jewelry of yours'

From what she knew of human nature she thought that this was not only possible, but likely. Her anxiety became keener than ever. She had no child to love, and though she had a husband, she was scarcely able to realise his very existence. So her blood froze at the very thought that her only object of love—the wealth which like a child had grown from year to year,—was to be in a moment thrown into the bottomless abyss of trade. She gasped 'What then is to be done?'

Modhu said 'Why not take your jewels and go to your father's house?' In his heart of hearts he entertained the hope that a portion, and possibly the larger portion, of that jewelry would fall to his lot.

Mani at once agreed. It was a rainy night towards the end of summer. At this very ghastly hour a boat was moored. Mani wrapped from head to foot in a thick shawl, stepped into the boat. The frogs croaked in the thick darkness of the cloudy dawn. Modhu, waking up from sleep, roused himself from the boat and said 'Give me the box of jewels.'

Mani replied 'Not now, afterwards. Now let us start.'

The boat started, and floated swiftly down the current. Mani had spent the whole night in covering every part of her body with her ornaments. She was afraid that if she put her jewels into a box they might be snatched away from her hands. But if she wore them on her person then no one could take them away without murdering her. Manimalika did not understand Bhusan, it is true, but there was no doubt about her understanding of Modhu.

Modhu had written a letter to the chief steward to the effect that he had started to take his mistress to her father's house. The steward was an ancient retainer of Bhusan's father. He was furiously angry, and wrote a lengthy epistle full of misspellings to his master. Although the letter was weak in its grammar, yet it was forcible in its language and clearly expressed the writer's disapproval of giving too much indulgence to womankind. Bhusan

on receiving it understood what was the motive of Mani's secret departure. What hurt him most was the fact that, in spite of his having given way to the unwillingness of his wife to part with her jewels, in this time of his desperate straits, his wife should still suspect him.

When he ought to have been angry, Bhusan was only distressed. God has so arranged it, that man, for the most trifling reason, will burst forth in anger like a forest fire, and woman will burst into tears like a rain cloud for no reason at all. But the weather cycle seems to have changed, and this appears no longer to hold good.

The husband bent his head and said to himself 'Well, if this is your judgment, let it be so, I will simply do my own duty.' Bhusan, who ought to have been born five or six centuries hence, when the world will be moved by psychic forces, was unfortunate enough not only to be born in the nineteenth century, but also to marry a woman who belonged to that eternal primitive age which persists through all time. He did not write a word on the subject to his wife, and determined in his mind that he would never mention it to her again. What an awful penalty!

Ten or twelve days later, having secured the necessary loan, Bhusan returned to his home. He imagined that Mani, after completing her mission, had by this time come back from her father's house. And so he approached the door of the inner apartments, wondering whether his wife would show any signs of shame or penitence for her undeserved suspicion.

He found the door shut. Breaking the lock, he entered the room and saw that it was empty.

At first Bhusan did not trouble about his wife's absence. He thought that if she wanted to come back she would do so. His old steward however came to him and said 'What good will come of taking no notice of it? You ought to get some news of the mistress.' Acting on this suggestion messengers were sent to Mani's father's house. The news was brought that up to that time neither Mani nor Modhu had turned up there.

Then a search began in every direction. Men went along both banks of the river making enquiries. The police were given a description of Modhu but all in vain. They were unable to find out what boat

they had taken what boatman they had hired or by what way they had gone.

One evening when all hope had been abandoned of ever finding his wife Bhushan entered his deserted bed room. It was the festival of Krishna's birth and it had been raining incessantly from early morning. In celebration of the festival there was a fair going on in the village and in a temporary building a theatrical performance was being held. The sound of distant singing could be heard mingling with the sound of pouring rain. Bhushan was sitting alone in the darkness at the window there which hangs loose upon its hinges. He took no notice of the damp wind the spray of the rain and the sound of the singing. On the wall of the room were hanging a couple of pictures of the goddesses Lakshmi and Saraswati printed at the Art Studio on the clothes rack a towel and a bodice and a pair of saris were laid out ready for use. On a table in one corner of the room there was a box containing betel leaves, a small bowl of his own hand but now quite covered by Mam's hand and a cupboard with a gaudy neat table. In a cupboard were arranged with all sorts of things were arranged with evident care—scent bottles decanters of coloured glass a sumptuous pack of cards large brightly polished shells and even empty soap boxes. In a niche there was a favourite little lamp with its round globe. Mam had been in the habit of lighting it with her own hands every evening. One who goes away leaving everything empty leaves the imprint of a living heart even on lifeless objects.

In the dead of night when the heavy rain had ceased and the songs of the village opera troupe had become silent Bhushan was sitting in the same position as before. Outside the window there was such an impenetrable darkness that it seemed to him as if the very gates of oblivion were before him reaching to the sky—as if he had only to cry out to be able to recover sight of those things which seemed to have been lost for ever.

Just as he was thinking thus the jingling sound as of ornaments was heard. It seemed to be advancing up the steps of the ghat. The water of the river and the darkness of the night were indistinguishable. Thrilling with excitement Bhushan tried to pierce and push through the darkness with his eager eyes—till they rebelled

but he could see nothing. The more anxious he was to see the denser the darkness became and the more shadowy the outer world.

The sound reached the top step of the bathing ghat and now began to come towards the house. It stopped in front of the door which had been locked by the porter before he went to the fair. Then upon that closed door there fell a rain of jingling blows as if with some ornaments. Bhushan was not able to sit still another moment but making his way through the unlighted rooms and down the dark stair case he stood before the closed door. It was padlocked from the outside so he began to shake it with all his might. The force with which he shook the door and the sound which he made woke him suddenly. He found he had been asleep and in his sleep he had made his way down to the door of the house. His whole body was wet with perspiration his hands and feet were icy cold and his heart was fluttering like a lamp just about to go out. His dream broken he realised that there was no sound outside except the pattering of rain.

Although the whole thing was a dream Bhushan felt as if for some very small obstacle he had been cheated of the wonderful realisation of his impossible hope. The incessant patter of the rain seemed to say to—This awakening is a dream. This world is vain.

The festival was continued on the following day and the doorkeeper again had leave. Bhushan gave orders that the hall door was to be left open all night.

That night having extinguished the light Bhushan took his seat at the open window of his bedroom as before. The sky was dark with rain clouds and there was a silence as of something indefinite and impending. The monotonous croaking of the frogs and the sound of the distant songs were not able to break that silence, but only seemed to add an incongruity to it.

Late at night the frogs and the crickets and the boys of the opera party became silent and a still deeper darkness fell upon the night. It seemed that now the time had come.

Just as on the night before a clattering and jingling sound came from the ghat by the river. But this time Bhushan did not look in that direction lest by his over



anxiety and restlessness, his power of sight and hearing should become overwhelmed. He made a supreme effort to control himself, and sat still.

The sound of the ornaments gradually advanced from the ghat and entered the open door. Then it came winding up the spiral staircase which led to the inner apartments. It became difficult for Bhusan to control himself, his heart began to thump wildly and his throat was choking with suppressed excitement. Having reached the head of the spiral stairs the sound came slowly along the verandah towards the door of the room, where it stopped outside with a clinking sound. It was now only just on the other side of the threshold.

Bhusan could contain himself no longer, and his pent up excitement burst forth in one wild cry of, 'Mam', and he sprang up from his chair with lightning rapidity. Thus startled out of his sleep he found that the very window panes were rattling with the vibration of his cry. And outside he could hear the croaking of the frogs and pitter of rain.

Bhusan struck his forehead in despair.

Next day the fair broke up, and the stallkeepers and the players' party went away. Bhusan gave orders that no one should sleep in the house that night except himself.

In the evening he took his seat at the window of the empty house. That night there were breaks in the clouds, showing the stars twinkling through the rain washed air. The moon was late in rising, and as the fair was over there was not a single boat on the flooded river. The villagers, tired out by two nights' dissipation, were sound asleep.

Bhusan, sitting with his head resting on the back of his chair, was gazing up at the stars.

As he watched them they one by one disappeared. From the sky above and from the earth beneath screens of darkness met like tired eyelids upon weary eyes. To-night Bhusan's mind was full of peace. He felt certain that the moment had come when his heart's desire would be fulfilled, and that Death would reveal his mysteries to his devotee.

The sound came from the river ghat just as on the previous nights, and advanced up the steps. Bhusan closed his eyes and sat in deep meditation. The

sound reached the empty hall. It came winding up the spiral stairs. Then it crossed the long verandah, and paused for a long while at the bedroom door.

Bhusan's heart beat fast, his whole body trembled. But this time he did not open his eyes. The sound crossed the threshold. It entered the room. Then it went slowly round the room stopping before the rack where the clothes were hanging, the niche with its little lamp, the table where the dried betel-leaves were lying, the almurah with its various nicknacks, and last of all it came and stood close to Bhusan himself.

Bhusan opened his eyes. He saw by the faint light of the crescent moon that there was a skeleton standing right in front of his chair. It had rings on all its fingers, bracelets on its wrists and armlets on its arms, necklaces on its neck, and a golden tiara on its head—its whole body glittered and sparkled with gold and diamonds. The ornaments hung loosely on the limbs but did not fall off. Most dreadful of all was the fact that the two eyes, which shone out from the bony face, were living—two dark moist eyeballs looking out with a fixed and steady stare from between the long thick eyelashes. As he looked, his blood froze in its veins. He tried hard to close his eyes but could not, they remained open staring like those of a dead man.

Then the skeleton, fixing its gaze upon the face of the motionless Bhusan, silently beckoned with its outstretched hand, the diamond rings on its bony fingers glittering in the pale moonlight.

Bhusan stood up as one who had lost his senses, and followed the skeleton which left the room, its bones and ornaments rattling with a hollow sound. The verandah was crossed. Winding down the pitch dark spiral staircase, the bottom of the stairs was reached. Crossing the lower verandah, they entered the empty limless hall. Passing through it, they came out on to the brick paved path of the garden. The bricks crunched under the tread of the bony feet. The faint moonlight struggled through the thick network of branches and the path was difficult to discern. Making their way through the fitting fireflies, which haunted the dark shadowy path, they reached the river.

By those very steps, up which the sound had come, the jewelled skeleton went.

step by step, with a stiff gait and hard sound. On the swift current of the river, flooded by the heavy rain, a faint streak of moon light was visible.

The skeleton descended to the river, and Bhusan, following it, placed one foot in the water. The moment he touched the water, he woke with a start. His guide was no longer to be seen. Only the trees, on the opposite bank of the river, were standing still and silent, and overhead the half moon was staring as if astonished. Starting from head to foot Bhusan slipped and fell headlong into the river. From the midst of dreams he had stepped, for a moment only, into the borderland of waking life,—the next moment to be plunged into eternal sleep."

Having finished his story the school-master was silent for a little. Suddenly, the moment he stopped, I realised that

except for him the whole world had become silent and still. For a long time I also remained speechless, and in the darkness he was unable to see from my face what was its expression.

At last he asked me, "Don't you believe this story?"

I asked, "Do you?"

He said, "No,—and I can give you one or two reasons why. In the first place Dame Nature does not write novels, she has enough to do without all that."

I interrupted him and said, "And, in the second place, my name happens to be Bhusan Shaha."

The schoolmaster, without the least sign of shame, said, "I guessed as much. And what was your wife's name?"

I answered, "Nitya Kali."

Translated by  
W. W. PEARSON

(Reflections suggested by a monograph by Mr P. K. Wattal M.A. on The Population Problem of India, Bennet, Coleman & Co., Bombay)

By DR S. S. NATHU, I.C.S.

**T**HE world needs more power, or Human Capital, is not a sequel to the present day perturbations, but an economic phenomenon persisting from generation to generation and strikingly manifest in a very modern form.

The Population problem in the East, and the Depopulation problem in the West are not two diametrically opposed propositions but two peculiar aspects of one and the same root question which going deeper than Malthusianism, Neo-Malthusianism, Eugenism, or other Reform movements—surface-effects all—shakes to the rock bottom all the stratifications of accepted society.

The question turns upon the Conservation of society.

The principle of Conservation is the counter pole to the principle of Preservation or of purely active or passive defence. This second principle has by now, secured uncontested recognition, even under the most adverse conditions—where the Individual Unit, through heredity, tradition and training, would normally have chafed against the unrestricted enforcement of this or of any principle. But the Individual Unit emerges from Fictum accepts the Collective Cause, and welcomes conscription in advocacy of that Cause.

The second principle of Conservation is reached by the same chain of reasoning. If Man power is conscribed in the interests of the Defence of Society why should not all the human capital be equally

conscribed in the interests of the Perpetuation of that Society? If it is a duty to defend the Country of the Present, it is a still higher duty to defend the Country of the Future. If want of preservation is a crime, want of perpetuation is a sin, &c.

Such, and many more, in varying language, are the variants on the same central theme.

It is precisely from the view point of the future country as against the present-country—of the people that is as against the people that shall be—that the problems of population and of depopulation sink their proper places and admit of a study in the right perspective—the perspective namely of two homologous aspects of a much larger issue.

This fusion of aspects is not fortuitous but corresponds to the bipolarity of the subject. Where there is a population problem, there is also a depopulation problem; and inversely. The two can be enunciated in terms of a common factor—

The population problem is briefly this

LARGE FAMILIES ARE AN EVIL.

They continually drift down the scale of comfort. They tend towards the margin of subsistence.

They pass beyond that margin into the region of Elimination through pauperism, starvation, disease and death.

The depopulation problem, in the same... runs

## SMALL FAMILIES ARE AN EVIL.

They continually drift down the scale of comfort (For with the law of increasing wants the standard of pleasure is perpetually on the rise pleasure is never synonymous with comfort deferred pleasure may be and unattained pleasure is positive discomfort)

They tend towards the margin of subsistence (For a small family with its elaborate and multiplied wants and consisting say of father, mother, and a child cannot afford another child—a curious but none the less deniable fact Such an increment would drive them towards their margin of subsistence)

They pass beyond that margin into the region of Disintegration through Divorce Separation Segregation Denaturalisation Alcoholism and Social followed by individual extinction

Above stages sum up the actual facts and their sequence Unhappy marriages need not be all childless but childless marriages generally are unhappy Divorce is the next step The parties separate the child going with the one or the other into a state of semi-segregation so far as that other is concerned The feeling of father mother and child are reciprocally denaturalised Alcoholism is sure if partial relief Extinction then becomes a question of more or less time)

Surveying the same from a higher standpoint that of the State and Society —

Under the *first Regime* there is a wastage of Manpower and a dissipation of Human Capital through —

Excessive Infantile Mortality	} On the one hand
or	
Infertile Investments	} On the other
And Low Expectation & Vitality	
or	
Diminishing Returns	

Under the *second Regime* there is a dearth of Manpower and an insufficiency of Human Capital seen in —

Unfavourable Vital Statistics	} On the one hand,
or	
Deterioration of Capital	} On the other
And Dilution of Labour	
or	
Dispersion of Capital	

Thus the larger the view and the wider the issue the more closely do the two problems converge into the one general question—the coping stone of all social economies—the Question How Shall We Husband Our Human Capital?

Mr Wattal in his monograph which has been a powerful stimulus to the present enquiry, develops a solution for the population problem of India. There is a commendable freshness about his 'Census-study' it does not smell of midnight oil and it is not crumpled under the weight of archæes Parenthetically, it is quite unlike the average Census study being no more meticulous mole work through archives

He aims and with success, at the resentment, based on a due appreciation of facts and borne out by figures where necessary of the kaleidoscopic picture of Overpopulation in the country and advances certain views as correctives to the popular misconceptions These corrective suggestions can be summarised thus —

1. Press the high birth rate and the high death rate will fall of itself

2. Raise the marriage age and the full force of fecundity will exert itself and produce healthier progeny  
Practise in earnest what you preach with Malthus &c &c

Such are the primary correctives Their efficacy is beyond doubt their morality, beyond scruple To exhaust the list and complete the picture let us cast a glance at the cognate problem of depopulation It is as well known most acute in France

The theorist might be tempted to try experiments with the Laws of Inheritance and so to spoke the driving wheel of society—if at all it is possible for arm-chair effort to spoke such mastodontic machinery Nevertheless eminent thinkers like Tocqueville and Le Play have called for radical change in the scheme of succession which imposes an artificial check on natural fecundity Thus Who can blame the father of a small family if he take warning from the evils of a large one?—if he shudder at the prospect of an eventual parceling and frittering away of his small hoard among his numerous progeny, should he chance to indulge himself in that luxury? It is immaterial what shape that hoard may take the field house workshop factory, or trade interest For such a one convert the single small family group into a large joint family system and you find straight away a partial solution to the problem of depopulation That it is also a very general solution has been recognised in France long before her present need became acute After persistent efforts in the press committee and conference definite propositions were advanced tending towards the step wise inauguration of what might be termed a subcastral joint family system Evidently such a revolutionary step could not be taken in the running of day But a casual reference will show a certain stage of practical development actually reached General Tontee proposed so to remould the Scheme of Succession as to multiply the share of any inheritor with the number of children in his family Other suggestions run on parallel lines all tending to establish the homogeneity of the family hoard

The cause of Depopulation in Overpopulated countries calls for specific provisions on analogies, but opposed lives It would be too much of a digression at this stage to anticipate and fix their shape but such efforts will naturally have to supplement the correctives which Mr Wattal has so clearly established in his monograph

It is not necessary to resort to the trammels of law alone both means are equally within reach, what is more to the point have been actually at work over a long stretch of time The sociological picture of the transition age can be caught in the fewest of pen-strokes

The old fashioned family home is fast breaking up. There is a persistent drift of population from the country to the town and from the town into the Great Beyond—using the phrase in its purely physiographic not ecclesiastical sense For there is not only a rural but an over sea exodus as well. The Tapa, the lands of the Black water have proved—whether in fact or by report or both, it is not pertinent to pause and enquire—Eldorados in little. This statement is to be constructed under all reserve, for statistics will advance the counter statement that for everyone who comes to the top there are scores, and scores and yet more scores who go under But he who comes to the top and returns to his native hearth—the death is more likely than a 'crash' say usay—counts among through 's slaves than it and it flows through the future. He is a crea-

sure in the eyes of the village hopefuls, and a potent stimulus to adventure in fresh fields and pastures new. The imaginative child of the usar, little recking the call of ancestral acres, catches the wander thirst, and his erstwhile happy home starts drifting towards dissolution. The multiple family knot begins to loosen, and the forces which held the joint house, to lose cohesion. The joint family system is no longer the perfect type of settlement it used to be, and its disintegration will only be a function of time.

In this connection, another corrective is equally worthy of note. In the corrective of hedonism, the happy home of the village Adventurer is a thing of the past. He has devious turned away from the happy home in the village to the haunt of pleasure into town. There he rubs to the haunt of pleasure type of humanity, to town should have a higher type of humanity, new impressions, new and foreigners. New wants, and new wants establish relations lead to of pleasure. Hedonism and egotism are existing scale, and this growth of egotism marks a prominent of kin, of social reconstitution. Whatever the young adventurer may do after his wander years are over, he is not to be expected to go back into the old rut and to perpetuate his species at the same old level of life. And when he does propagate a sub-species it will be in consonance with the Spencerian maxim—Individuation and reproduction are antagonists. Which in simple parlance, implies that his will be a smaller family than his father's, consisting of more individualised units.

No mental effort is necessary to lurch on to the extreme of Over-individualisation, and of Under reproduction—the limiting case in France. Whether the Frenchman, the man in the street, not the Boulevard, is a phenomenon of such over-individualisation, in other words over-individualised need not detain us. Certain it is that the country is afflicted with depopulation, an affliction without a positive cure.

Where commissions have sat and parliaments pondered it would be heresy to rush in with airy suggestions which are generally the poor products of first-thoughts. But certain scenes caught first-hand are more eloquent than minutes reports or analyses. What is their lesson?

The normal French home is not absolutely childless but the number of children is confined to one or at best two. A family of three is already a family nombreuse, a large family. While eminent French Sentimentalists with great hearted Hugo on the one hand and the sensitive Lamartine on the other, have tried to interpret the supreme needs of man, and urged the imperative necessity, æsthetical social psychological, for children; children are, if then density of the family is at all an index, fast becoming more a luxury than a necessity. And the senseless irony of fate has to be faced in all seriousness, the irony that the one people, which has best understood children should be the least blest with them. Why is this?

Infecundity alone, if at all, is not the cause. For the average Frenchman is not a boulevardier, but an intensely home loving family father. And yet his family, for all his love and devotion, is comparatively childless. The reason is that in France the child after a certain early stage in the evolution of the family, ceases to be a necessity and becomes a luxury. The extra child beyond the normal, is remunerated at every step that it has blundered into the world, before its time, and without a place. From the very start difficulties in regard to the most elementary matters hamper and handicap him. First and foremost comes the housing difficulty. Of

course there is no problem in a certain class of cases—money can command almost anything and for the well to do there is no problem. But for the main strata of society, the upper labouring classes the lower middle classes, the main bulk of the middle classes, and, in a certain measure also the upper middle classes, the extra child will not be wholly an unmixed blessing. The old household will have to be reorganised on a broader basis. It will mean shifting into a new flat, and apartments for large families are scarce. Indeed, most of the only available and suitable tenement blocks bear the ugly and brazen device "No Dogs; No Cats; No Babies," and the prohibition can not be easily ignored. The first sensible impulse should be to blame the Concorde, who has the inhumanity to display such notice, much less enforce to the last letter. But he is only an instrument, not the author, of the evil. He and his patron have to consult the convenience of the adjacent childless homes in the same block, inhabited by small and quiet families. Sentimental few, and to strategists be bad business to placate the

lodging seeker is helped out of the corner. The important gentle but firm hand, and whatever he may be, in civil life—small industrial, artisan, trader, professional, or even civil servant—he becomes in the caserne or union one more recruit for socialism, and one more focus of class hatred. The immediate result is that he has to shift his large family into more expensive apartments, when he can least afford it. The usual way out of the impasse is for the family to split up for the present, and to be more careful and malthusian in future. It may be urged that there is the crèche for housing the extra child, and it is true that the lower-class mother does profit by that semi-charitable and home wrecking institution. But the great bulk of those not desperately necessitous are sooner content with any other alternative, and very largely prefer not to gather the rich fruits of fecundity to the full. And the housing problem remains as acute as before.

Equally acute is the problem of nursing. And it affects all the strata of society impartially. From the Moudane to the Midnette, from the Grande Dame to the Petite Menagere, from the Lady of Rank and fashion to the sweated sempstress—all are alike helpless in the face of the nursing problem, these through necessity and those through habit. For the bourgeoisie will not, and working woman cannot, mind her own baby, the former consults her prestige in the eyes of her sex and engages a nurse, the latter is distracted by work for a living and worry over the baby and she surrenders the rights of motherhood to the drudgery of the hand to mouth existence. Often enough there are ladies with red-cross training who recognise the supreme need of the times, and establish private nursing homes for infants. This should one might imagine be a definite solution of the nursing problem? But no! The directress of such an institute has a very anxious time of it. Weekly or oftener, she has, in anticipation of a surprise visit from the government inspector, to see to it that not more babies meet the sharp eyes of that over zealous official than three to a nurse! Now that limit is always exceeded for two very obvious reasons—night and day nurses are too expensive to be engaged in sufficient numbers, and the large hearted directress cannot always refuse a luncheon to a baby's mother. So, at the psychological moment when she will be caught transgressing the rule and lose her license, the worthy lady tries to dispose of

the superfluous babies by relegating them to all manner of hiding places from the familiar cupboard to the more risky house across the street. So, then, the highly commendable application of the rules of hygiene to the art of bringing up a baby develops into a farcical game of hide and seek. The private nursing home is voted a failure, and the nursing problem still awaits solution.

It is beyond the scope of the present paper to marshal all the manifold problems which beset the organised effort at child-culture, and hamper state initiative just there where it is most wanted. All the problems can be synthesised under one or the other of the following two—High living and General dislocation. Of these, the latter is at worst an ephemeral phase of the abnormal times through which we are passing; the former, a permanent heirloom which we shall be leaving to posterity. This then, merits the most consideration.

A good long while before the present-day perturbations set in, the cost of living had been steadily in the rise. But attention, instead of being concentrated on that main point, had been needlessly diffused over its multiple surface-effects. Thus much of the pre-war legislation, social and economic, in France had turned upon this question, and then upon that, in the order in which they became acute, but there was no comprehensive effort, breathing of a broader spirit, at a systematic synthesis of all the diversified needs of the times, great or small, pressing to-day or pressing to-morrow. Instead, the apostles of Ana-

lysis—an intellectual machinery which had gathered the brain momentum of nearly a century and half—kept on criticising, analysing, pulverising, until great problems became small and small ones microscopic. Latterly, with the awakening of a higher consciousness in the country, there has been a break with the great mental preoccupation of the past, and Synthesis is now the one channel into which the undirected thought-currents are steadily converging together. So, the wrangles of class gave way to the *cherte des vivres* and this led on to the all important *la vie chère*, with the result that, at this day, *la vie chère* is a permanent institution of the press.

The problem of De population is being solved from two ends. On the one hand, it is sought to depress the rising cost of living by reorganising, on a more economical basis, consumption, distribution and supply. And on the other hand a process of race fusion is also at work. The neglected metisse is coming into his own. Issues of mixed marriages are incorporated with facility. And so the synthesising has set in.

The problem of population too is at root similar to that of De population as has been shown already at an earlier stage. It, too is a problem of readjustment of the main economic agencies concerned. But first the result of such re-adjustment in countries where the need is more pressing will have to be awaited. The experiment being made there will be of more than local or national interest.

## THEORIES OF THE EVOLUTION OF KINGSHIP AMONG THE INDO-ARYANS

By NARENDRA NATH LAW, M.A., B.L., PREMCHAND ROYCHAND SCHOLAR.

### X

#### Section I.

THE USEFULNESS OF HYPOTHESES WHICH AFTER SATISFYING THE NECESSARY TEST DEVELOP INTO THEORIES

Man's desire to probe into all problems however obscure prompts him to frame hypotheses for the explanation of phenomena even where the means of direct perception of the conditions that bring them about are absent. These hypotheses are very useful inasmuch as they often enable him at length to find out the right cause for the phenomenon, of which an explanation is sought. Many of the present acquisitions to the domain of human knowledge had to pass through this hypothetical stage before they could be accepted as established theories

after their passage of the necessary tests. We make hypotheses of all sorts in our daily life and these fulfil more or less satisfactorily the objects for which they are framed. The hypotheses of systematized thought however have to be tested as accurately as possible till they satisfy all the demands made upon them as explanations of phenomena.

#### THE TESTS VARY

The tests are not the same in all cases but vary with the nature of the phenomenon required to be explained. A physical reality that admits of observation, accurate mathematical calculation, and quantitative measurement, that repeats itself and can be subjected to experiments, will necessarily allow appli-

1 The word 'theory' is so netimes loosely used for hypothesis, but logically a theory is an established hypothesis.

cation of various tests which may not be possible for one of a different kind

#### THE PHENOMENON TO BE EXPLAINED

The phenomenon with which we are at present concerned is the evolution of kingship i.e. how the supreme political power in a community first fell into the hands of a single man giving rise to the primitive monarchy in the place of the previous political organizations such as government by elders, or still laxer systems such as the leaderless unions of little bands of Bushmen for hunting or plunder

It should be particularly noted that the 'rise of kingship' being a single expression does not in the strict logical sense stand for a single effect from a single cause. It is a general expression for several phenomena which, from the logical standpoint are different and attributable to different totalities of conditions. To make it clear by an example the expression 'rise of kingship' resembles the word death in its relation to causes. Just as logically there cannot be death in general, but must always be some particular kind of death e.g. death caused by a bullet should be distinguished from that by drowning, similarly kingship reached through military prowess should be distinguished from that secured by any other means. From this it will be clear that one particular hypothesis for the rise of kingship can speak of only one of the many ways thereto and many such hypotheses propounding different ways need not be mutually exclusive for they are concerned with really different phenomena though classed under the same general expression. Any two or more of these ways if their nature permits may work in combination through the same king, their strength being increased through this combination while there may be others that may not be operative even in neighbouring localities or in distant parts of the same country.<sup>1</sup>

It should also be kept in view that we are here concerned (1) with the primitive ways of elevation to the throne and not with those utilized by subsequent aspirants thereto, (2) with the determination of such of the ways as

were operative among the primitive ancestors of the Indo Aryans

#### THE TESTS FOR VERIFYING THE HYPOTHESES

Many hypotheses have been framed to account for the first rise of kingship. The tests applicable to them must needs differ at least in some respects from those for verifying hypotheses about a different element of reality. The first rise of monarchy does not admit of observation, calculation, or experiment. It may be objected that as history is said to repeat itself, the emergence of kingship should admit of experiments on the new monarchies that come into being. It should be borne in mind that these repetitions have only superficial and nominal resemblance and take place in conditions far from identical with the primitive conditions of the first monarchies. If China for instance relapses into a monarchy, would it be such an exact replica of the past venty that inference from its observation might be applicable *in toto* to the latter. Far from it. Many elements and forces political, social, religious or otherwise now at work might not at all have come into existence then, or even if existent, were not perhaps in the same state of relative strength and development. This makes a good deal of difference. The present totality of conditions might be taken as an additional road to the throne but this might not or perhaps owing to essential differences could not be one of those resorted to by the first kings. If we leave aside this example from a modern civilized country and turn for one to the lowest savages now on earth we would not perhaps fare better. Many of the conditions operative among them might approach in similarity those of the past and might thus have a suggestive or explanatory value but it would be hazardous to treat them as reproductions of the particular conditions of the past and take them as eligible for experiments. I shall have occasion to dwell upon this point hereafter, suffice it to say that the rise of monarchy does not by its very nature admit of experiment, then are the names of verifying the hypotheses relating thereto? The answer I perhaps in these conditions of a valid hypothesis —

(1) It should be reasonable self-evident and in harmony with the laws and in the contemporary system of reality

<sup>1</sup> I have received here some suggestions from certain well-known logicians as to the way to

(2) It should furnish a basis for rigorous deductive inference of consequences.

The first condition requires that the new supposition should be in agreement with the accepted laws. It may happen that a supposition inconsistent with the received conceptions is proved to be true demanding a revision of the latter, as was the case with the new Copernican hypothesis of the heavens, which conflicted with the accepted Ptolemaic theory but instead of being rejected had to be substituted for the latter. Such instances are rare and the probability for such a radical revision of the received conceptions is growing lesser with the advance of science.

These conditions would be followed throughout the subsequent portion of this chapter for the rejection or acceptance of the hypotheses, some of which, as will be found hereafter, were discussed long ago and found faulty, while some others already obtain as 'theories'. The rejected hypotheses will be but referred to in passing, those newly propounded, if any, would be discussed, while the 'theories' would be recorded not without a critical eye thereon.

### Section II.

WHETHER THE SANSKRIT AND BUDDHIST LITERATURES CONTAIN ANY HINTS OF THE EVOLUTION OF KINGSHIP.

The Mahābhārata as pointed out by Prof. Hopkins,<sup>1</sup> speaks of a three-fold origin of kings according to the more ancient Śāstras (codes, viz., (I) good family (satkulay), (II) personal bravery (śūratvam), and (III) skill in the leadership of armies (senā-prakarshanam<sup>2</sup>). The prince Duryodhana cites the above śāstric passage to justify his installation of Karna to the throne of the Anga kingdom, in order to make him eligible to fight Arjuna by putting the former on a par with the latter in a tournament.

#### THE MAHĀSAMMATA IN THE JĀTAKAS

The tradition about the Mahāsammatā (Great Elect) in the Jātakas relates that he

was the first king in the Vivatta<sup>3</sup> of the first Kappa (cycle), elected by the people from among themselves to remove their want of a ruler which they had been keenly feeling.<sup>4</sup> The elect was "handsome, auspicious, commanding, altogether perfect."<sup>5</sup>

#### THE MAHĀSAMMATA IN THE MAHĀVASTU AVADĀNAM.

The above legend is much more detailed in the Mahāvastu Avadānam: "Then, O, Bhikshus! the men (lit. beings) hastened and assembled, after doing so, they held a consultation we should select that person from among ourselves present here, who happens to be the most pleasing (sarva-prāsādikō) and powerful (sarva-mahesākhyō), and who can punish those deserving punishment and support those worth supporting. Tell us the quantity of paddy on each of our paddy-fields. Then, O, Bhikshus! the men selected the person who was the most pleasing and powerful. (You) punish among ourselves that person who deserves punishment and support him who is worth supporting. We select you as the foremost of all beings; we give you a sixth of the produce of each of our paddy-fields. Selected as he was by a large collection of people, he was termed the Great Elect (Mahāsammatā)."<sup>6</sup>

#### REVIEW OF THE ABOVE LEGENDS

This Buddhist tradition emphasizes the selection by the people at large of a competent ruler and ignores the aspiration and

1. Third division in which the process of renovation of the world begins.

2. See Tika on the word 'devadhammā' of a verse in the 'Devadhammujātaka' in the Jātaka (ed. by V. Fausboll), vol. I (text), p. 132; also R. C. Childers' Pāli English Dictionary under 'Mahāsammatā'.

3. See the Jātaka (transl. by W. H. D. Rouse and ed. by E. H. Cowell), vol. II, p. 242 (ulūka-jātaka).

4. Mahāvastu Avadānam (ed. by E. Senart, 1881), vol. I, pp. 347-348. The above passage ends thus "Worthy as he was of the share of the produce of paddy fields, he was called king (Rājā). For protecting and maintaining adequately, he was called 'a kshatriya be sprinkled on the head' [(Kshatriya mūrdhnabhi shiktāh). The lacuna here has been supplied in the light of the subsequent portion of the passage]. Standing, as he did as a parent to the people of the town and the country, he was called the 'repository of strength and energy to the people' (Janapada-sthāna-virya-prapto).

There is a brief allusion to this tradition and some of its details in the Chātuhastika by Aryadeva (ed. as a Memoir of the A. S. B. by Mahāmahopādhyāya Pandit Haraprasad Sāstrī, M.A., C.I.E.), ch. iv, p. 461.

1. J. A. O.S., xiii, pp. 99, 100.

2. MBh., Adi-Parva, ch. 136, ślōk. 35.

3. Achāryya tvividha yonī rajyam śāstra vinischaye, Satkulinascha śūratvascha yascha senam prakarshati. 'O, Teacher! kings have a three-fold origin according to the śāstras, viz., from the positions of an aristocrat, a hero, and a commander of armies.'

for the play of some of them while peace or other states of affairs for the rest

Thus far about the personal attributes. There may be other forces *which may also be specially mentioned* and which may be said to lie more in the beliefs or institutions of the early societies than in the men availing themselves of those forces though of course the utilization of the forces may require the possession of particular attributes by those men

#### THE PATRIARCH BECOMES A CHIEF

Such a force may lie for instance in the patriarchal institution. When men, says Herbert Spencer, passed from the hunting stage into the pastoral and wandered in search of food for their domesticated animals, they fell into conditions favouring the formation of patriarchal groups. The growth of simple groups into those compound and doubly compound acknowledging the authority of one who unites family headship with political superiority has been made familiar by Sir Henry Maine and others as common to early Greeks Romans Teutons Slavs and Hindus<sup>1</sup>. The joint undivided family, wherever its beginning is seen in the Aryan communities springs universally out of the patriarchal family, a group of natural or adoptive descendants held together by subjection to the eldest living ascendant, father grandfather or great grandfather. In the more extensive assemblages of kinsmen constituting the joint family the eldest male of the eldest line is never the parent of all the members, and not necessarily the first in age among them. There is always the impression that the blood of the collective brotherhood runs more truly and purely in some one line than in any other. Among the Hindus, the eldest male of this line if of full mental capacity, is generally placed at the head of the concerns of the joint family. If he is not deemed fit for his duties, a worthier kinsman is substituted for him by election and the longer the joint family holds together the more election gains ground at the expense of birth. The whole process may be described as the gradual transmutation of the patriarch into the chief, the general rule being that the latter is elected with a strong preference for the eldest

line. Sometimes he is assisted by a definite council of near kinsmen and sometimes, this council takes his place. On the whole where the body of kinsmen formed on the type of the joint family is a purely civil institution the tendency is towards greater disregard of the claims of blood. But in those states of society in which the brotherhood is a political militant self-sustaining group, we can perceive from actually extant examples that a separate set of causes comes into operation and that the chief as military leader sometimes more than regains the privileges lost through the decay of the tradition connecting him with the common root of all the kindred. Thus all the branches of human society may or may not have been developed from joint families but wherever it was an institution of the Aryan race<sup>2</sup> we see that the patriarch could rise into political headship.

#### THE MATRIARCHATE.

The 'maternal system' is held by some to have preceded the paternal, but there are doubts as to this priority. 'If patriarchal reasons are enough to account for the custom as we find it says Sir Frederick Pollock, 'we can hardly assume that in a given case it was formerly matriarchal merely because for all we know, it might have been so. This would be to assume the very thing to be proved, namely, that the society in question was in fact maternal at some earlier time''<sup>3</sup>

Under this system however women have no personal power. If it at all converges political power on any person like the paternal system, it is on a male rather than on a female. In many societies, again, in which this system is the rule an exception is made in the case of the political head<sup>4</sup>.

#### THE INFLUENCE OF THE MEDICINE MAN AS AN ORIGIN OF KINGSHIP

Spencer mentions another influence as the

<sup>1</sup> See Sir Henry Maine's *Early History of Institutions* (1905) pp. 115-118. I have retained his language as far as possible with changes or omissions for the sake of brevity or adaptation to the present context, in order to allow him to state his own case with its necessary details. (See also his *Ancient Law* ch. v and its Note on patriarchal theory by Sir Frederick Pollock.)

<sup>2</sup> See Note on ch. v. Maine's *Ancient Law*, p. 179.

<sup>3</sup> *Encyclopædia Britannica*, 11th ed. vol. 17 p. 889; H. Spencer op. cit., pp. 344-345.

<sup>4</sup> Herbert Spencer op. cit., pp. 342-343.



step by step along the old lines, just as much as it would be to suppose that one who wishes to fly in the air must begin with the primitive balloon before he can be allowed to try a modern aeroplane. And by leaving the attainment of the goal to a vague future, we prevent the goal from being clearly perceived and the steps towards it from being clearly thought out, for this purpose, which Mr. Curtis rightly thinks to be so essential, it is absolutely necessary to think of the ideal as one within the region of practical politics, and not as a far off divine event, which reduces the whole discussion to futile barrenness. It behoves all

friends of India, therefore, to lay down a practical programme of the results to be achieved within a definite period. This is a task which the bureaucracy shirks from, as we have seen in the case of the late Mr. Gokhale's Universal Education Bill, where there was no end to liberal professions of sympathy, though the government would not accept the twenty year's limit proposed by Mr. Gokhale. And this is at the root of the reason why, in spite of their generous sentiments, the European officials fail to command our confidence.

POL

## WHEELS WITHIN WHEELS

BY FRANK HOWLL EVANS, AUTHOR OF "FIVE YEARS," "THE CINEMA GIRL," &c.

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[ Our readers are informed that all characters in this story are purely imaginary, and if the name of any living person happens to be mentioned no personal reflection is intended ]

### CHAPTER IX.

MEG'S BRIDESMAID.

"ONE and one"

"Two and one"

"And over the juice, miss."

Such were a few of the remarks which were addressed to Gladys on the first day of her engagement at the fried fish shop.

She had been at work since ten o'clock, helping in the premises behind the shop with the various articles that required cleaning and attending to, such as knives and forks, pepper-boxes, salt-cellars, vinegar bottles, all of which needed to be ~~cleaned and attended to~~ in her department.

The fish had been prepared for cooking out in the back yard by two elderly women who received sixpence an hour for their work. Gladys arrived just in time to see them finishing their task, and she shuddered as she watched them cleaning and scraping the fish, their hands all the while in a long zinc trough, through which constantly poured a stream of water from a tap, this washing the refuse down into a receptacle at the sloping end. It was chilly, wet, horrible work Gladys thought, and she noticed that the poor old things only had on thin, worn boots, and the water

had of course spilt over them, and they were standing in the wet all the time they worked, chopping and cutting and opening the fish with sharp knives with marvellous rapidity.

"Hard work, isn't it?" she ventured to remark to one of them as she was preparing to go, after receiving her pay.

"Well, yes, I suppose it is 'ard," said the old woman, "but, bless you, I'm glad to get it. There ain't much room for us old women in the world, so we must take what we can get and be thankful. You've got your years before you, I can see, my dear. Make the best of them while you can. And don't turn up your nose at a nice young man if 'e comes along. I did, and I've 'ad to keep myself all my life instead of sittin' by the fire while some ~~big strong man goes out to work for me~~. But there, I don't grumble. I've got good 'ealth, thanks be to God, and I 'aven't a bad tooth in my 'ead, and there's not many can say that at my age."

And the cheerful old woman, who had doubtless all her life never been able to earn more than fourteen or fifteen shillings a week and considered herself lucky in that, chuckled as she went away, leaving Gladys thinking and wondering over what is nothing less than the heroism of the really poor, who can still find something in their drab lives to laugh at and be thankful for. Thankful for sixpence an hour, earned at what most people would

call a repulsive occupation! That kept on coming back to Gladys as she tried to become accustomed to the smell from the boiling fat in which the fish was being fried in large tanks. It was a peculiar, rather sickly smell to be constantly standing over—for part of her duty was to keep the boiling, sizzling mass moving, to notice when the pieces of fish were done, and to take them out and place them in a wire tray just behind the tank where they would keep warm and be ready to serve. The potatoes were cooked in the same way, and at twelve o'clock the first rush of customers came in.

Working girls from the pickle factory in the neighbourhood were amongst the first comers, then other young women and young men, workers also. Then at one o'clock labourers from some building works in progress close by big strong, rough men, roughly clothed and covered with dirt, and with harsh voices but all ways, in their rough way, polite to Gladys, checking their rather strong language when she was by, and looking at her with eyes of frank admiration, not with the leer that better class, better dressed men think fit to employ so often when they honour a waitress by giving her an order.

"One and one"

"Two and one"

"And over the juice, miss."

Gladys was frankly bewildered at first by these remarks when the orders were given, but quickly she began to understand them. "One and one" meant a penny piece of fish and a pennyworth of potatoes, "two and one" meant a two penny piece and a penny worth of potatoes, the juice was the vinegar supplied in a bottle stopped by a cork which was pierced with little holes so that vinegar could be shaken, not poured, out.

She and Mr. Parlow were kept busy handing over fish and potatoes, not only to those who ate their portion in the shop, or took it away in a piece of newspaper, to eat outside as they lounged in the streets, but also to those who brought in dishes or plates to carry away enough fish to give their families a midday meal, busy mothers, some of these, without time to attend to the cooking of a dinner, others shifty, happy go lucky people, women who had very likely spent their morning at a public house and then suddenly realised

that a hungry husband would be home at one o'clock. Sometimes, too, looking rather self-conscious, a black coated worker would sit in, a poor clerk earning only about half the money of a mechanic, driven by compulsion to the cheap fried fish shop. Then, again, two or three well-dressed boys, doubtless from offices, or the bank near by, hard up for the moment and ravenously hungry, looking upon fried fish as cheap and filling and something to eat at any rate, besides, it was rather a joke, this lunching for three pence in a room with a sawdusted floor, where there were no cloths on the table, and one ate with one's fingers.

When two o'clock struck, the rush was over, and before three the trade for the morning was, so Mr. Parlow said, finished. Then all the fish had been sold and all the potatoes. That was one of the secrets of successful trade, so Mr. Parlow explained to Gladys to gauge as nearly as possible how much would be sold, how much would be left over.

Gladys sank down in a chair in the little room at the back of the shop, thankful that the work was over for the present. She had no idea that the standing and moving about all the time would be so tiring. For the first few minutes of her rest she felt as if she never wanted to see fried fish again.

"Now then, Missy," said Mr. Parlow, "I don't suppose you feel like any fried fish after being over it all day, do you? And there's only just a couple of bits left, I see. That's about the finest clear out I ever saw. Now, you couldn't look at fish, I can see that, so I'll just send the boy out for a bit of beef and ham and some pickles. That'll do us both a bit of good, I think."

Gladys couldn't help smiling to herself. She could hardly believe that it was really she who was here, acting as waitress and general help in a fried fish shop, and that she was going to sit down to eat her lunch with a stout, good natured man in his shirt sleeves and a white apron.

Then, a little after three, having taken off her apron and put on her hat and coat, she was free to do what she liked until six o'clock, when she would have to return to the shop.

It was harder work at the fish shop than it had been at the coffee shop, and Gladys felt as if she could only throw

herself down on her bed at home and sleep for hours

But first of all she had made up her mind to write to Lord Guardene, and so on her way to the Free Library she bought a little penny packet of stationery, and in the library asked the civil young assistant for a Directory of the Peerage

Here was easily found Lord Guardene's address. He had no permanent London address, except two or three clubs, and the family seat was entered as Guardene Castle, Northumberland

Guardene Castle! How nice it sounded! Guardene Castle! If she were to accept him she would be Lady Guardene of Guardene Castle. Guardene Castle or a fried fish shop! How incongruous how ludicrous the conjunction sounded!

When Gladys reached home she sat down at the little rickety table in the ill-furnished bedroom, with the packet of cheap notepaper before her, thinking, thinking, thinking

At last she had brought herself to the point of writing a letter of refusal, she had made up her mind that she would refuse him, and now could she—could she do it? She looked out at the window into the sordid little street—it was raining now, making the small, dingy houses look more dingy and grimy than before, the outlook seemed more depressing than ever. In imagination she could once more almost taste the steam, the smell of that fried fish shop—and then she thought of Guardene Castle. She tried to persuade herself that she could love Lord Guardene, that love would come, but the more she tried this self-persuasion the more difficult it became. The candle of love could not be lighted at will. No, she could not marry where her heart would never be

And so, bravely and with a steady hand, she wrote on that cheap paper a letter grateful and kind, definitely refusing the honour which Lord Guardene offered her. She gave no address, she gave no explanations, she simply declined the offer and hoped that he would find someone who could really care for him as he deserved to be cared for. Then on her way back to work at six o'clock she posted the letter, and Guardene Castle vanished and the fish shop was there in reality

"I can see that this is going to be a big go, Missy," said Mr Parlow, when at a few minutes past twelve the shop was

cleared of its last customer and the shutters put up, "so I don't think it will be long before your wages are increased. No, you don't do anything more to night. You've done your bit of work. The boy'll do all the cleaning up in the morning. And now, it's a bit of a rough neighbourhood at night, so I'll see you safely home."

"Yes, 'e's a good sort is old Parlow," said Meg, who had got back earlier, for her shop was nearer home than Gladys's. "But you look tired, my dear. It's been a hard day for you, 'asn't it? You look worried, too, and thoughtful. Anything wrong dear? Tell me, won't you? You've often listened to my bits of troubles. Tell me what it is. I know there's somethin'."

"No, no, Meg, there's really nothing except that—oh, well, I will tell you. I've written to a man who asked me to marry him."

"Oh, my dear, I am glad! Of course you said yes?"

"No, I said no. Meg I couldn't say yes because I didn't love him."

"Ah, that's a pity, that's a pity!" said Meg sagely. "But it ain't no good marryin' a chap if you can't love 'im, is it? Why, bless me, more than one 'as said to me, 'Wot you can see in that Ted I can't think.' I've had to tell one or two of 'em off for sayin' that. Very likely they're right, 'e ain't much to look at, and I don't know exactly 'ow it came about that I fell in love with 'im, but there it is, I love 'im and I'd let 'im walk over me. But 'oo was 'e, Gladys, your young man? And is there anyone else?"

Gladys felt as if it would relieve her to open her mind, she really had begun to love this kind coster girl, she saw the ~~beauty of the handsomely dressed~~ big, strong body. And so by degrees she told of Lord Guardene, and then in a burst of confidence she told of the man she had only seen once.

"I couldn't marry Lord Guardene because I couldn't love him, Meg," concluded Gladys. "I tried to think I could, but then I always seemed to see—someone else standing between him and me, someone else."

"Ah, that's it, my dear, that's it! You fell in love at first sight!" Meg nodded. "Ah, well, you'll come together, you see if you don't. And you've refused a lord! Fancy that! 'Meg's voice was full of awe."

"A real live lord you've said no to! My, it makes me almost frightened to be in the same room with you. And what's become of the other fellow, then?"

Gladys shook her head.

"I only saw him that once, and perhaps I shall never see him again."

Oh that you will! You cheer up. And anyway, you'll know what to do when you're married, for you're going to be my bridesmaid, you know, so you'll see what to do when he takes you along to the church. Oh, it'll be all right, you see if it ain't!"

There was something so cheering, so comforting in Meg's confidence that things would turn out all right that Gladys slept soundly that night, acknowledging to herself before sleep kissed her eyes that she was happier now that she had written to Lord Guardene, now that she had refused him.

And the next day even the fried fish shop seemed to be a little more bearable, and, as the days went on, she became more used to the work and the atmosphere, and grew in favour with the regular customers and the young 'nuts' from the bank and offices began to come there when they were not hard up, and to spread rumours of the pretty girl at the fried fish shop amongst their friends and the evening trade began to grow what Mr Parlow called quite swagger.

"We're getting quite a decent class of people in the evening, Missy," he said one day. "I think after a bit I'll try and enlarge and have a little sort of better class supper room out at the back there. And by the way, I'll make it a pound a week for you from next Saturday. I shall make more out of this shop than I do out of the other one soon."

A pound a week! It seemed to Gladys that this was riches.

Meg's marriage was to take place shortly. Ted was out of the hospital and back at work again, and actually—think of it—he was to go with a number of others and receive a medal from the hands of the King himself!

"You know, I shall simply go off my fat cad with excitement," said Meg to Gladys. "My Ted goin' to see the King! Fancy that! 'Is portrait' 'll be in all the papers again. And next month we're goin' to get married. Well I don't know really 'ow I shall stand it. And then, my

dear, there's one thing as 'urts me through it all—I shall be sorry to leave you. I never knew a real lady before. You've done me a lot of good, you 'ave. I never thought of sayin' no prayers before I knew you, I never thought of goin' to church. You've made me a better woman, I think, in fact, I know you 'ave. Now come along down to that dress maker woman with me, will you? Unless I get you to talk to 'er she won't do nothin'."

Those were happy days. To Gladys it was delightful to see the pride of Meg and Ted in each other, the pride of Meg in her little hero and Ted looking up to Meg as the cleverest woman in the whole of the south of London. The excitement of the preparations for the wedding, the visits to the little shop which was already taken, the assisting in the purchase of the furniture the thousand and one arrangements to be made—Meg's dress and her own to be chosen, to be superintended. Meg insisted on paying for Gladys's bridesmaid's dress, and this gift Gladys accepted in the spirit in which it was offered and with some difficulty she persuaded Meg to have a quiet dress instead of one of rather flamboyant blue which the coster girl had fancied.

"I'll have one like yours, my dear," said Meg.

And when Gladys explained that it was hardly the thing for a bride and her bridesmaid to be dressed exactly alike, Meg snorted.

"If I can't 'ave my own way at my own weddin' there ain't goin' to be no weddin'," she said. "You and I 'ave got to be dressed alike, Gladys, so there's the end of it. And it'll be nice to see old Ma Giles there, won't it? Poor old thing, I 'ope she'll be well enough to come."

Ma Giles was recovering slowly from the shock the fire had caused her, she was still feeble in body and, it was feared, in intellect as well. But she appeared at the wedding, and recognized Meg and seemed also to have some knowledge of Gladys, and was driven away back to her relations, waving a feeble hand from the carriage window.

The wedding took place at 8 from the house of the publican and his wife, Ted's aunt. Good natured hospitality showered its friendly rays over every thing and everybody. The happy couple

were to spend a few days at Brighton and then to return to the shop and to work

There was no changing of the bride's dress before she went away, fashion and ceremony do not prevail in coster circles, and as a rule, too, the bride is too proud of her wedding dress to want to change it. But before the bride and bridegroom left Meg had a final and, it must be admitted rather a tearful and snuffy farewell with Gladys.

"I'm so 'appy, my dear, I'm so 'appy," said Meg. "I only wish it could 'ave been a double weddin', for some'ow I don't like to think of you bein' all by yourself, workin' away in that shop. Still, we shall see you a lot, I 'ope. And you promise me if ever you want anythin', if ever you get out of work, you'll come to me. And you've got to come very, very often and see us. And every Sunday, mind you, you've got to come and spend the day with us. Good bye, my dear, and Gawd bless you, and thank you for wot you've done for me."

"And God bless you, too, dear Meg, and may He give you every happiness."

And the two—the coster girl and the lady, kissed as more than friends, as sisters.

And then away Meg and Ted went to their new life, and Gladys returned to her room in the little hotel, now lonely, to change her bridesmaid's dress and then to start work again at six o'clock that evening.

## CHAPTER V

### LORD GUARDENE GETS HIS ANSWER

"Not bad news, I hope?"

Lady Dalmayer was entertaining a house party at her country place, Challoner. After dinner the guests had drifted off to their various amusements, some to the billiard room, some to the card room, and two or three were lounging round the big wood fire in the spacious hall.

The butler had brought in the letters by the last post. The tray was handed round till it reached Lord Guardene, who was standing smoking a cigarette with his back to the fire. There was one letter for him, and one only, and this was addressed in a woman's handwriting. It was a little, cheap, thin envelope, and he saw that it had been forwarded to him from Guardene Castle. The writing was strange to him.

He wondered who the letter could be from. And then his heart leapt. He wondered—could it be—was it the letter he had so long expected, that he had almost given up hoping for? Could it be from Gladys Tremayne? He had lady correspondents, but this writing was strange to him. The envelope was hardly of the style that a lady would use. The postmark, too, was S. E. And after the fashion of human nature when puzzled as to who a letter is from he turned it over and over, looking at it before he finally opened it.

And when he had read through the contents, written with a true womanly touch, his face contracted, he looked as if pain had suddenly seized him, and Lady Dalmayer repeated her remark.

"Not bad news, I hope?"

"Oh, er—er—thanks, no—no, thank you, not very."

He spoke jerkily and hastily, crushed the letter in his hand, and walked away to the smoke room, which was empty. He settled himself in a corner and read the letter through and through and through again.

So at last he had heard from her, at last she had answered him and it was no—no. The word beat dully on his brain as he sat for some moments looking straight in front of him. It was no. That was the hard, crushing fact that was first of all brought home to him. No! And then he began to speculate—to wonder. Why had she taken so long in answering? Had she met Raymes again, Raymes, who was now porter at the hotel? Where was she staying? Where had she written from?

He looked again at the letter, there was no address. The paper, too, he could see, was cheap and shabby. There was some mystery here. What did it all mean? She had left the house in Kirton Square, he had found that out when he was in town. Where was this letter written from, then? Ah, she was poor, she was in trouble, that was what it must mean. But why, oh, why, had she given no address? He must get to the bottom of this matter. He would consult Harry Raymes. Harry loved her, too, and perhaps between them they could do something for her, if they could find her. Perhaps she wanted help? If so—ah, she should have all the help he was capable of giving.

And so hastily he sat down to the

writing table and wrote a hurried line to his friend Harry Raymes, telling him that he had heard from Gladys, but that there was some mystery that he must see Harry at once, that he would be in town again in a few days.

"Now I know there's something worrying you Jack," said Lady Dalmayer as Guardene went out to put his letter to Harry in the post box in the hall. "I know there's something bothering you. Now what is it? If it's a matter of money, just come and tell me all about it, and we'll see if we can't put it straight."

"Thanks awfully, Madge. You're a good sort. But—well, it isn't money."

Lord Guardene and Lady Dalmayer were hardly related, they were very, very distantly, connected. She was many years older than he but she had always liked the good looking, reckless young dare devil he and her husband had been great friends. Jack in his turn had always liked Lady Dalmayer, who in his opinion was a ripping good sort. He saw nothing of the hardness in her that was so apparent to some people, he had not lived long enough or suffered enough to gain the seeing, the observant, eyes that can probe another's soul or feelings. So to him Madge Dalmayer was just a jolly good sort of an elder cousin, as it might be, with plenty of money, a ripping house in the country, and always ready to help a fellow out of a hole.

"Well, if it isn't money, then it's a girl," she said. "Oh, I know! When a man looks like you did after reading a letter, either a moneylender is dunning him or a girl has given him up. Tell me, Jack, old man. A little sympathy won't hurt, will it? All of us have troubles sometimes, don't we?"

"Yes I'll tell you, Madge," said Jack, after a moment's pause.

For he was in the state in which sympathy is absolutely necessary, when the heart bleeds, and it seems as if the hand of a friend would staunch it.

"It was just a girl that I—well, that I loved, Madge," he said, simply. "I wrote asking her to marry me. She's taken a long time to answer, and now, well now I think something must have happened to her. It's so strange that she shouldn't have answered before."

Lady Dalmayer listened with the sympathy and understanding that so well

became a woman. By judicious questioning she managed to get out of Jack Guardene part of the story—how there were two men in love with this girl, he and his friend, and how there was an arrogant, brow beating bully of a father concerned in the matter.

Lady Dalmayer listened, and as she listened a curious feeling seized her, and she seemed to be certain of what the answer would be as she asked Jack.

"This other man, this friend of yours," she said a little huskily, "what—what is his name?"

"Raymes, Harry Raymes."

"I thought so—I thought so!"

Lady Dalmayer spoke under her breath with a little choke, and when Guardene, startled, turned to look at her, he saw that her face was white beneath the little touch of rouge she affected.

"Yes, Raymes, Harry Raymes, my pal, the whitest man that ever lived. I met him out in Canada at his father's ranch—mine lay alongside of it. He was in love with her, too. We talked it over the last time I met him in town. He was earning his living as an hotel porter—Gad! it makes me sick now to think of it—and he wouldn't take a penny from me either."

Lady Dalmayer nodded.

"Yes, I know, I know! I saw him there, too. It was at the Gramont Hotel. You know when I was travelling last year I went through Canada, and I stayed at the Raymes's ranch, and they were very hospitable to me. I have met them since in town."

Madge Dalmayer spoke jerkily, disjointedly, and as she spoke, a kind of wild, impotent hatred was filling her heart. She had a rival, some insignificant chit of a girl, no doubt. She wondered what she was like, this woman.

And Jack Guardene who was fairly shrewd and observant, noticed the white, strained face, the jerky syllables, and wondered what was causing the disturbance.

"I've written to Harry telling him that I have heard from her," went on Jack. "It's only fair, I think. I've had my chance and lost. She's given me my answer, and it's 'No.' And do you know, Madge, he only saw her once, at least twice in one day, that was it, and he fell in love with her then and there. It seems so strange that—love at first sight. I never believed in it till Harry told me. Why, I knew her for weeks

and weeks before I found out that I even cared for her, and old Harry only just flops into a room, sees her for a few seconds, and comes out head over heels in love with her. Love at first sight! A funny thing isn't it?"

"Yes, yes," said Madge Dalmayer, looking straight before her.

Love at first sight! The words seemed to come home to her, and she laughed a little bitterly to herself. Love at first sight! That was a complaint for the young only, the worldly would have said, but she, almost middle-aged, had contracted the complaint at the ranch in Canada.

Guardene when talking, little knowing the stabs his words were driving into Madge's heart.

"Of course, dear old Harry must be pulled out of that beastly hotel somehow. Only he's so frightfully proud. Anyway, I'll run up and see him as soon as I hear from him. And I'll find her, I swear I will. I'll find her for him."

"Jack," Lady Dalmayer interrupted Guardene, "do you know why Mr. Raymes, Harry as you call him, quarrelled with his father?" Did they really quarrel, or what was it?"

"Yes, I know," answered Jack simply. "Madge, there's a tangle, a pretty sort of tangle, and my pal's in it, and the girl I love seems to be in it too. I want to clear it up, so I'm going to speak openly, and you mustn't be offended. I think we've known each other long enough for that, haven't we, Madge? And we've been too good pals to have any upset now, haven't we? This is how it was. Old Raymes wanted Harry to make up to you, Madge. You understand what I mean. He wanted his son to make love to you, to ask you to marry him, for the sake of your money, for the sake of the position to which you could help him. Harry refused. He said he wouldn't be a cad, and that he would never insult a woman that he didn't love by asking her to marry him. That was the way he put it, Madge, and by Jove! he was right. It would have been an insult, wouldn't it?"

"Yes, I think it would, I'm sure it would," answered Lady Dalmayer.

And though a pang of—what was it—chagrin, disappointment, injured vanity, stung her, yet she felt that after those few words of Guardene's she saw more deeply into the soul of the man she had

tried to tempt into proposing marriage to her, and she admired him all the more for it.

"So he quarrelled with his father over me over poor me, did he?" she went on.

Why Jack I was counting the wrinkles last night! And the girl, what of her? Oh, Jack, it's a tangle as you said, indeed it is! Did she know that this young man had fallen head over heels in love with her?"

"No, of course not. He never had a chance to tell her, for he's never seen her since that first day. But I'm going to find her, to find her for my pal. He shall have his chance. I've had mine."

"Jack," Lady Dalmayer put out her hand and laid it on the young man's, "you and I have always been good pals, as you said just now. Well, I think I ought to take a hand in this affair. I can turn old Raymes round my little finger if I like, and if I can only get hold of him I'll just find out why that girl left and what his caretaker is doing in the house. Where are the old gentleman and that timid wife of his to be found?"

"I don't know, and Harry doesn't know either. Harry just simply walked out of the Allendale Hotel, you know. I tried to get my solicitor to find out something, but he promptly told me he would have nothing to do with it, for I had no right to interfere."

"Oh, well, we must see what a woman can do. I like that boy, that friend of yours, Jack. We must try and see him happy."

"That's good of you, Madge. I always knew you were a sport. But the first thing we must do is to try and get old Harry proper work of some kind. Then we'll try and find old Mr. Raymes and see what he's up to."

"And the girl, Jack? Don't forget the girl. This is yours, I think, isn't it?"

She picked up an envelope from the couch where Guardene had been sitting by her side.

"Why, the writings very like mine!" she said. "Almost exactly!"

"That's Gladys's—Miss Tremayne's—writing," said Guardene, taking the envelope. "Now I look at it, it is rather like yours, Madge, isn't it?"

"Yes it is. How strange! Let me look again, Jack. Why, the very slope of that L! And the G! Why, I might have writ

ten it myself Well, we've had our little talk, Jack, and now we must go to bye-bye Everybody else seems to have gone Goodnight, old boy, and may God be good to you "

As Lady Dalmayer looked at herself in the glass that night her face seemed a little strange to her, there was a look in her eyes which she herself could not quite understand But a reader of character could have told her that it was a soft and sympathetic light that shone there, that her soul had for once stripped off its little hardening outside and was now blossoming with that sweetness and tenderness

that lies in every woman's heart She was thinking of the girl she had never seen, of the girl who had disappeared; she was thinking of Harry Baymes And before she went to sleep she murmured to herself

"Poor children! But I wonder whether she would care for him? She only saw him once" Well, I'll soon find out when I see them together. Bless me, I'm getting quite a match maker in my old age "

She smiled to herself, and her dreams were as those of a child, for in her heart Madge Dalmayer was growing young again

(To be continued)

## A YOUNG INDIAN SCULPTOR

INDIAN Art, in its modern growth, is a delicate and tender plant, easily nipped in the bud by chilling frost, or withered up for lack of moisture, or twisted out of shape by unskilful culture As yet, every branch of it has not borne flowers and fruit The branch of Painting has already blossomed, but Sculpture has scarcely begun to put forth leaves There are abundant copies of statuary from European models, but little that has a distinctive character of its own Yet Japan can give signal proof of the evil results of mere copying in Art The Japan, which has thrown aside its birthright of culture in order to copy Europe, is a travesty of progress The Japan, which is finding its own inner life anew in its own Art tradition is beautiful and strong

Not that all borrowing of art forms from other countries is to be deprecated Elizabethan poetry, for instance, owes many of its noblest modes of expression to Italy Japan itself might borrow much, in literature, from the West without harm But such borrowing must always have a vital purpose it must not stifle life that is already there In India today the great Art tradition is not extinct It is fresh and living still in the hearts of the people Wherever freedom of growth is allowed, it immediately reappears

Quite recently, I have seen some Indian sculpture by a young artist, which carries with it the promise of great things His name is Nityan Kashinath Dewal and his parentage and upbringing make an

interesting story His father was a Maharastriya Brahmin and his mother a Burmese lady He is thus, by birth, both a Burmese and a Maharastriya, both a Buddhist and a Hindu His earliest years were spent with his parents in Burma, at Myitkyina, on the borderland of China He lived there till he was nearly ten years old and then it became necessary to put him to school His father had many friends in Bengal, and, acting on their advice, he determined to place his son at Shantiniketan under the care of Rabindranath Tagore This was done, and the boy's life for the next eight years was spent happily in the Ashram He entered fully into its spirit and became, in a very literal sense, the child of the Ashram At last, in the year 1912, the Poet called him to his side in England, and he took up a course of Philosophy and Literature at University College, London But all this while the artistic instinct had been growing stronger and stronger in him He used to go each evening to the Polytechnic Institute at Chelsea, and there he became deeply interested in clay modelling and designing When the Poet came back to England from America and noticed this disposition, he encouraged him to give up his whole time to Art Dewal then left University College and studied sculpture, under Richard Garbe, at the Central School of Art, Kingsway There he learnt the technique of stone carving, modelling, and bronze casting, before he returned to India

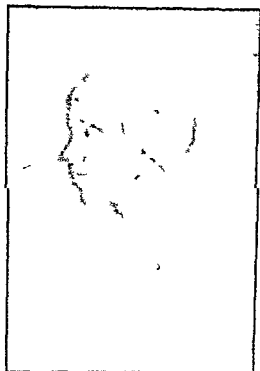




Sri Ratanendra Nath Tagore



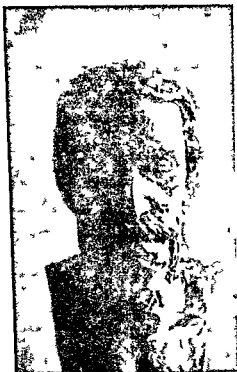
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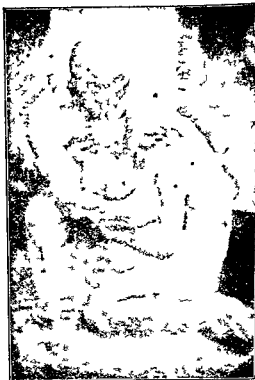
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At the end of 1915 the young sculptor came back to Bengal and began both studying and teaching at the Bichitra school which the Poet had founded in Calcutta. But the city life of India was unsuitable for him. He longed for the free expanse of the open country. So after nearly a year in Calcutta he found his way once more to Shantiniketan.

Up to the present his output of original work has been small but small though it is it has already some distinction. It has not indeed set itself entirely free from the tutelage of the west but its tendency is all in the direction of freedom. The pictures which are given in this Review are taken from photographs. They do not do justice



Sri Rabindranath Tagore



Hone

to the living touch which is noticeable in all his work. They are too mechanical. Yet even so something may be gathered from them. In the portrait of the Poet the artist could not reproduce in the hard medium of stone the more elusive and delicate traits of Rabindranath Tagore's nature which Rothenstein has so perfectly portrayed in his pencil sketch but on the other hand he has given us those great massive qualities which partly escaped Rothenstein's pencil—the intellectual force, the virile strength, the kindling vitality. The second achievement of the sculptor which has impressed me in quite a different way is the girl's head which is a portrait of one of the younger members of the Tagore family. Here it is the transparent simplicity of the art which is so arresting. The artist seems to have reached the perfect poise of the head by one inevitable stroke of his tool which required no subsequent laborious correction.

In speaking thus highly of these two works I am thinking in my own mind all the while rather of what the future

appears to hold in store than of what has actually been accomplished. I feel certain that Dewal will be able to produce not merely portraits—however noble and beautiful—but also universal ideas in sculpture that will serve to inspire mankind.

In conclusion I am tempted to stray somewhat further afield for a moment and question what will be the note of modern Indian sculpture when it has once more reached its proper channel. With regard to a single point of technique it appears to me not unlikely that some of its most beautiful achievements may be made in low relief. Judging from the trend of modern Indian Painting this development would seem to be quite natural. In a more general way it may be regarded as certain from a knowledge of history that the strength of Indian sculpture will lie in suggestion rather than in complete visual expression. By this it is in no way implied that there will be any haziness or obscurity—such as the Impressionist School in Europe seems to have

been cultivating in some of its latest moods and phases Indian religion shows us that the popular imagination is singularly concrete, and Indian Art will be an exotic, if it does not spring from and reach back to the people. But what is concrete and objective will never be made too literal, too bound by externals: it will try to reach the heart by daring expressions and symbols which transcend the commonplace, or else transform it. The artist will see through the outward

forms of things, and beneath them, and beyond them,—

He will watch from dawn to gloom  
The lake reflected sun illumine

The yellow bies in the ivy bloom,

Nor heed nor see what things they  
be,—

But from these create he can

Forms more real than living Man,  
Nurslings of Immortality

*Bandra Bombay*

C F ANDREWS

## GLEANINGS

### The Shiten-no

By N TSUDA

(EXPERT IN THE IMPERIAL  
MUSEUM, TOKYO)

In the history of Japanese Buddhism, faith in the Shiten no, or Four Guardian Kings early made itself manifest, and soon came to occupy an important place in the national creed. Shiten no is the name given by the Japanese to the four guardian deities of the Buddhist ideal universe. According to this theory the universe is a great mountain comprising a series of heavens, lands and seas all termed the Sumeru or Shumisen. In this topography there is a fourfold landscape at the four points of the compass in the Shumisen, each guarded by a king with many attendants. The land of this world is one of the four quarters of the universe, known as the Nan-to bushu, or southern portion of the Shumisen. The four heavenly kings preside over the destinies of the whole.

The guardian king of the north quarter is named Vishamon ten or Vairavana in Sanscrit, but in Chinese he is called Tamonten which means king of the many, cared heaven, the idea being a capacity for much bearing, a kind of omnipresence. According to ancient commentators of the sutras the name implies that this deity always hears the preaching of Buddha who is keeper of Buddhist lands. In the Hindu pantheon he is known as Kureva and reputed to be the son of a sage named Visravas and Vairavana is therefore his patronymic. Kureva is a favourite god of wealth in India, and though he receives no special reverence he is quite popular as the god of fortune in that country, being regarded as deserving of special distinction apart from the other three kings.

In Japanese Buddhism Bishamon-ten is usually represented as



1 Jocho Ten 2 Jikoku Ten 3. Bishamon Ten 4

bearing a small tower on the left hand palm and holding a staff in the right hand. He is gazing fixedly at the tower on his palm. He wears armour and on his girdle is a demon. And he stands on Yasha and Rasetsu two very evil demons. The body of Bishamon is covered with gilt but the demons are coloured yellow. Bishamonten sometimes carries a trident in his hip.

The guardian king of the eastern section of the Buddhist universe is called Jikokuten or Dhirta-rastra in Sanscrit and is represented with a sword in his left hand and a gem in the other hand or else the right hand is on his hip. The land he guards is said to abound in gold. His body is coloured red and his face is terrible. The sword is indispensable as a symbol of his deity.

Komoku ten is the guardian king of the Western portion of the Sumeru in Sanscrit he is known as Virupaksha and he has the additional duty of being king of Nagas. Sometimes he is called Akumoku Shumoku or Zoshiki. This deity is always clad in armour and carries a trident in the left hand and a red rope in the right hand. Occasionally he is represented as holding a weapon called the vajra in his left hand and a sutra roll in the other. And often we see him holding a Japanese writing brush in his right hand and a roll of writing paper or manuscript in the other. Usually his body is white.

Zochoten or Virudhaka in Sanscrit is the guardian king of the South land of the Buddhist universe. He is also clad in armour and holds a big sword in his right hand the other hand clenched and reposing on his hip. The body is painted bright red.

Each of the four guardian kings wears an imposing headdress and the armour is carefully and even elaborately decorated. In the early days of Buddhism these four deities were worshipped together but in later times they came to be treated as separate.

When the Buddhist religion gained a footing in Japan in the 7th century the famous temple known as the Shiten no ji was erected near Osaka by Prince Shotoku who was the first great patron of the Buddhist faith in Japan. When the Prince was determined to destroy the Mononobe faction because of its anti-Buddhist policy he offered prayers before the altar of the Shiten no and made a vow that were victory granted him he



1 Jocho Ten 2 Komoku Ten 3 Bishamon Ten 4 Jikoku Ten.

The speaker expressed his thoughts in the figurative speech told of his and once spelled bound by his intensity and the depths of his thought. It is doubtful if the weaknesses and neon stenoses of accidental civilization were ever more vividly pictured than by this picturesque student of India. Mr. Tagore drew a distinct line between a people composed of individuals and a nation an organization of power. The charge made Mr. Tagore said that the ideals of the east are static and he answered the charge by saying that the deals are the aspirant on to do—a renouncement of self, a life more free, more pure and simple and free from greed, an aspiration on which goes beyond death. Against these ideals he said have been turned the machines of greed, commerce and political which oppressed the peoples whose only crime is that they have not organised.

From Salt Lake he came to Chicago where he was the guest at the home of Mrs. William Vaughn Moody who had been one of the few to recognise his greatness during his first visit to America and had been quite motherly in her relations with the poet. So naturally the poet stayed at Chicago for a few days without hurrying away as soon as his lecture was finished. The Chicago paper reporters had there fore some chance of tackling him about various questions of the day and one of them got out of him his opinion about Rudyard Kipling which needless to say was not at all favourable and could never be so for no two poets stand poles asunder to-day as he and Kipling do. About Kipling he said. The realism of Kipling's India is wholly a patched up thing of imagination. His knowledge is second hand—from the bazzars and servants. He never has entered into the real life of the people. This opinion was boomed in the papers as an interesting piece of news with such big head lines as—Tagore scoffs at Kipling. India's poet and seer takes rap at Kipling. Kipling ignorant of India asserts Sir Tagore etc. I suppose all Indians will be equally glad to know that such an opinion about Kipling's writings was only given by the poet in America for we all share it. He wrote with him.

The poet's only opinion as we have already seen was that the most often strong and unpleasant but all the same his unassuming manner attracted all reporters. In five or six papers we find invariably the statement expressed with some amount of surprise that the poet preferred to be called Mr. Tagore rather than Sir Tagore. The Chicago *Ills Herald* writes on Oct 22 1916—Despite his Nobel Prize and recent knighting by the English king he is still plain Mr. Tagore. Another paper

The *Portland M. L. Press* says—Mr. Tagore is he prefers to be called. However some people in Bengal will find it difficult to believe the above statements for, in their opinion their fancied change of the poet's attitude towards nationalism now is to be attributed mainly to the fact that a knighthood has been conferred upon him by the British government. These people do not care fully read Rabindranath's writings; they like to go by hearsay. It is simply their impression not based on facts that in the days of the Swadeshi movement in Bengal Rabindranath had been a staunch nationalist in the Western sense—they do not care to see for themselves by reading his addresses given at that time on what lines he had actually thought the regeneration of India was possible and what according to him had been the basic principles of Indian civilisation as distinguished from those of western civilisation. For nationalism is a vague and general term what Rabindranath had meant by it before and what he meant by it afterwards must be thoroughly comprehended before an attempt at comparison of his views about it before and after can be undertaken. Was he in advocate at any time of his life of the aggressive form of nationalism as it has developed in the West whose another name is commercialism and militarism and which trades upon the greed and fear of men turning them as he says into conscienceless automatons of selfishness and greed? Did he not repeatedly expose the utter hollowness of this kind of nationalism which is the form of the organized selfish interest of a whole people and which recklessly barter a people's higher aspirations of life in exchange for profit and power? his sonnets, *Sōthi*, *Nivedya* and his

addresses published in the *Bangadarsan*, *Chittrachit*, *O Panchajanya*, *Sabbhita* (Eastern and Western Civilisations), *Swadeshi Samaj* (Swadeshi Society), *Brahma Bharat*, *Itihas* (Indian History) etc. What he said then he has said now almost word for word in his *Cult. Nationalism* only with far greater power and clearness of vision. Although it is digression still I may be permitted to say that the president of the recent Ben Provincial Conference has also made similar comparisons of the poet's views nationalism before and after and

pressed his regret and protest with regard to what he considered the poet's changed attitude of mind towards nationalism. He seems to labour under the misapprehension that in the 'Cult of Nationalism' Rabindranath has actually proposed to do away with nations altogether and to form a 'universal brotherhood of man'—in other words, that Rabindranath has preached the petted and pious platitudes of whining sanctimonious preachers that *all men should sink their differences and be one and brothers and love one another without quarrelling or fighting ever*, and so on and so on. That such a colorless cosmopolitanism is entirely out of his programme will be evident from the following quotation of his utterance taken from *Kewanee Hills Courier*, Oct 30, 1916 —

*They (nations) must always exist as separate identities. The world would be unbeautiful and monotonous without variety. But no nation must predominate. Each one has a right to proper expression as a part of a great unit. Any system which does not take this into consideration must produce evil.*

In an article which was published in *Minneapolis Minn. Tribune*, the writer said truly of the poet "He is a nationalist but also an internationalist." Of course it must be admitted that the international programme of the poet was naturally less pronounced in his writings during the Swadeshi movement, for, then, he was more concerned with the problems of his own country than with the problems of all humanity. In *Milwaukee Wisconsin*, in a report entitled 'Tagore on Western Problems' we read that "India some day will be a republic, he predicted." Could he predict it without being a nationalist, or rather an *Indian Nationalist*, using the term in the Indian and not the occidental sense, which he repudiates? In fact any student of Rabindranath's writings will not fail to see that the president of the recent Bengal Provincial Conference has so closely followed Rabindranath's lines of Indian nationalism and his practical programme for national regeneration that his sudden protest against Rabindranath has only furnished us with an actual instance of an aphorism of Rabindranath, viz — "The echo mocks her origin to prove she is the original."

So much for digression. The lecture at Orchestra Hall on Oct 24, 1916, at Chicago took place on Oct 24, 1916, at Orchestra Hall. All the Chicago papers accorded it unqualified praise. In one

paper, the *Milwaukee Wisconsin Journal*, Oct 26, 1916, we hear that the poet "thrilled" the vast audience, which was composed of quite a miscellany of people of all classes and races—"men and women with white faces, yellow faces, brown faces" and that seated in the farthest row back was the huge figure of an Ethiopian." The poet left Chicago for Indianapolis on Oct 29 and was brought there under the auspices of Miss Ona B. Talbot's Fine Arts Association. The first event of the fine arts series was to be the lecture by Rabindranath on a new subject—"The World of Personality."

In Indianapolis, an interesting interview was published in a paper in which the poet discussed the relative status of woman in the East and woman in the West. The report runs thus

"The Christian missionary with his profound ignorance of Hindu social organism sees nothing but abject misery in the lot of the Hindu woman. The orthodox Hindu on the other hand, with his equally profound ignorance of the outside world looks upon the lot of the Hindu woman as nothing short of blissful. But Tagore, with his practical knowledge of both the societies realizes that there is good and bad in both and that proper education will cure the ills and strengthen the good." Woman acts in society says Tagore, as the centripetal force does in the planets. But in Europe, this centripetal force of woman's energy is proving fruitless to counterbalance the centrifugal force of the distracted society. No doubt when an English lady sees the small rooms with crude furniture and old fashioned pictures in the Zana she at once concludes that men have made slaves of the Hindu woman. But she forgets that we all live together the same way. We read Spenser, Ruskin and Mill, we edit magazines and write books but we squat on a mattress on the floor and we use an earthen oil lamp for study. We buy jewels for our wives when we have the money, and we sleep inside a string tied mosquito net and on warm nights fan ourselves with a palm leaf fan. We have no sofas or highly upholstered chairs yet we do not feel miserable for not having them. But at the same time we are quite capable of loving and being loved. The western people love *form, form, form, entertainment, and luxury* of life so much that many amongst them do not care to have wives or husbands and if married positively no children. With them comfort takes precedence of love whereas love and home are the supreme things in our life.

In another fine interview with Mr Joyce Kilmer, who seems to be on a much higher level of intelligence and culture than ordinary newspaper reporters, the poet had occasion to talk of poets and poetry. This interview was published in the 'Bookman.' He said

"The proper function of the poet is neither to direct nor to interpret his fellows but to give expression to truth which has come to his life in fullness of music."

All the great poets of the West in some aspect of their moods and thoughts show their affinity with the East just as the great Eastern poets have theirs with the West. For to be great is to be comprehensive. To cite an instance, Walt Whitman's poems though strongly savouring of America, are yet deeply imbued with Eastern ideas and feelings. Are not Shelley's 'Hymn to Intellectual Beauty' and Wordsworth's nature poems Eastern in their spirit?

The modern poets of the East are learning from the poets of the West the value to literature of the passionate vitality which has its triumphant joy in the very strength and speed of its movement. The poets of the West would do well to learn from the East the reverent delight in the vision of perfection in whose depth all movements find their rest and meaning.

Finishing his Indianapolis programme, Rabindranath went to Milwaukee on November 4. At the Pabst theatre, he spoke on 'Nationalism' and we read in *Milwaukee His Sentinel* November 5, 1916 the following report—

Along beard giving his face the appearance of a prophet come into the modern world out of the biblical past the man who is regarded by many as the greatest living poet stood before a large audience of Milwaukeeans at the Pabst Theater Saturday night. Tagore had for audiences one of the biggest lecture crowds that has been brought together in Milwaukee for several seasons. Every seat in the main floor and the balcony of the Pabst theatre was filled.

His next move was to Louisville where he spoke on the same subject on November 6th at Max Baer's Theatre. We have already reprinted in the April number of the M R, a report which appeared in *Louisville K3 Herald* with the head line "Orient and Occident Meet in Tagore's Wonderful Talk". Four or five other papers of Louisville seem to have received the lecture with evidently divided feelings—they praised and dispraised it at the same time. The *Louisville K3 Times* wrote that Louisvillians could not 'grow enthusiastic over the question of antonony for the East Indian Empire'. 'Provincials' or something quite like he called us, and he was right. We were quite too provincial to go to the depths of the Pierian spring sounded by him last night.

Leaving Louisville he went to Nashville at the invitation of the Centennial Club and lectured under its auspices at the Vendome Theatre on November 9. The Nashville people were exceedingly appreciative of his message. We read in *Nashville Tennessean* Nov 9, that he invited the Centennial Club people to an assemblé in his private reception room at the Hotel Hermitage.

'There, writes the reporter, "seated in the midst of them the great poet told them very simply the story of his school for boys, in India, where the life effort of his present years is expressing itself. It was a company of congenial selection and they listened with keen and close interest as Sir Rabindranath told in an intimate and colorful way of the school, which is operated rather "through want of system than with any particular method" he said—nihil. His principles of education do not embrace set curriculum or plans of grading and examination. "The education of my boys germinates from a seed to a plant, rather, unconsciously, I may say. I cannot believe in a monastic discipline, and can see no reason for punishing a little child because he is a child and therefore must be both ignorant and untrained."

Those so fortunate as to be present will esteem it in years to come, as one of the most privileged occasions that time has brought them.

The poet arrived in Detroit, a famous American town, on November 10. He had to submit himself, here again, to the great American form of torture known as the interview and possibly he had such a warm time with his interviewers that he let them have freely a piece of his mind on their business. He said

Your American interview is based purely on curiosity. You are interested only in the spectacular phases of a man's personality. I often wonder why some newspapers send men to see me at all when they would save time and trouble by simply putting a reporter down to a typewriter and letting him draw out what I might say.

On November 12, in the auditorium of the Board of Commerce Building and to "an audience that filled it to capacity and in which Detroit's exclusive society was well represented" Rabindranath delivered his lecture on "Nationalism." The *Detroit Mich Free Press* writes thus about the lecture—

A PROFOUND MESSAGE "with majestic force he stripped modern civilisation until it stood naked and grotesque before the shocked mental vision."

What an indictment of the pretensions of the British Government! What an arraignment of nations and of powers! What a plea for mankind!

The Board of Commerce audience heard the most profound analysis of life and of the mechanism of commerce, of organized society and of Government that any modern ears have heard. The Rousseaus, the Jeffersons, the Karl Marxes, the Bryces and the Wilsons seem superficial in the presence of this swartly analist.

The great corpulent bodies of modern commerce, the boilers and engines of modern nations and their intolerant prosperity of the western world all—soulless structures built up of the gnawed bones of the weak who are ignorant and uncivilized. Thus ran his message from the terrible steel Bullfinch, and thus ran his terrific indictment.

The Detroit Mich News, The Dettr

*Mich Tribune* and the other leading papers of Detroit were full of applause and appreciation of the paper. *The Detroit Mich-Free Press* wrote:

"Sir Rabindranath Tagore's denunciation of nationalism is convincing. . . Yet while we admit that nationalism is not the greatest good, we can argue that it is a means to an end."

Tagore does not object to it, only he points out that the means sometimes gets the better of the end and the end is completely lost sight of. If nationalism could have developed into cosmic humanism, it would not have turned into a machine of greed and power, it would not have turned individuals into mere automats. It is the abstraction of nationalism that Tagore contends against.

*The Detroit Mich Journal* calls in question the burden of Tagore's lecture and says:—"As an abstract theory the message has much that is attractive and engaging. As a suggestion for practical application it obviously is unsuited for mankind as we know it." But what is the meaning of "mankind as we know it"? There are men who are reaching after the ideal, others are grovelling in the dust. Who are fit to be taken as the true representatives of mankind? Are all ideals, theories, ethical principles, to be dismissed as the dreams of visionaries, simply because the majority of men do not or cannot at present follow them? What then would be the fate of the teachings of Buddha, Christ, and other elder brothers of the race?" "Mankind" is not merely what it is, it is also what it is becoming.

From Detroit he hurried on to Cleveland, where, as a newspaper humorously puts it: "he gave a scolding to the Twentieth Century Club on Tuesday evening at about 700 dollars per scold," read another lecture on the "World of Personality" and then started for New York, where he arrived on November 18, a month after his landing in Seattle. There was a great sensation about him in New York, and as many as fifteen or sixteen papers were writing about him, publishing interviews and all kinds of accounts of his life, every day in the leading editorials. He gave a private talk to a select party where he read "The Second Birth," a religious discourse. *The New York City World* published quite a long and interesting interview with the poet and there also we find the interviewer writes, "Mr Tagore, as he

prefers to be addressed." It must be said to the credit of the New York interviewers that almost all the interviews published in various New York papers are good. *The Philadelphia Pa Inquirer* published an account with the famous head-line "India will be free, Tagore poet says." "I feel certain," he said, "the time is coming when India will be self-governing." "We of India cannot achieve anything by imitating the West. We hope to be able to show the world that we have something to give, not merely to receive."

In another interview, which was published in *New York City Eve Post*, November 20, 1916 (also, in *New York City Mail* November 21, 1916), we read the following admirable head-lines: "Rabindranath Tagore says world looks to us, East no less than Europe seeks our friendship. Noble thing not to exclude Asiatic students who wish to come here. Education the greatest and finest gift we have to bestow, says Bengali poet," etc, etc. I believe that the poet showed much greater patriotism, in strongly and ardently enjoining on the United States not to exclude Indian students as had been proposed, than in declining the invitation of the Canadians to land in Canada. He said:

"Perhaps your treatment of Asiatics is one of the darkest sides of your national life. . . I have heard much lately of the bill that is to be presented to your legislature in Washington which would exclude our Indian students from the country. I have seen many of these students throughout the country and they are alarmed and they have implored me to see persons of influence and in positions of power. Why would you deprive these young Indian students of their education? Is it not a noble thing to help us? . . . I have read the provisions of this bill which will be presented. It will exclude these Indian students whose number is assuredly not large enough to do you harm. It is true that sometimes the remittances from their home country are delayed and they are in actual want of cash and then they work twice as hard as your students do. But surely you can endure so much of competition. . . I have heard that some of the students have formed a revolutionary society in California and that therefore the British Government is opposed to their coming here. But you cannot punish a whole nation for that."

"When I was in Japan I spoke with some of the steamship people who have always been friendly to me. They had refused passage to some students who had money to pay and could maintain themselves. When I asked them why they did this, they said that the British Government was exerting pressure upon them and California also and that they did not dare to transport them."

"I hear, too, that underhand influences are at work to urge the passage of the bill excluding Indian students from this country."

"Here they are, between two great Powers. They are insignificant creatures. You can . . ."



then if you will you can deprive them of their education. But you will do no harm to a grave moral hurt and if at all you cannot do without injuring yourselves. I think that to pass the bill will be a crime.

And this is the man whom many of his countrymen including the president of the recent Bengal Provincial Conference thoughtlessly arraign for being a Lost Leader saying that just for a riband to stick in his coat the riband of knighthood he deserted the camp of nationalism. How absurd of them to insinuate that he seized the occasion to play to the gallery by denouncing nationalism when Europe was groaning with agony in her battle fields and Western savants were supposed to have pointed out nationalism as the root of all evils and war. With the single exception of Hon Mr Bertrand Russell we do not know of a second Englishman of fame who has disparaged nationalism on similar grounds and Bertrand Russell's dictiments are much later than Tagore's. It has not therefore become a *hoax* in Europe or America to speak against nationalism and war—rather race hatred and national pride are running amuck in the west to-day and it is fearfully dangerous for any man to express views discountenancing them in any way.

Rabindranath's famous lecture on Nationalism came off on November 21st in Carnegie Hall New York one of the biggest halls in the city. The immense audience says *New York City Eve World* sat devoutly hushed. The hall resounded from time to time with plaudits says *New York City Tribune* which chooses for its headline Tagore hits British rule and quotes excerpts from the lecture only where he happened to criticise British rule in India. *The New York City Post* too follows suit and says: "The applause with which his address was greeted indicated that there was a warm sympathy with his thought." *The New York City Sun* says that it was one of the biggest gatherings ever seen in Carnegie Hall. Scores waited in line for tickets but had to go away disappointed. We have not however noticed a single adverse criticism among the New York papers except perhaps one which simply doubted about the feasibility of the poet's programme of the future of nations.

On November 23 Rabindranath read his second lecture viz that on The World of Personalities at the Hudson Theatre in

New York. *The Bridgeport Conn Times* writes about it. Many women had tears in their eyes while the poet was reading. In exquisitely beautiful language Tagore told his listeners things which are so much a part of him and which they have come to know in every book of prose or poetry which he has written.

We read in another paper that Rev Dr Frederick J Gould delivered an interesting address on Rabindranath Tagore in a famous Unitarian church to a crowded audience and he said that the great poet was not seeing in the subject of his Toledo lecture the Cult of Nationalism to disparage patriotism but to show that certain forms of patriotism—may result in despotism as in the countries of Europe.

On Nov 24 the poet gave readings from his published works at the Hudson Theatre. *The New York City Mail* writes that Mr Tagore requested however that his hearers refrain from applause until the close of his reading and this rather cramped their enthusiasm. Occasionally an emotional sister broke the rule but not with enough success to disturb the serenity of the occasion.

A most appreciative and pretty long report of the lecture on the Cult of Nationalism appeared in *New York City Eve Post* Nov 25 written by Mr Malcolm W Davis. There the poet's teachings were likened to those of Socrates and Jesus. Says the writer:

After a blasphemous outburst of denunciation it was difficult for a gathering of western men and women to get their breath. In the full flood of an angry rebellion against ideals to which they had been born they seemed dazed under the lash of his contemptuous yet true they at once uneasily in their seats with subdued ejaculations of astonishment. They laughed apologetically at themselves as they listened to his bitter sarcasms. Finally he sent them away with a poem picturing the downfall of western civilization as a lurid sunset with a world of darkness waiting to be calmed down in the last.

On Nov 2 Rabindranath arrived in Philadelphia from New York and on the same night he read some of his poetry at a private recital in a school for girls. He also spoke on Nationalism which was very much appreciated in all Philadelphia papers and hurried to Brooklyn on Nov 27 where he spoke on the same subject in the Opera House of the Academy of Music before a large audience. The meeting presided over by the Rev Dr Charles C. Allison who hailed Rabindranath.

exceedingly high terms at the end of his talk *The Brooklyn N 1 Eagle*, Nov 28, 1916 has the headings in the report concerning the lecture — 'Denounces Great Britain for its Treatment of India and its people Says, they are being stifled The same paper observes

'His adroit phraseology and scintillating epigrams however seldom went unappreciated and evoked applause every few moments. He was greeted almost reverentially by the audience the entire throng rising upon his entrance and upon his exit

The next move was to Paterson where on Nov 28, at the first Unitarian Church he lectured on 'The Cult of Nationalism'. The lionising of Rabindranath in city after city naturally evoked some criticism among a few critics who tried to explain it away in the papers as having been due to merely natural and human curiosity. In one paper, *Syracuse N 1 Post Standard*, Nov 30, a critic writes

If some Englishman came to this country and denounced western civilization as Tagore denounced it in a recent address we would boo him from the hall. This is not to denunciation of Tagore the man or his works. Without question there is something to his philosophy. But few rational people will have much sympathy for those people who blindly worship the 'new philosopher because he wears a turban instead of a hat

Rabindranath arrived in the great city of Boston on Dec 1. All the leading Boston papers, for a few days after his arrival, began to publish interesting interviews with him and accounts of his life and activities, and he invariably spoke of his school at Shantiniketan. *The Boston Mass Post*, Dec 3 1916 published a long interview and remarked "He was knighted by George V, but he wants to be called Mr Tagore". On Dec 6 at Tremont Temple, he delivered his address on 'Nationalism' before a large audience. *The Boston Mass Herald*, Dec 6, 1916, thus writes about it —

The temple was stormed nearly an hour before opening time and scores of people failed to get seats. The audience gave the famous Bengali poet one of the warmest welcomes ever accorded to a lecturer in Boston and he spoke for over 80 minutes in his main address finally reciting by request twelve of his best known compositions. The audience warmed up in response as he proceeded and at the close there was a prolonged burst of cheering.

On Dec. 6, he went to New Haven and "was royally welcomed by the Yale faculty", writes the *New Haven Conn Register*. He lectured at night on Dec 6, at Mount Holyoke College before "a large

enthusiastic audience on "What is Art?" The substance of the lecture was published in *Springfield Mass Republican*. We read in *New Haven Conn Courier* that an elaborate programme had been prepared for the poet at Yale. He was introduced in Woolsey Hall by President Hadley who made a short and beautiful speech on the occasion presenting to the poet the Yale bi centennial medal with the words 'We welcome you as one of the seekers of light and truth'. The poet then gave readings from his published poems and read also some manuscript works. At the conclusion of his recital he was received at the Elizabethan club by Yale officials and prominent New Haven people. It was long after midnight that the reception at the club concluded and he could retire. At the club about six Indian residents presented him with a wreath of bridal roses. He spoke on Shantiniketan School to the students and faculty of Smith College.

He next spoke on 'What is Art?' and 'The World of Personality' at Buffalo under the auspices of the Garret Club, and the *Buffalo N 1 Courier* and the *Buffalo N 1 News* gave very appreciative reports of both of his lectures.

He came back again to New York on Dec 12 and we read in the *New York City Times* Dec 13, that "at least a thousand persons were unable to gain admission to the New Amsterdam Theatre yesterday afternoon for the last appearance in New York of Sir Rabindranath Tagore". He left New York for San Francisco rather hurriedly, for he was evidently tired of being "transported from town to town" as he put it 'like a bale of cotton'. His agent, Pond, was greatly disappointed, for the lectures were fetching quite a large amount of money, and if he could have persuaded the poet to stay till summer, the poet would have made quite a fortune for his school. But all these considerations — the great demand of the American cities to hear him again — the expectations of many — he set aside when he felt that he must hurry back to his school and his home in Bengal, because he had finished delivering his message. His work was done. America heard the message of the East and that was enough. The 'mustard seed' was sown and in time it would sprout up. It could not die.

But now that we know how profoundly

the Americans were impressed by the poet's personality and his message may we not ask ourselves, whether we are sufficiently alive to our own responsibilities as a people with regard to our attitude towards the poet and his teachings and also with regard to our attitude towards ourselves? If hundreds of intellectual centres in America discuss Rabindranath's poetry regularly ought there not to be at least one centre or association here in Bengal to study and discuss his works systematically? If the Americans raise funds to help Bolpur School should it not be the duty of educated Indians to do the same and take more interest in its work? If the Americans are so eager to hear his talk and see him in person is the American press tells us should not the various cities of India and Bengal be more eager to see him and hear him from time to time? It would be a matter of utter shame if India's greatest son were more honored and appreciated outside India than in the land of his birth. For surely if he has any message he has it first and foremost for us for his own people.

#### LITERATUS

#### Note by the Editor

In this series of articles on Rabindranath Tagore's lecture tour in America which is now brought to a close the reader will find repeated references made by the American press to the poet's criticism of the Government of his country. These references give a rather one-sided view of what the poet has said. In The Cult of Nationalism on the British Government they are likely to produce the

impression that the lecturer indulged in indiscriminate attacks on that Government. But more than one passage may be quoted to show that the poet is not a hostile critic. We extract only one paragraph below.

I have not come here however to discuss the question as it affects my own country but the future of all humanity. It is not about the British Government but the government by the Nation—the Nation on which all the organised self-interest of a whole people where it is the least human and the least spiritual. Our only intimate experience of the Nation is the British Nation and as far as the government by the Nation goes there are reasons to believe that it is one of the best. Then again we have to consider that the West is necessary to the East. We are complementary to each other because of our different outlooks upon life which have given us different aspects of truth. Therefore it is true that the spirit of the West has come upon our fields in the guise of a storm. It is all the same scattering living seeds that are immortal. And when in India we shall be able to assimilate our life what is permanent in the Western civilisation we shall be in the position to begin about a reconciliation of those two great worlds. Then will come an end to the one-sided domination which is galling. What a more welcome to recognise that the story of India does not belong to one particular race but it is the story of a process of creation on which various races of the world contributed—the Dravidians and the Aryans the ancient Greeks and the Persians the Mahomedans of the West and those of the Central Asia. Now that at last has come the turn of the English to bring to it the tribute of the life we neither have the right nor the power to exclude them from the work of building the destiny of India. Therefore what I say about the Nation has more to do with the history of Man than especially with that of India.

It is perhaps necessary to say that the poet does not preach what is generally caricatured as cosmopolitanism. He says

Neither the colourless vagueness of cosmopolitanism, nor the fierce self-idolatry of nation worship is the goal of human history

#### 'HARISCHANDRA' AT THE DEAF AND DUMB SCHOOL

At the recent prize distribution of the Calcutta Deaf and Dumb School the pupils gave a mute representation of the classic story of Harischandra. Deaf and dumb persons have to express their thoughts feelings and desires by means of signs and gestures. Hence they are naturally more skilled in expressing themselves in this way than persons who possess the power of speech. It was therefore to be

expected that this performance by deaf mute boys would be a success. And so it was. Those who witnessed the representation expressed themselves highly pleased with it. Some of the tableaux were photographed. We reproduce a few of the photographs taken by the Subodh Studio which though they fall short the original tableaux may give the reader some idea of them.



1. King Harishchandra leaves his palace after giving away his Kingdom to the *Rishi* Viswamitra. The latter demands the jewelled necklace worn by the king's son Rohitaswa, who is trying to take it off.



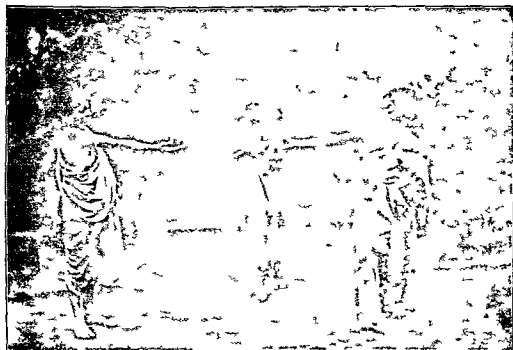
2. After giving away his Kingdom Harishchandra sells his wife Shaihya to a Brahmin, and thereby procures half the *dakshina* payable to Viswamitra. On the Brahmin's refusal to take her son with her, both mother and son express great distress.



3 The king gives himself to a *Chandala* for procuring the other half of the *dakshina*



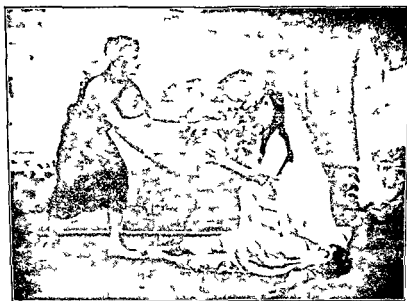
4 The Brahmin's wife who is now in distress of the queen *Shabha* scolds and beats her. The Brahmin and prince *Rohitashwa*'s sorrow therefore. The prince's companions console him.



5 Roh taswa gone to pluck flowers. Seeing that one of his companions is offering him a flower a second companion wants to whereupon the first companion shows his thumb to the second in token of refusal. A serpent is about to bite Roh taswa from behind his head.



6 The terror and amazement of Roh taswa's companions at his death from snake bite.



10 Suddenly by light of flash Hār schandra and Shā bya recognise each other,

### THE SUNSET OF THE CENTURY

The last sun of the century sets amidst the blood red clouds of the West  
 and the whirlwind of hatred  
 The naked passion of self love of Nation is in its drunken delirium of greed  
 is dancing to the clash of steel and the howling verses of vengeance  
 The hungry self of the Nation shall burst in a violence of fury from its own shameless  
 feeding  
 For it has made the world its food  
 And licking it crunching it and swallowing it in big morsels  
 It swells and swells  
 Till in the midst of its unholy feast descends the sudden shaft of Heaven  
 piercing its heart of grossness  
 The crimson glow of light on the horizon is not the light of thy dawn of peace  
 my Motherland  
 It is the glimmer of the funeral pyre burning to ashes the vast flesh—the self love of  
 the Nation—dead under its own excess  
 Thy morning waits behind the patient dark of the East  
 Meek and silent  
 Keep watch India !  
 Bring your offerings of worship for that sacred sunrise  
 Let the first hymn of its welcome sound in your voice and sing  
 Come I see thou daughter of God's own great suffering  
 Come with thy treasure of contentment the sword of fortitude  
 And meekness crowning thy forehead  
 Be not ashamed my brothers to stand before the proud and the powerful  
 With your white robe of simplicity  
 Let your crown be of humility your freedom the freedom of the soul  
 Build God's throne daily upon the ample bareness of your poverty  
 And know what is huge is not great and pride is not everlasting

RABINDRANATH TAGORE



# GARDEN PARTY AT AN INDIAN HOUSE FIND THE INDIAN

By the courtesy of the art st Babu Gaganendranath Tagore



## THE REPRESENTATION OF THE MASSES

**P**ARAGRAPH 18 of the Report of Lord Islington's Commission on the Public Services of India is headed "extent to which the western educated classes represent the masses of the people" and runs as follows:

"How far the western educated classes reflect the views or represent the interests of the many scores of millions in India who are still untouched by western influences is a question upon which opinions differ. Even amongst the educated the conflicting traditions of Hindus and Muhammadans are still constantly reflected in their attitudes towards social and political questions of the first order, whilst, in addition to this main line of religious cleavage there are other important communities such as Sikhs, Parsis, Buddhists (chiefly in Burma) and Indian Christians who are all more or less widely separated from the bulk of the population, either Hindu or Muhammadan. Nor does religion constitute the only line of cleavage. Geographical and climatic as well as social conditions have also helped to preserve down to our own times differences originally imported into India by successive waves of conquest and migration. Of all these considerations it would be unwise not to take cognisance. But it would be equally unwise to ignore that growing body of western educated opinion which is gradually creating a new atmosphere all over India. Even those who most strongly deprecate some of its manifestations realise that it has contributed largely to the great social and religious movements which are aiming at giving a new direction to old beliefs and at harmonising ancient doctrines with the teachings of science. It is reflected in that new sense of unity which is displacing the idea of ordained separation hitherto prevalent in Indian society."

The following is Justice Abdur Rahim's criticism on the above paragraph

"In para 18 of the majority report, allusion is made to the allegation that the western educated Indians do not reflect the views or represent the interests of the many scores of millions in India. So far as the views of the latter on any of the matters in dispute, or of an allied character, are concerned, it is impossible to imagine what opinions they are in a position to form so long as they are allowed to remain, as at present, in their illiterate and appalling ignorant condition." As for the representation of

"Elsewhere, Justice Rahim referring to this subject, says 'In paragraph 18 of the majority report allusion is made to the opinion of those who allege that the western educated classes do not represent the interests of the many scores of millions of India. The fact, however, is that for sometime they have been making most earnest endeavours in this direction. If Mr Gokhale's bill for popular education, supported as it was by the entire educated opinion of the country, has not been placed on the Indian statute book the blame cannot be laid at their door'"

85¼-9

their interests, if the claim be that they are better represented by European officials than by educated, Indian officials or non officials it is difficult to conceive how such a reckless claim has come to be urged. The inability of English officials to master the spoken languages of India and their different religions, habits of life and modes of thought so completely divide them from the general Indian population that only an extremely limited few possessed of extraordinary powers of intuition insight have ever been able to surmount the barriers. As for the sacred books and classics of the Indian peoples, Hindu and Muhammadan, whose study is indispensable to a foreigner wishing to understand the people's national genius, it would be difficult to name more than two or three Englishmen among the thousands that during a period of more than 100 years of British connection with India have been employed in the service of Government, whose attainments could be mentioned with a show of respect. Such knowledge of the people and of the classical literatures as passes current among the European officials is compiled almost entirely from the data furnished to them by the western-educated Indians, and the idea of the European officials having to deal with the people of India without the medium of the western-educated Indian is too wild for serious contemplation. It would be no exaggeration to say that without their cooperation the administration could not be carried on for a single day.

"With the educated Indians, on the other hand, this knowledge is instinctive, and the ties of religion and custom, so strong in the east, inevitably make their knowledge and sympathy far more intimate than is to be seen in countries dominated by materialistic conceptions. It is from a wrong and deceptive perspective that we are asked to look at the system of castes among the Hindus more as a dividing force than as a powerful binding factor; and the unifying spirit of Islam so far as it affects the Muhammadans, does not stand in need of being explained, while in all communities the new national movement has received considerable accession of impulse from the lessons of such arguments as are hinted at in the majority report. The evidence is remarkably significant in this connection. His Highness the Aga Khan joined his weighty voice with that of the leaders of the Congress in demanding simultaneous examinations for the Indian Civil Service, and the representatives of the Sikh Khalsa and the Pathans of the Punjab; the Moslem League along with the spokesmen of the communities more advanced in western education, were unanimous in entering their emphatic protest against the suggestion that the presence of Indians in the higher official ranks would be distasteful to the Indians themselves and specially in a province or a community other than that of the Indian official."

The criticism of the Hon'ble Mr. Chaula is no less instructive, and is quoted below.

"The two views on this question are fairly stated

in this paragraph \* But in view of the wide belief in high circles in the first of these views a closer examination of the question so far as it is material to the services concerned, and to the employment of Indians in them, is necessary. In the first place, it may be pointed out that in relation to the public services under government there is no such class as *eastern educated classes*, as distinguished or distinguishable from 'the western educated classes.' For such eastern education as exists now there is absolutely no scope for employment in any of the departments we have considered. If any Indians have to be employed in the higher service at all they must be from the western educated classes, whether they represent the masses of the people or not. Assuming that they do not the next step implied in the argument is that the ability or capacity to represent the masses must be present in anyone who claims to be entitled to enter the higher service under Government. Therefore it is not desirable to employ a larger number of these western educated classes in the higher service, and consequently it is impossible with safety and in the interests of these masses to narrow the field of employment for Europeans and Anglo-Indians in the higher posts under government. To employ the educated Indian in larger numbers is in the words of the late Sir Charles Crosthwaite to give a disproportionate degree of authority in the government of the masses and the aristocracy into the hands of a few thousand men whose heads have been turned by an education they have not assimilated.

If this argument is analysed one cannot help being struck with the assumption that this capacity to represent the masses is taken for granted in the European and the Anglo-Indian. It is difficult to understand exactly what is intended to be conveyed by the word 'represent.' If it implies a knowledge of the condition of life of these masses their habits their ways of living and thinking their wants and grievances the ability to enter into their thoughts, and appreciate what is necessary to educate them, to give them higher ideas of life and make them realise their duties towards all about them these ought to be no doubt that the educated Indian has all these in a far higher degree than any European or Anglo-Indian can claim to have. The charge really is that the educated Indian has a class bias, a sort of

classishness, a tendency to favour his own caste or community in the discharge of his official duties which detract from his usefulness in the higher service and, therefore, the presence of the European in large numbers is necessary to hold the scales evenly between these few educated thousands and the dumb and ignorant millions, who would otherwise be oppressed by them.

This is rather a shallow pretence—this attempt to take shelter behind the masses, and I think it only fair to state that the class of educated Indians from which only the higher posts can be filled is singularly free from this narrow-mindedness and class or caste bias e.g. no instances of complaint on this score against any of the Indian members of the India Civil Service would be available and I have no hesitation in endorsing the opinion of Sir Narayan Chandravarkar, in his recent contribution on village life in his tour through southern India, that the interests of the masses are likely to be far better understood and taken care of by the educated Indian than by the foreigner. As a matter of fact all the measures proposed for the regeneration of the lower and depressed classes have emanated from the educated Indians of the higher castes. The scheme for the free and compulsory education of these masses was proposed by an educated Indian of a high caste and supported mainly by the western educated classes. High-souled and self-sacrificing men are every day coming forward from this class to work whole heartedly in improving the condition of the masses.

Perhaps the truth, however unpalatable, is that there are still a number of the average English officials in India who have a distrust and suspicion about the educated Indian. The explanation of this is probably that given by Sir P. M. Mehta in his evidence—that the English Official does not like the independence, the self-assertion, and the self-respect which come naturally in the wake of education. As Dr Wordsworth stated in his evidence before the last commission 'deferential ignorance, conciliatory manners, and a plentiful absence of originality and independence are now, and will always be, at a premium.' It is high time that this shibboleth was exploded. It is indeed hardly consistent that which on the one hand Government should foster and encourage the growth of opportunities for educated Indians for participation in public life in the municipalities and district boards, and in the provincial and imperial legislative councils, they should, on the other so jealously guard the entrance of educated indigenous agencies into the higher and better remunerated posts in the State."

POL.

\* Paragraph 19 of the Report. The views of Messrs Rahim and Chhabal are quoted from their dissentient minutes which are to be found at the end of the same volume (vol. 1).

## THE QUESTION OF THE PROPORTION OF INDIANS IN THE PUBLIC SERVICE

"I am aware," says Mr Chhabal in his minute of dissent, "that there are some well meaning persons who think that it is not in the interests of the Indians themselves that any proportions

whatsoever should be fixed, as the tendency is for the minimum to become the maximum"; but this is a belief held

\* This tendency is admitted by the major Commissioners in their report, but it is curious

British responsibility for the good government of India requires the employment in the higher ranks of a preponderating proportion of British officers' 'To the second group belong those services in which, on grounds of policy and efficiency, it is desirable that there should be an admixture in the personnel of both western and eastern elements' Such are the education, military, finance, medical, telegraph (engineering), public works, railway (engineering and traffic) and survey of India departments. In the third group come certain scientific and technical and services, such as the agricultural, civil veterinary, factory and boiler inspection, forest, geological survey, mines, mint and assay, pilots (Bengal) and railway (locomotive and carriage and wagon) departments. 'In these there are no grounds of policy for any considerable admixture of officers imported from Europe, and all that hinders recruitment in India is the lack of facilities in that country for technical instruction and the consequent deficiency of properly qualified officers' There remain the customs and Indian finance departments. 'In these, also, no considerations of policy appear to exist for going to Europe, and the officers recruited are not required to possess any technical qualifications which are not procurable in India' We therefore find that the superior public services have been divided into three classes according as, in the opinion of the majority of the Commissioners, a preponderating proportion of British officers is required, an admixture of western and eastern elements is required, and no considerable admixture of European officers is required. The 'admixture' of British officers is said to be required 'on grounds of policy and efficiency,' but the qualification of efficiency is soon dropped out of account, and only grounds of policy are persistently urged, though they are never specified and invariably left to the imagination to supply. The Commission lays down that only in one department, finance, should appointments in the future be made wholly in India. In a few of the other departments, particularly in the third group, not less than half the appointments are to be made in India.

\* In these we think that a determined and immediate effort should be made to provide better educational opportunities in India so that it may become increasingly possible to recruit in that country the

staff needed to meet all normal requirements. This will require an immediate expenditure of a considerable sum of money, but not probably as much as would at first sight be expected. For instance up-to-date institutions already exist at Pusa and Dehri Dun which can be utilised for the purposes of the agricultural and forest departments. Large railway workshops are also already in existence to supply the needs of the locomotive and carriage and wagon branches. It is only for the civil veterinary, geological survey and mines departments that the existing provision is wholly inadequate. In any case the outlay would be more than repaid not only by the additional facilities which such institutions would give to young men to qualify themselves for direct appointment to the higher branches of the public services, but by the contribution they would make to the industrial progress of the country."

In the case of the other services the commissioners have indicated the varying proportions in which they wish to see the non-European and the European elements to be represented. Mr. Chubb considers this classification as futile, inasmuch as the proportion between Europeans and non-Europeans allotted to each group of services is not the same within the group. Justice Rahim says:

As to the classification arrived at by the majority of the commissioners, I must state my inability to appreciate the 'grounds of policy' which induced them to separate appointments in the medical, public works and the other departments which they have placed in their second group from those in their third group which is composed of the scientific and technical departments like the Indian finance, agriculture &c. It is also difficult to understand how efficiency is a special consideration for appointments of the former as contrasted with those of the last mentioned class.

He therefore recommends, with perfect logic, that the services should be divided into two groups. In the first group should be placed the executive appointments in the Indian civil service and the appointments in the police, in these the administrative aspect of the work is especially prominent and the recruitment is based on undifferentiated qualifications. In the second group should be placed appointments in which the administrative aspect of the work is more or less subsidiary and for which differentiated and specialised qualifications of a professional, scientific or technical character are required.

\* As such qualifications are capable of being sufficiently definitely ascertained there is no good reason why in this class of appointments Indian candidates when properly qualified should not be appointed to the fullest extent allowable in India.

\* The general policy which is to be kept in view is that the public service of India should be recruited for in the country itself. Upon a survey of the political and economic and on examining the requirements of the different departments I have

come to the conclusion that the only proper classification of the services for determining the place of appointment, which will at the same time be consistent with the fundamental policy of not placing any limits upon the outlook of the people of India in the matter of public service of their own country, must be based on the nature of the work to be performed and the qualifications required for the purpose. The majority of the commissioners in invoking 'British responsibility for the good government of India' and 'grounds of policy' as a basis of classification have, in my opinion, suggested a definite limitation to such outlook for important services like the Indian civil service, the police, the medical, the education, and the public works. This is inconsistent with the natural and constitutional rights of the people and are not justified on any grounds that are mentioned in the report. If it is meant that the connection of the British people with the Government of India necessarily implies the perpetuation of British officers in certain civil services of the country like the Indian civil service and the police, the theory mixes up the government of a country with its administrative personnel. Further I can well understand the British people desiring in the best interests of both the countries to retain the government of India and gradually relinquishing all share in the civil administration. In fact this is understood by the Indian public to be the legitimate goal of the policy underlying the proclamation and the statutes which declare that the Indians shall suffer no disabilities and limitations in the public service of their country. I am not here alluding to the demand for self government on colonial lines which forms the chief item in the Indian political programme. That proposition, of course, goes further than any question of recruitment for the public service."

We have seen above that except in the Finance department, which is to be recruited for wholly in India, the highest proportion of posts allotted to the statutory natives of India in the immediate future is 50 per cent in some departments, e.g., agriculture, though ultimately the normal requirements of these services are to be met entirely from India. The rates of salary fixed for officers recruited in India are to be fairly high, though not as high as those fixed for officers appointed in England. Justice Rahim's suggestion is that the rates should be equal, but that the European officials should be paid an extra allowance so long as their place is not taken by officers appointed in India. At first sight some would be disposed to think that the prospects of Indians in these departments have been made sufficiently attractive for the time being. But the following extracts from the minutes of dissent recorded by Messrs Chaula and Rahim will clearly show that if in making appointments in India the existing practice is allowed, Indians need benefit very little by the change, and the only people who will have reasons to congratu-

late themselves are the extremely small section of statutory natives of India who were hitherto known as Eurasians, and now pass under the more dignified title of Anglo Indians. We shall make our first extract from Mr Chaula's able note on the subject.

In the third group it is conceded that the services are scientific and technical and may be purely Indian recruited services as soon as efficient men are turned out from the technical and scientific institutions in India which it is recommended should be fully equipped with this object in view. This recommendation has my full concurrence, and I only wish that the recommendations made as regards these services be given effect in practice with the same sympathetic spirit in which they have been conceived. The fear entertained as regards these services in the third group is that perhaps an indefinite length of time may be taken in 'Indianising' them and that as they become Indian recruited Asiatic Indians would not be selected for them in due proportion and they may become like the present recruited in India services in which as pointed out later the proportion of Asiatic Indians to Europeans and Anglo-Indians is only 23.82, and 6.3 per cent, in posts with salaries of Rs 200 and above, Rs 500 and above, and Rs 800 and above respectively.

According to the last census out of a total population of over 302,000,000 in the country, there are only 199,787 Europeans and allied races (of whom 91,000 form the army with their wives and dependants), and a little over 100,000 Anglo-Indians. The tendency in the latter to return themselves as pure Europeans, and in some of the Indian Christians to return themselves as Anglo-Indians, has been noticed both at the last census and in the earlier ones. Thus, strictly, the number of real Anglo-Indian community by itself stands to the general Indian population as 1 in 3,000, and in literature in English, they stand as 1 in 13. With these figures one will be able to appreciate the surprisingly large number of posts held of Europeans and Anglo-Indians in the public services as against the natives of the country. Out of 11,064—the total number of posts—6,491, or 58 per cent, are held by the members of this small community. As regards posts of Rs 500 and above out of a total of 4,934 they hold 4,042, i.e., 81 per cent, and as regards posts of Rs 800 and above, out of a total of 2,501 they hold 2,259, or 90 per cent.

It is a matter of common knowledge that only a few out of this community possess or can acquire the educational qualification and the acquaintance with the vernaculars necessary for entry into the executive and judicial departments of the provincial service, and therefore there are now only a few from this community employed in those departments, and naturally the great bulk of this provincial service is recruited from the Asiatic Indian communities. Let us, therefore, exclude this service from consideration, and see how they stand as regards the other 23 services enquired into. If we exclude the Indian and the provincial civil services the total number of posts of Rs 200 and above, Rs 500 and above, and Rs 800 and above, is respectively 7,261, 3,073, and 1,601. Out of these 4,974, 2,756 and 1,499 respectively are at the present day held by the members of the two communities, i.e., the percentages of higher posts held by them are 69.20 and 1.94 as against 31,

10 and 6 held by Asiatic Indians. And more or less, with trifling differences, the necessary qualifications for employment in these services are and can be acquired by both Europeans and Anglo-Indians as well as Asiatic Indians. In paragraph 34 of the report an improvement of the percentage of Indians and Burmeses in 1913 is shown as compared with the state of things in 1887, and it is observed that in view of the progress made by the country in the interval this progress is inadequate. Perhaps the degree of inadequacy would be higher and the increase only nominal if in 1887 the posts in the new province of Burma were not included in the calculation.

These figures speak for themselves and indicate roughly how wide the field for the larger employment of the real natives of the country is at the present day. If the three communities are taken separately the percentage of Europeans, Anglo-Indians and Asiatic Indians (excluding the Indian and provincial civil services) stand at 48.7, 19.8, 31.5 in the Rs. 200 and above posts, 80.0, 9.7, 10.3, in the Rs. 500 and above posts, and 87.7, 5.9 and 6.4 in the Rs. 800 and above posts. The very meagre percentage of the Asiatic Indians in the higher service ought not to be hidden from view by lumping the Anglo-Indians and the Asiatic Indians together under the plausible excuse of the definition of statutory natives of India in the Act. In the third question for enquiry in our terms of reference the term 'non Europeans' is rightly construed to mean and refer to pure Asiatic Indians only and I am of opinion that this construction should be upheld throughout. It is a mistake in the present circumstances to class the Anglo-Indian with the Asiatic native of India. Whatever the schisms and sects and divisions among the latter they all consider each other to belong to a common land and they do not consider the Anglo-Indian to be in any sense a native of the country, and the Anglo-Indian will not consider the interests he has in common with the rest of the inhabitants of the country and try to get over or reduce that feeling. On the contrary he takes a pride in being considered to be a non-Indian. He evidently thinks it would reduce his chance of being classed with the European and it would seem to be his ambition to be so classed. He thinks he has no permanent interest in common with the masses of the population, and with the masses the Anglo-Indian poses to be as great a 'salub' as the pure European. In these circumstances I think he ought not, for the convenient purpose of getting into Government employ, be allowed to take advantage of the statutory definition, but he rests purely with himself to describe himself as being born of parents habitually resident in India and not established there for temporary purposes only. His position is anomalous as he can be an Indian for getting into government service at the same time that he can claim along with the European, certain exemptions under the Arms Act and the other privileges of European British subjects. For these reasons the Asiatic Indian would rather that his ambition is gratified and that he should be classed with Europeans in India for all purposes except his remuneration, in respect of which the special considerations referred to in the report for a higher salary to persons recruited in Europe would have no application.

A number of difficulties and complications would disappear with an amendment of the definition in this direction. Anglo-Indians have separate schools started for them with an European school course. They can if they choose take advantage of the

educational institutions started by Government for the other Indian communities, but the latter cannot take advantage of the schools started for them. And owing to his colour and his European education the Anglo-Indian finds it easier to get a disproportionate representation in the public services of the country. One has only to glance at the figures in the higher service—salt and excise, Bengal pilots Burma land records, customs factory and boilers, forests, Indian finance, medical (and Government of India medical), sanitary, military finance, Northern India salt revenue, state railways survey of India, and telegraph—to see how as against the pure Asiatic Indian, the Anglo-Indians have practically monopolised these departments. Indeed the fear is that the recommendation in the report to alter the present educational qualification for entry into the executive branch of the provincial services by the recognition of 'an examination of a corresponding standard in the European schools course' is likely to bring in a large number of Anglo-Indians or domiciled Europeans into this department in which at present they find admission difficult.

When, therefore, it is proposed that in certain departments where there has to be recruitment partially in Europe and partially in India the proportion should be half and half it only definitely safeguards the interests of the Europeans, and for the other half competition is introduced between the Anglo-Indians and the Asiatic Indians, in which, for reasons not necessary to mention, the former are bound to score. There is no definite recommendation, so far as I can see, to remedy this. Reliance is placed on nomination but it has to be borne in mind that the present unfair and unequal distribution has come into existence under and because of a system of nomination. In paragraph 31, for instance, it is observed that for eight services (with the exception of a few specialist appointments) viz., (i) post office, (ii) telegraph (traffic), (iii) land records (Burma), (iv) railway (stores), (v) registration, (vi) northern India salt revenue, (vii) salt and excise and (viii) survey (Madras) recruitment is made in India. *Prima facie* this would convey the impression that a large number of Asiatic Indians would be found in these departments, in the higher posts but what are the facts?

Service	Total No of posts of Euro Rs 200 posts and above	Anglo Indians	Pure Asiatics
i Post office	277	106	170
ii Telegraph	164	162	61
iii Land Records (Burma)	4	1	3
iv Railways	447	130	317
v Registration	61	—	61
vi Northern India Salt Revenue	36	16	20
vii Salt and Excise	338	110	228
viii Survey (Madras)	16	9	7
	1887	734	1153

The percentage of Asiatic Indians to Europeans and Anglo-Indians together is 23 to 77 being almost equal as between themselves. Out of 536 posts in Rs. 500 and above 412 are held by Europeans and Anglo-Indians, i.e., 91.8 per cent, and of 293 posts of Rs. 800 and above 278 are held by them, i.e., 94.9 per cent. Thus the latter percentage in the three is only 23 to 77 and yet they are all set

recruited in India. This illustrates how large still is the field for the wider employment of Asiatic Indians in services in which recruitment is ordinarily stated to be within the country. In view of the present figures, it would be more appropriate to call them Europe-recruited services than Indian recruited.

The remedy I propose is that the Anglo-Indians should be classed with Europeans, and the minimum of 50 per cent should be reserved for Asiatic Indians. But if there be insuperable difficulties in changing the statutory definition, and if the Anglo Indian because of his theoretic adoption of India as his country is to be classed as a community in India, along with the other Asiatic communities I strongly maintain that the qualifying examination for admission into Government service should be the same examination for all communities. The European schools must teach up to the B.A. standard, and if any Anglo-Indians care to seek admission into Government service, they must, like any other of the Asiatic Indians, submit themselves for the degree examination of an Indian university. Otherwise I see no escape from the charge that a lower educational standard is permitted by Government to get into its service a favoured community at a comparatively lower age. And their representative on the commission (Mr. Mudge) emphatically asserted that his community wanted no favour—and only cared for an equality of terms along with others.

Mr. Abdur Rahim's minute contains several passages on this subject and we quote from them the following:

"Among the other classes of India's population the Anglo-Indians formerly called Eurasians, or persons of mixed descent, have decided to throw in their lot with the Europeans so far as the national aspirations of India are concerned. They do not even call themselves Indians though they would reckon themselves as 'statutory natives of India'. As statutory natives they insist on a full share in the public services of the country, and by virtue of their kinship with the Europeans they claim a part of 'the British responsibility for the good government of India', which gives them much more than their full share. Such a position has naturally given rise to more than one practical difficulty in dealing with the questions raised before us. A number of Indian Christians bearing European names are making determined efforts to share the privileges enjoyed by this community, and it has been found a difficult task with certain departments to trace a European in their genealogical tree on the one side or the other. Then the most successful men of the community are perpetually migrating to England so that it is suffering on the one hand from a depletion of its best men and an accession on the other of very dubious material. Anyhow their number is significant (being only 102,000 out of the total population of 315,000,000), but they must be reckoned as standing outside the general national movement."

"In some important services recruited in India, such as the provincial service of the survey of India, the northern Indian salt revenue, the salt and excise, the post office, where the domiciled Europeans and Anglo-Indians come into competition, the limitation upon the employment of Indians arises at the present day from the fact that in many cases for the domiciled European and Anglo-Indian candidates a lower standard of educational qualifications than that required for Indian candidates is accepted and that

the general practice shows a marked tendency in these departments to favour domiciled European and Anglo-Indian candidates as against candidates of the Hindu, Muhammadan, Sikh and other Indian communities. Some idea can be formed of the extent to which the objectionable practice is carried from the facts stated in the annexures for these services. I have proposed in the first place that equality in the standard of qualifications should be strictly insisted on. The recommendation in the report of the majority of the Commissioners that wherever a degree of a university is required for Indian candidates, for the Anglo-Indian candidates there shall be an examination of a corresponding standard in the European schools is calculated, as I have explained elsewhere,\* to admit the latter class on much easier terms than the former and will not remedy the evil. There are also practical difficulties in the way of Indian candidates, arising from the fact that sufficient publicity is not given to the vacancies occurring in many of the special departments."

The evidence shows that the standard of qualifications for appointments made in India has gradually been raised the degree of a university being mostly insisted on. The general standard has, however, been purposely lowered in some departments to suit domiciled European and Anglo-Indian candidates. This has been a source not only of great injustice to candidates of pure Asiatic descent but has often impaired the efficiency of administration as is shown in the history of Indian finance and the customs. This should be avoided in future. It has not been possible for me to approve of the vague and uncertain attitude adopted by the majority of the Commissioners in their recommendations on this important point with respect to the provincial civil services (executive branch), the provincial police, the post office, and the salt and excise department. In paragraph 44 of the report after having recommended the degree of a university as a suitable test for Indian candidates they provide as an alternative for Anglo-Indian candidates an examination of a corresponding standard to be prescribed by Government for the European schools. In paragraph 41 of the report emphasis is laid on the fact that Anglo-Indians have a special school course of their own and it is alleged that the curriculum differs materially from that followed in the ordinary schools both as an argument against the establishment of competitive examination in India and also for not insisting on a university degree or its equivalent in the case of an Anglo-Indian candidate. I have not been able to find any weight in this argument. Anglo-Indian students are admitted into ordinary schools and colleges though the door of the European schools is shut to them, as they are, out of India's revenues to which Anglo-Indians contribute extremely little—as shut to Indian boys. There seems to be no difficulty for Anglo-Indian boys who aspire to Government service on finishing their school course, say at 18, to join a college affiliated to a university

\* Elsewhere Justice Rahim points out that the European school course usually ends with the Cambridge senior local examination and is usually completed about the age of 18, whereas an Indian University degree cannot be attained earlier than 20. The Calcutta University lays down that the value to be attached to the Cambridge senior local examination is similar to that of the matriculation examination of the Calcutta University.

to complete their education as some of them now do.

'It must be pointed out that this present state of representation of communities on the public service leaves much to be desired. That the Anglo-Indians with a total population of about 102 000, should hold 26 per cent of the posts above Rs 200 a month, while the Muhammadans, who count more than 66 millions (of whom 2½ millions are literate and 180 000 literate in English) should hold 13 per cent of such appointments, and the Sikhs whose population is 3 millions (of whom 101,000 are literate and about 12 000 literate in English) should hold 1 per cent of these appointments hardly needs comment. The number enjoyed by the Anglo-Indians is no less than half of that held by the Hindus whose population is 219 millions (of whom 12 millions are literate and 1 million literate in English). \* From the point of view of proper representation of the communities the Anglo-Indians appear to have obtained an enormous advantage which, from the facts elicited during the enquiry cannot at all be attributed to superiority in qualifications and it is here that there is much room for the authorities to apply the principle of holding the balance evenly between the communities.

The invidious distinction in favour of Anglo-Indians may best be illustrated by taking a concrete example, e.g., the survey of India department. We shall allow Justice Rahim to speak in regard to this department also.

The evidence discloses that the few Indian officers mostly Muhammadans that have been admitted to the department and the majority of whom under the present arrangements had to rise from the ranks have done excellent service especially in the work of boundary commissions on the frontier or in the foreign territories of Asia. As Colonel Lurard the Surveyor General himself says 'it is the individual that counts not his class the individual counts more than the class. Then how is it that the position of the Indians in the department is so deplorable? If it be remembered that the Indians are admitted only to the provincial service at the highest I will give the explanation in Colonel Lurard's own words. 'Admission to the provincial service was by competitive test. The rule was also laid down that three quarters of the vacancies should go to the domiciled community and one quarter to Indians. There was one examination for all candidates. - Supposing that there were four vacancies the first three Anglo-Indians were selected and the first Indian. If the rule were abolished it would lead to a large increase in the number of Indians recruited. One or two Indians had almost always to be knocked out. The three quarters rule was not justified on the score of efficiency but by other reasons.' Then he goes on to

add, 'it had to be remembered that the survey department had to work from Baluchistan to Siam, and required men who were willing to go anywhere. The Indian had a fixed home, he married early, had strong family ties and preferred to serve in his own province, whereas the Anglo-Indian had no home and was willing to go anywhere.' This general statement could hardly have been put forward as the real explanation of the practice because in the first place Indians who loved to stay at home were not likely to join the service, and in the next place the facts show that the Indian officers have been at least as enterprising as any other members of the service. In the list put forward by Mr J. O. Gries out of 25 provincial officers who did specially good work in war and trans-frontier service no less than seven—a number much larger than their proportion in the service—are Indians six Muhammadans and one apparently, Sikh. They seem to have been engaged in most of the difficult operations.

The tradition of this department in the matter of differential treatment seems 'to be peculiarly unfortunate. It appears to have been even worse in the past as will be evident from the following very frank utterances of Colonel Du Pre, a previous surveyor general quoted in the supreme legislative council by Mr Gokhale in supporting his motion for the appointment of this Commission. 'I may here remark incidentally that my numerous late inspections show me that the tendency of the European surveyors is to stand and look on while the natives are made to do the drawing and hand printing, as if they thought themselves quite above that sort of thing. This is a mistake and cannot be permitted for the future, besides it is suicidal for the Europeans to admit that natives can do any one thing better than themselves. They should claim to be superior in everything and only allow natives to take a secondary or subordinate part. In my old parties I never permitted a native to touch a theodolite or original computation on the principle that the triangulation and the scientific work was the prerogative of the highly paid European and this reservation of the scientific work was the only way by which I could keep a distinction so as to justify the different figures respectively drawn by the two classes—the European in office-time and the native who ran him so close in all the office duties as well as in field duties. Let I see the natives commonly do the computation work and the European some of the inferior duties.'

The Indian members of the Commission have thus conclusively proved that by providing a backdoor of entrance for the Anglo-Indians in the shape of a English school course, as well as by classing Anglo-Indians with statutory natives of India, the Public Services Commission have dashed to the ground such hopes as might have been created by the Commission's finding that some of the superior services should henceforth be recruited for in India.

\* Incidentally, these figures demonstrate that Muhammadans enjoy a far larger proportionate share of these provincial service appointments than the Hindus and that both Hindus and Muhammadans hold much less than their proper share of these appointments as compared with the Anglo-Indians [Lurard].

## COMPETITIVE EXAMINATIONS

THE Public Services Commissioners in their Report make some observations on the relative merits of competition and nomination as methods of recruitment for the country's service. Shortly stated, their observations come to this that while competition has proved entirely satisfactory for England, in India nomination by a select committee containing an official majority, but on which Indians will be represented, is to be preferred, and the members of the committee should be definitely instructed 'to count against any candidate any attempt made to secure on his behalf, through the medium of certificates or otherwise, the good will of any individual member of the committee'. The grounds of differentiation between England and India are said to be these. In England, the examinations are so arranged as to secure 'for the service of the state the best products of the educational system of the country,' and 'a well organised school or university course is the most likely means of producing the mental and moral characteristics which are required in a public servant. Such courses have an educative value much superior to that acquired during a course of special preparation'. But public opinion in India aims at precisely this—that the best products of the university should be employed in the service of the state, and this can never be the case under a system of nomination, whereas the commissioners, by lowering the age for the Indian Civil Service to 17 1/2, has effectually precluded 'the best products of the educational system' of England from competing, and they have also recommended what they themselves deprecate as inferior to a university course, viz, a long course of special preparation, extending over three years in the case of those who are successful in the competitive test for the Indian Civil Service. Though the commissioners have thus made their main argument in favour of the competitive test inapplicable to the Indian Civil Service, yet they have not abandoned the open competitive examination in England, presumably because this is everywhere the

best method of recruitment, and no other would be tolerated in Great Britain. The second ground for preferring nomination in the case of the services recruited in India is that 'a high general level of education throughout the country is also necessary, because without it certain classes will be excluded from the public services'. Incidentally, this shows how the country's backwardness in education, which the government, as compared to other civilised governments, does so little to remove is used as an argument against the adoption of measures which have proved satisfactory in England and which the Indian public unanimously advocate. Let us now turn to the Report itself, for a further elucidation of the commissioners' views on the subject.

'In the case of direct recruits the alternative suggested to us have been competitive examination on the one hand and nomination on the other. The former has been pressed upon us as having the advantage of securing the widest field of candidates and absolute impartiality in their selection. In favour of the latter has been urged the power which it gives of allowing for qualities in applicants which can only imperfectly be tested by a literary examination, such as common sense, resolution, and resourcefulness. Experience of the competitive system has been obtained principally in England. Two important branches of the Indian administration—the Indian Civil Service and the Indian police service—are now recruited by an open competitive examination held in London and a similar method is followed in the Indian medical service. Moreover, since the abolition of the system of purchase commissions in the army in England have ordinarily been given upon the results of such a test. Since 1870 also the British Civil Service, to the extent directly or indirectly of 20,000 posts have been recruited in this manner. The results of these arrangements have been encouraging. To the beneficial effect of competition upon the English civil service the Royal Commission presided over by Lord MacDonnell has recently given emphatic testimony—

“ at the present time the state possesses a body of public officers who are far more competent and zealous than their predecessors appointed under the regime of patronage are stated on official authority to have been. We have no doubt whatever that to this highly satisfactory result the system of competitive examination has mainly contributed. The system has in our opinion entirely justified the expectations of its originators. In existing political conditions and in such developments of them as can be reasonably anticipated we believe that the advan-



Commission, a mere 'sentiment,' which implies that it is actuated more by feeling than by reason. And yet, in the case of the English people, it is freely conceded that faith in competitive examination is perfectly rational, inasmuch as it is most successful in securing the best type of public servants. The "safeguards and reservations" proposed for the nine Indian recruits are two: (1) that two 'King Emperors' Cadets' should be annually appointed by the Secretary of State on the nomination of the Government of India from among young men of good family 'who were not intellectually quite in the front rank,' or Burmans or members of the domiciled community. It is safe to predict that this experiment will prove as great a failure as the statutory civil service, and for the same reasons, (2) that 'in order to avoid the inconvenience of an unduly large number of candidates appearing for the examination twenty candidates should be selected from each of the five existing universities, who should sit for an examination to be conducted by the Civil Service commissioners and those who pass the examination will have to undergo a three years training in England. The selection of the twenty candidates from each university will be in the hands of a com-

mittee on which the educational authorities will be largely represented. The committee shall scrutinise the educational records of the candidates, and take into account 'their suitability for Government service from the point of view of physique and character.' It is under the vague and comprehensive test of 'character,' which is sure to include political considerations, that there are good grounds of apprehension that the evils of the principle of nomination will have the fullest scope to display themselves, for by the candidate's 'character' his moral fitness is not meant, but his suitability for Government service, and want of moral backbone, in the opinion of many high officials, under the disguise of 'oriental courtesy' and good manners, often constitutes the best test of character. To introduce these 'safeguards and reservations' for the highest public service in the land in the case of Indians is a distinctly retrograde step and is one of the many instances wherein the Public Services Commission has proved a great danger. Unless Government sets aside its recommendations *in toto* and follows the Queen's Proclamation, both literally and in its spirit, the commission must be considered to have done very great harm to India.

X

## REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF BOOKS

### ENGLISH

SOME DRAVIDIAN AFFINITIES AND THEIR SEQUEL  
PAPER READ BEFORE THE MYTHIC SOCIETY BANGALORE  
ON THE 9TH APRIL 1917 by J. Richards Esq., M.A.  
M.F.A.S., I.C.S.

Mr Richards was led to write this paper through reading Ripley's *Races of Europe* a work which modified all his ideas. Now Ripley's book was published in 1899 when Mendel's discoveries were almost unknown and completely erroneous ideas of heredity prevailed. Ripley attaches great importance to the cephalic index as a test of race. Mr Richards follows him in this and lays stress on the nasal index as well. I have discussed the value of these indices at considerable length in two articles published in the *Modern Review* in 1911 and I do not intend to repeat what I then wrote. It is sufficient to say that I believe the method of indices to be fundamentally vicious and incapable of leading to any satisfactory results. I cannot then agree with Mr Richards but I will endeavour to state his conclusions fairly.

I. *The Aryan Bubble*. Mr Richards insists that it is a mistake to suppose that identity of language implies identity of race. In this he is only too right, but he cannot be accused of needless repetition since the old blunder is still frequently met with in books and magazines.

II. *The Races of Europe*. This section is the author's point out merely a summary of Ripley.

III. *The Races of India*. Some of the statistics given by Ripley and Thurston are reproduced unfortunately without too few details for the reader to judge of their value. Even in an abstract the number of subjects measured ought to be given. The author thinks that the value of the nasal index as a criterion of race is shown by the fact that the minimum of the Jungle Tribes is about equal to the maximum for other Dravidians. It is impossible however to tell whether this is a matter of race or environment until the experiment has been made of transporting some of the Jungle Tribes to a new environment and seeing whether the nasal index persists in the next generation. Mr Richards concludes this section by

ing that the Dravidians are akin to the Mediterranean Race. They both have long heads.

IV *The Heliolithic Culture* In this section Mr Richards begins by pointing out that many customs are common to the Dravidians and the Mediterranean race. He then goes on to give an account of Dr Elliot Smith's theory of the eastward diffusion of Egyptian civilisation about 800 B.C. but it seems to me he has missed the essential point of Dr Elliot Smith's argument which turns on the peculiar technique of mummification practised in Egypt at that time.

V *Who were the Aryans?* In this section Mr Richards points out, rightly I believe, that Hindu civilisation is non-Aryan. The only objection I have here to make, is the use of Aryan as equivalent to Indo-European whereas it ought to be used as equivalent to Indo-Iranian. This is more than a merely verbal criticism. Just as the modern speakers of Aryan languages are very different from the Vedic Aryans, so it is probable that those Vedic Aryans were very different from the primitive speakers of the ancestral Indo-European language. Mr Richards thinks that the Aryans were identical with the Achaeans and that they came from the north of Europe. Neither suggestion has the slightest probability. He objects to the theory that the Aryans were round headed because the peoples who inhabit the vast tract of Hindustan are long headed. The objection has no weight for two reasons either of which would be sufficient, (1) the peoples who inhabit the vast tract of Hindustan are not Aryans (2) long headedness is worthless as a test of race.

VI *Conclusion* Various points are dealt with which it would take us too long to discuss. I am sorry to have to say anything ungracious but the truth is these questions of race can only be properly investigated by a biologist not by an amateur. At present the most urgent problem is to determine the laws of heredity in man. Till these are known no division of mankind into races can be satisfactory. The suggestion that the Dravidians belong to the Mediterranean race is quite as absurd as the Aryan bubble. According to this theory the people of Naples would resemble more closely the people of Nagapatnam than the people of Zurich or London. As I have lived in all these four towns I can say with the utmost confidence that this is not the case. Similarity of customs is no evidence of identity of race for customs can be borrowed as easily as language or even more easily.

But although the chief conclusion is false the paper is not without value. Mr Richards has taken great pains with it and has brought together many interesting facts. In exposing the Aryan delusion once more he has rendered a real service. If he will leave indices and speculations about race alone he will be able to do still better work.

H. C.

THE DEFENCE OF INDIA FORCE by G. A. Roy Price Rs. 1.40 The Religious Book Society Anarkali Lahore

This compilation contains the Ordinance Acts and Rules published in the Gazette of India up to 31st March 1917. It is a most timely publication and should prove useful to intending recruits.

SELF GOVERNMENT FOR INDIA UNDER THE CROWN by H. H. Manoharlal Hyd. 1916. Price 4 annas.

This neatly got up little brochure contains a detailed scheme of self-government on colonial lines as

applicable to India, and drafted in the form of a Parliamentary Bill entitled the Indian constitution. The writer was in Australia as a citizen when the Federal form of government was introduced and he has also seen the constitutions of European countries in actual working, and by a comparative study of these he has evolved a constitution for India after the war in accordance with the programme laid down by the National Congress and the Moslem League. The conception of this pamphlet was a very happy one for the author has succeeded in focussing within a short compass the vast mass of floating aspirations which have from time to time been given utterance to by responsible public men and organisations devoted to the progress of India on constitutional lines.

THE INDIAN ARMS ACT MANUAL Third Edition G. A. Roy Price Rs. 6 The Harling's Publishing Press Lahore

The first edition of the work was published in 1910 and the second in 1913. The present edition contains all the amendments to the rules published up to 1st April 1917, and is therefore quite up to date. All the case law and Government Circulars and Orders have been incorporated in their appropriate places and the case index and appendix will facilitate easy reference. The usefulness of the book which contains nearly 250 pages and is well bound is proved by the rapid sale of the earlier editions of the work and we have no doubt that the present edition will be equally welcome to those for whom it is intended.

POL.

MANUAL OF AGRICULTURAL CO-OPERATION IN DENMARK AND HINTS FOR ITS ADOPTION IN INDIA, By Rai Shahab Pandit Chandrika Prasad Retired Assistant Traffic Superintendent B. B. & C. I. Co. Published by Scottish Mission Industries Co. Ltd. Ajmer 1917 Pp. 332 Price Rs. 5.80

The appearance of this book will be welcomed by those who are interested in the progress of the Co-operative movement of the world. One of the chief means by which the evils of capitalism may be controlled to a certain extent is the adoption of the principle of Co-operation. This movement spread all over the civilised world within a short period and proved to be very successful in regenerating rural life in countries where it found suitable environment to flourish. Its growth in India is of recent origin and both people and Government are taking keen interest in its development. So at this moment publication under review will prove to be immensely useful for in this treatise the author has collected a mass of material—statistical and descriptive—with regard to a country where co-operation has been fruitful in the truest sense of the term. The success of the co-operative movement in Denmark stands as an example of what can be achieved by means of persistent effort of a nation supported by its educated classes. We congratulate Pandit Chandrika Prasad on his selection of Denmark as the country for investigating into the success of this movement.

The book is the product of much labour and expense. It contains much that may be interesting to the general reader and several facts and figures which students of economics will find useful. The author visited Denmark in 1914 and the details of the various co-operative organisations were gathered by him

In course of his tour in the country. While most of the English publications on the subject of Danish co-operation discuss the methods practised there in a general way and attempt to summarise broad facts, emerging from the mass of materials, the present author takes infinite trouble to translate copies of prospectus given to him by several Unions and Associations. Now, this is done with the best intention placing before his countrymen models of the Danish organisations, and we have no doubt that promoters or organisers and managers of co-operative societies will find in this volume many suggestions and hints. But there are distinct varieties of Agricultural Co-operation to suit different conditions and however successful one particular system may be in its own circumstances it may not work at least equally well under new sets of conditions.

The author says we ought to extend the co-operative principle to agricultural purchases and sales and to the manufacturing of agricultural produce on Danish lines. The question is if this is possible in our present condition.

In India we have to deal with an impoverished peasantry. Here conditions are abnormal. Ignorance and illiteracy of the people stand on our way to progress. Consequently under the present circumstances we cannot aspire to organise our institutions just according to any model of advanced nations.

The last chapter of the book has been devoted to the author's reflections with regard to adoption of the principles of the Danish Co-operation in India. We eagerly turn to these pages to find certain definite suggestions from our author, and we confess in this we are disappointed. Here we find the author's style too discursive, too diffuse and he fails to fix the reader's attention on the main points and occasionally introduces subsidiary and even irrelevant matters in the discussion.

But the Chapter on the Danish system of Education is exceedingly interesting and instructive. The success of the co-operative movement in Denmark is chiefly due to the system of education established there. Mr. Henry W. Wolff truly remarked that in Denmark 'from knowledge has sprung power in the shape of a magnificent co-operative movement.'

We should have liked to read in this volume a short account of the movement from its beginning. We are told in the history that the national humiliation which the Danes suffered in the year 1854 gave them the impulse to co-operate. The Danes had then taken to co-operation under necessity realising the truth of the Greek fable of the single stick and the faggot.

The fact that Danish co-operation grew as the necessity urged has left impression on its character. We find that there are numerous divisions of the work into large number of self-contained societies and unions. The author has given us accounts of each type of such institutions.

The author would spare his readers much trouble if the Danish money standards, weights, measures, etc., could be rendered at least into their English equivalents. For instance when we read 'In 1863 the price of butter was 10 18 skilling—about 35 Ore per Danish lb.' We hardly understand anything.

The book contains useful appendices and four illustrations of Danish cases. In the appendices we read translations of rules, bye-laws and Articles of Association of various co-operative organisations. The set up of the book is neat. The author dedicates the

volume to the people of Denmark in token of their hospitality accorded to him.

NAGENDRANATH GANGULY

THE QURAN translated into English from the original Arabic, by Mirza Abu'l Fadl, Surat, M. A. Narmawala. Price—Rs 10

This seems to me a very good translation, both in its English and in its close adherence to the original. In this latter respect the translator is so conscientious that whenever in the text he has departed from the literal meaning he has added it in a footnote. I had noted a few passages where it seems to me some improvement might be made, but after all no two men will ever agree as to all the details of a translation, so instead of giving what are merely personal opinions I will quote a passage and leave the readers who know Arabic to judge for himself.

God is the light of the heavens and the earth, the likeness of His light is as a niche in which is a lamp—the lamp is in a glass, the glass is, as it were, a glittering star: it is lit from a blessed tree, an olive neither of the east nor of the west: its soil would well nigh give light although no fire touched it—light upon light!—God guides to His light whom he pleases. And God strikes out parables for men, and God knows about all things.

In the houses which God has permitted to be raised and his name to be remembered therein, [men] glorify Him therein morning and evening.

Men whom neither merchandising nor selling beguiles from the remembrance of God and steadfastness in prayer and giving alms who fear the day when the hearts [of men] shall be upset and [their] eyes also.

That God may reward them for the best of what they have done and give them increase of His grace; for God provides for whom He pleases without count.

And those who believe not, their works are like the mirage in a plain which the thirsty [traveller] thinks to be water, until when he comes to it he finds it to be nothing, but he finds God with him, and He will pay him his account for God is swift to take account.

Or like the darkness in a deep sea, there covers it a wave above which is a wave, above which is a cloud—darknesses one above the other when [one] puts off his hand he cannot nearly see it.

And he to whom God gives no light, no light has he.

In several places this is closer to the Arabic than Rodwell's translation. But Rodwell's book has a rather important practical advantage, it costs only a rupee while the present book costs ten, an amount which many Muslims can ill afford. If the Bib sold for ten rupees it would not be found in an English Family. There is room for a cheap English translation of the Quran, for many thousands of copies of Rodwell's have been sold. We should like to see a cheaper edition of Mirza Abu'l Fadl's translation published and we should be glad if some non-controversial notes were added for without the information supplied by the traditions many of the passages in the Quran are scarcely intelligible. Meanwhile we may say that Mirza Abu'l Fadl has done a valuable piece of work.

H C

LAW RELATING TO PREY AND SEDITION by G A Roy (Rai Salih) retired Superintendent Government of India Home Department. Price Rs 5. The Station Press Simla.

This is a handy volume containing pretty fully the Law relating to Press and Sedition in India. It contains the following Acts—The Press and Registration of Books Act of 1867, the Dramatic Performances Act of 1876, the Indian Penal Code Amendment Act of 1898, the Explosive Substances Act of 1908, the Newspapers Act of 1908, the Indian Criminal Law Amendment Acts of 1908 & 1913 the Indian Press Act of 1910, the Prevention of Seditious Meetings Act of 1911 and the Defence of India Act of 1915. Section 108 of the Criminal Procedure Code is also given. Besides the bare Acts, statements of objects and reasons in most cases and the Select Committees' reports in some cases on the corresponding Bills are also given, together with the Notes of Dissent, if any. The Indian Naval and Military News Emergency Ordinance of 1914 and the Government Notifications in connection with the Defence of India Act are also given. Valuable notes are appended to the Acts setting forth a summary of the Case law relating to the various Acts which are included in the volume. The book also contains the following—Letter dated the 6th August 1909 from Lord Minto to various Ruling Chiefs on the subject of sedition and their replies. The Speeches of Lord Hardinge and the Hon'ble Messrs Chittavis and Armstrong on the occasion of the opening of the 1st session of the Legislative Council. Extract from Lord Hardinge's Speech in the Council of the 17 Sept 1913. Calcutta High Court Judgment in the matter of Muhammad Ali. Resolution moved by the Hon'ble Surendranath Banerji to amend the Press Act and the debate thereon in the Legislative Council of the 19th January 1914 and the Rules issued by the Punjab Chief Court under the Press Act.

A glance at the contents of the book as given above will show that it is a real *zademaum* on the Law relating to Press and Sedition. The Index given at the end of the book enhances the value by making it easy of reference.

N. M.

SOAP AND SOAP SUBSTITUTES, A PUBLIC LECTURE ON, by Mr S. Badarayanchar, M.A. L.T., delivered under the auspices of the Public Lecture Committee Tirumangal Demu. 8vo 35 Pages Illustrated 1913.

The subject is divided into two parts. Part 1 dealing with the subject from a general and hygienic point of view and deals with the composition of soaps and soap substitutes. Part 2 deals with manufacture of soaps with detailed description of soap machineries. All the subjects have been dealt with quite practically and the author has explained the process of soap manufacture in non technical language, illustrations being given wherever necessary. A table of analyses of different samples of soaps available in Tirumangal market is given which will be useful to those interested in the subject.

THE PRESENT POSITION OF INDIAN CHEMICAL INDUSTRIES by Prof N. N. Godbole, M.A., B.Sc.,

Dyal Singh College, Lahore  
8vo

pages Royal

In this pamphlet the author aims at reviewing the present situation "with a view to examine (1) How far the war has affected our present industries, (2) What industries are likely to live and what are likely to die away, if the war lasts for a few years more and (3) What would be the proper method of beginning chemical industries and with what limitations?" There is however, not much to learn from the paper. The author's information in many cases seems to be somewhat crude. Thus he supposes that the Dyeing Class at S. B. is receiving the special attention of Government only this year. In another place he says that the contact process of manufacture of Sulphuric Acid is carried out only in Germany and then invites the co-operation of Sulphuric Acid manufacturers all over India for the immediate reform of the chamber process, as it is worked in India "to hold out against the contact process for many years more" as if this is already a "threatened industry" here. The author mentions nowhere that the Bengal Chemical & Pharmaceutical Works Ltd., of Calcutta have been manufacturing on a large scale Magnesium Sulphate, Potass Nitrate, Thymol and some minor chemical products since the war.

P. C. CHATTOPADHYAY, M.A., F.C.S.

## GUJARATI

ANULYA AMRAT, by C. H. Shah, printed at the Fort Printing Press, Bombay, Cloth bound, pp 348 Price—Rs 1.12.0 (1917)

The writer calls it a Hindi Social Novel and says in his preface that he has kept its language specially simple so that those Parsis who have a leaning towards Gujarati Literature may be able to read it. The plot is a hotch potch of many incidents and crude because of the first attempt of the writer.

NIL NENI by Sakarlal Amratlal Dave B.A., printed at the Diamond Jubilee Printing Press, Ahmedabad, Cloth bound, pp 132 Price—As 8 (1917)

Another of Prof Bain's attractive stories, called A Draught of the Blue has been translated by Mr. Dav. Like his former translation this one too preserves the flavour of the original though here and there we find the language a trifle difficult because Sanskritised.

We are in receipt of (1) *Shri Bhagrat Smaranam* (1912) a small booklet, too old to be reviewed, (2) a monthly called the *Vak Soundarya*, (we do not review periodicals as a rule) (3) a pamphlet on the statistics of death in the Jain Community by N. B. Shah; and (4) *Life of Devan Amari the Soldier Statesman of Kathiawad* (1916) which is full of stirring incidents chronicling as it does an important period in the modern history of Kathiawad.

K. M. I.

## INDIAN PERIODICALS

### India and Athletics.

The ancient Olympic Games of Greece were revived in 1896, when the first meeting was held in Athens. Since then the meeting has been taking place at prominent centres of Europe until 1916 when the sixth meeting arranged to take place in Berlin was abandoned owing to the War.

In Asia the *Far Eastern Olympic Association* was organised in 1912, and the first games held in Manila in February 1913. The territory included in these games consists of China, Japan, the Philippine Islands and Siam. The second games were held in Shanghai in 1916 and the third series is to be held this month in Tokyo. Japan has been doing her utmost to win. About 200 men have been in training in Tokyo.

But India is not taking any noteworthy interest in these games. Mr J. H. Gray points out this melancholy fact, none too soon, in the pages of the *Young Men of India* for May.

We believe with him that there is no dearth of athletic prowess in India, what is wanting is the necessary organisation to bring together the athletes and give them proper training which would fit them for international competition. Having this end in view Mr Gray observes

The remedy for these conditions, is education and organization. The education should begin in the secondary schools and be carried right up through the colleges. In the secondary schools the drill masters should, in addition to the regular instruction in drill and hygiene which many of them now receive, be given a fairly comprehensive course in athletics. The basis of such a course should include, how to organize and conduct an athletic meet and the proper form in the various events. Then to the curriculum there should be added a regular course of graded work, with a physical efficiency test as a standard and inter-scholastic (not individual) competitions to add the necessary stimulus. In the colleges men should be appointed whose work it would be to develop this idea further. With this as a groundwork, the clubs and other organizations interested in such lines of activities would be receiving a constant stream of trained young men, and the open championship meetings would become much more satisfactory occasions

than they now are. Then with the organization of schools and colleges and the banding together of clubs and other similar institutions, and all affiliated and represented on a joint committee, which would be the governing committee of the Empire, one could say that India would be well on the way to taking her place in the family of nations in athletic life.

### The Whole of Pedagogy on a Half-sheet of Notepaper

The following summary of the principal teaching rules is taken from T. J. Burnett's *Essentials of Teaching* of which a short notice appears in *Indian Education*.

1 Frequency — Repeat and revise, revise and repeat—*Repetition mater studiorum*

2 Vividness —

(a) Speak distinctly, deliberately, pleasantly

(b) Be bright and alert in manner and bearing

(c) Adopt the correct teaching 'position' stand well back from the front benches and address the pupils in the back rows

(d) Arrange your class as compactly as circumstances permit

(e) Have the matter of your lesson arranged in a clear logical sequence

(f) Illustrate —

(1) Visually, by means of the black board—using diagrams, sketches, etc. Use the black board freely

(2) Orally, by means of relevant examples, stories, parallel instances etc., at appropriate places

(g) Teach with appropriate emotion and interest

3 Recency — At the close of each lesson review the points you wish to emphasise

4 Novelty — Prepare your lesson thoroughly, present either the new material in an old setting or the old material in a new setting

5 Association —

(a) Associate similar or contrasted things (similarity)

(b) Group facts according to a place connection (contiguity)

(c) Emphasise the causal connection between events (causality)

(d) Experiences are best remembered which have been associated emotionally

### The Sensational Man

In an article appearing in the *Arya* for April occurs the following paragraph explains how the sensational man, in a way, helps the reshaping of the modern world.

The Philistine is not dead,—quite the contrary, he abounds,—but he no longer reigns. The sons of Culture have not exactly conquered, but they have got rid of the old Goliath and replaced him by a new giant. This is the sensational man who has got awakened to the necessity at least of some intelligent use of the higher faculties and is trying to be mentally active. He has been whipped and censured and educated into that activity and he lives besides in a maelstrom of new information, new intellectual fashions, new ideas and new movements to which he can no longer be obstinately impervious. He is open to new ideas, he can catch at them and hurl them about in a rather confused fashion, he can understand ideals, organise to get them carried out and even, it would appear, fight and die for them. He knows he has to think about ethical problems, social problems, problems of science and religion, to welcome new political developments, to look with as understanding an eye as he can at all the new movements of thought and inquiry and action that chase each other across the modern field or clash upon it. He is a reader of poetry as well as a devourer of fiction and periodical literature, you will find in him perhaps a student of Tagore or an admirer of Whitman, he has perhaps no very clear ideas about beauty and aesthetics, but he has heard that Art is a not altogether unimportant part of life. The shadow of this new colossus is everywhere. He is the great reading public, the newspapers and weekly and monthly reviews are his, fiction and poetry and art are his mental caterers, the theatre and the cinema exist for him. Science hastens to bring her knowledge and discoveries to his doors and equips his life with endless machinery, politics are shaped in his image. It is he who was opposing and is now bringing about the enfranchisement of woman has been evolving syndicalism, anarchism, the war of classes, the uprising of labour, is now waging what we are told is a war of cultures, or bringing about in a few days Russian revolutions which the century long efforts and sufferings of the intelligentsia failed to achieve. It is his coming which has been the prelatinal agent for the reshaping of the modern world.

### Literature and Science in Education

What on the whole should general education aim at? This is the theme on which A. C. Benson writes intelligently in the pages of the *Educational Review* for April.

According to the writer the division of education into ancient and modern—the classics forming the bulk of the ancient, and modern languages with science being included in modern education—is a wholly false division. The true division is literary and scientific.

Human perception and intelligence is somewhat sharply divided. Some minds are abstract, others concrete. Some minds are interested in ideas, in beauty, in old traditions and memories, in human adventures and experiences, in religion, in political theories, in the slow organisation of communities, in problems of government, in schemes of social reform—in everything in fact which deals with human temperament and character. Other minds are interested in more concrete things, in the phenomena of nature, properties of matter, substances, machines, contrivances, manufactures applied science generally, by which the laws of nature are used to serve human welfare and convenience. Both these sides of life are entirely worthy of study and attention, neither is negligible and it is worse than childish for either type of mind to allege that the preferences of the other type are unimportant.

A literary education, as it is called, is a study of all that deals with the emotions, hopes, fears, desires of mankind and to some minds these are the transcendently important realities to life. A scientific education deals with man's material environment, and as man is a spiritual being living under material conditions, it is of the utmost importance that both should be studied and realised.

The ordinary human being has not time or intelligence to go far in the direction of scientific research, while the whole of his life is spent in contact with human nature, and its faults and foibles. It is far more important for the ordinary human being to know something about human nature than to know about ocean currents and tides, about light and heat, about stars and meteors. The only part of scientific knowledge which is of practical concern to most human beings is the elementary facts of physiology. And the practical effect of learning about the heroic possibilities of human nature, being moved by stories of courage and patience, of pity and affection, is far deeper and greater than the effect of learning about the motions of planets or the origin of storms, because none of us can escape from the problems of human nature affecting our daily conduct and our relations with other men, learned and unlearned alike; while the properties of matter, the laws, let us say, of electricity or chemistry are at best remote from daily life, and can only be apprehended and applied by experts.

The greater part of civilisation and progress depends not upon the scientific discoveries which add to the comforts of life, but upon the cultivation of generous motives, of disinterested sympathies, of desire for justice and order and co-operation. Human happiness is far more knit up with the art of living peaceably and affectionately with other human beings than with the inexorable laws of matter.

I am wholly in accord with the desire to teach human beings something about the wonders of the physical world in which they live, but to turn our back upon human nature, its hopes and fears, its visions and dreams, its sins and failures, seems to me to be the most shortsighted policy. We are not yet all abstract in our tendencies, we are imperfect beings living in communities. Character rather than intelligence is the real aim of education, and if that is so then "the proper study of mankind is man."

## FOREIGN PERIODICALS

### Racial Patriotism in Poetry.

In an article of the above name contributed to the *Poetry Review* by Geraldine D. Hodgson, the writer says that one of the results of the Great War, which seems a little more than possible, is 'a stronger recognition of the essential importance of race, and still more of the importance both for their preservation in some cases and for the handling of problems in others, of racial dissimilarities. If that should come, then possibly Poetry will once again enter into her own. Certain profound racial gifts show themselves most clearly in poetry rather than elsewhere. In the article under review the writer shows from the poetry of Imperialist England and Ireland, the country of dreamers and idealists, the difference between the patriotism of those two races.

The love of country in England somewhat changed in character with the passing of time. In the early days they had an intensely localized love of country they cared for this actual island, this speck of earth in the waste of waters. That was so as late as Shakespeare's day —

This royal throne of kings, this scepter'd isle,  
This earth of majesty, this seat of Mars,  
This other Eden, demi-Paradise,  
This fortress built by Nature for herself  
Against infection and the hand of war,  
This happy breed of men, this little world,  
This precious stone set in this silver sea,  
This blessed plot, this earth, this realm, this England,  
England bound in with the triumphant sea

Though there are hues no Englishman can ever read or hear without emotion, yet they ceased to express and did not for many generations express our whole feeling. The bounds of Empire have rolled back and back till slowly surely the precious stone set in the silver sea has become the central jewel in an imperial circle. Mr. Watson Appleton, who imperfectly by his generation, in the *Atlantic Monthly*, Edward VII. expressed this development magnificently —

And slowly in the ambience of this crown  
Have many crowns been gathered till today  
How many peoples crown thee, who shall stay?  
Time and the ocean and some fostering star  
In high cabal have made us what we are  
Who stretch one hand to Huron's bearded pines  
And one on Kashmir's snowy shoulder lay  
And round the streaming of whose fountains shines  
The iris of the Australasian spray

For waters have connived at our designs  
And winds have plotted with us—and behold  
Kingdom in kingdom away in oversway,  
Dominion told in fold

So wide of girth this little circle of gold  
So great we are and old

This exposition and explication of the Imperial idea is no vulgar bragging. For once, the dream of Empire borrows the artist's color: the musician's tone, the poet's light. Yet patriotism is here no longer love of a restricted place, but pride of race. To the Irish Ireland is a person, as we may see unmistakably in Mangin's version of *Kossin Dubh*, that great poem addressed in Elizabethan days to Ireland under the title of Dark Rosaleen.

My dark Rosaleen!  
My own Rosaleen!  
The judgment hour must first be nigh  
Ere you can fade ere you can die,  
My dark Rosaleen!

Here we feel that the love of country is a deeply rooted personal passion like the irrevocable love between parent and child, husband and wife, friend and friend.

While English patriotism dealt with the deeds of the race with our wide-ranging achievements and imperial activity, Irish love of country clings about and is deeply sunk into the soil, shrouds in the mist, enwreathed hills and lurks in the valleys gleams upon the waters and steals through the spaces of the starlit sky. The soul of the land meets the soul of every passing man, woman and child of Irish blood as they pass upon their unpractical way —

Is the Beauty of all Beauty that is calling for your love

And the I and of youth lies gleaming flushed with  
rainbow light and m  
And the old enchantment lingers in the honey heart  
of earth

No distance, no lapse of time, no outward  
separation affects this passion.

Listen to Mr. Stephen Gwynn —

Wanderer am I like the salmon of thy rivers  
Lond in is my ocean, murmurous and deep  
Tossing and vast, yet through the roar of London  
Comes to me thy summons, calls me in sleep.

Pearly are the skies in the country of my fathers  
Purple are thy mountains, home of my heart  
Mother of my yearning, love of all my longings  
Keep me in remembrance long leagues apart

Intwined with this personal love of the land  
its mountains and valleys, its streams, its hope

### Over Eating.

The following extracts are made from an interesting and informing article appearing in the *New Statesman* from the pen of *Lens*

Tissue waste and need for fuel foods are exceedingly small in the case of the brain worker, but may reach almost incredible figures for hard manual labor. As for heat production its amount is largely determined by heat loss, which is greater in winter than summer, and for a very small body, such as a child's, or for an extended lean body each of which has a relatively large surface for heat loss in proportion to its mass. The large body of spherical form, on the other hand needs relatively less fuel food, since its form minimizes heat loss. Again, the warmer the clothes we wear, the less rapidly we lose heat and the less fuel we need. An evident form of food economy, therefore, is the adoption of abundant warm clothing and housing.

No amount of feeding with the fattest foods will alter the contour of the razor backed pig, and there are human persons who show the character which marks that species. Lean though they be, they may be habitual over eaters nevertheless, just as persons whose hereditary type badly called habit, of body is obese may be most moderate eaters, and cannot be made lean without injury to health.

It is very intelligible that the Polar explorer should easily and eagerly consume in one day, more fat than we in these latitudes, could accommodate in a week without continuous nausea.

The old estimates of our protein need were markedly excessive, and that average conformity to them means gross over-eating on the part of the population as a whole.

On any reasonable reckoning, the great majority of civilized men and women above the poverty line are habitual over-eaters. As they grow older and exert themselves less they need ever less food, but tend to eat no less, or even more than ever. At this season of the year, most of us do less work and eat more food than at any other. The most odious consequence is not the inevitable heinousness of gluttony, but the deprivation of the children of the nation, whose dietary needs are relatively so high, for the three cogent reasons that they have not merely to maintain but actually to aggrandize their bodies, that they are very active and continual in movement, and that their small bodies cool more rapidly.

There is "conservation of matter and energy" within as without the living body. If excess enters it that excess must either remain or be disposed of. It may remain as fat, visible under the skin, or surrounding the heart, creeping between the muscular fibres and hampering their action. It may be disposed of, at a price involving not merely extra work on the part of the liver and kidneys and other chemical destructors within the organism, but also the chronic presence of products of katabolism, which are toxic, and circulate as such in the blood. The first and most characteristic effect of their presence may be an habitual tightness of the arteries, which are stimulated to unnatural contraction in order to favor the removal of the poisons by the kidneys. The pressure of the blood within the circulatory system is thus raised. The heart has harder work to drive

the fluid along against such pressure. The coats of the arteries, thus strained, must thicken in order to maintain themselves, but this involves the need of more blood for their own nourishment, as is the case with the hypertrophied heart. If the minute vessels that feed the heart muscle itself and the arterial coats do not increase proportionately to the need, as they may well fail to do, these hypertrophied structures will tend to degenerate. "A man is as old as his arteries." The renal arterioles will be involved, and the function of excretion will be less well discharged. A vicious circle has now been closed, to be broken, perhaps, by the bursting of a degenerate artery in the brain, and the destruction of nervous tissue upon which the movements of the limbs, or even of the heart and respiratory muscles, may depend. Short of this, the excess of food causes the victim of food intoxication to have less, instead of more, energy at his disposal. He becomes "old" before his time, digs his grave with his teeth, and prematurely fills it.

### The Future of Moslem Peoples

Under the above heading Rev. George F. Herrick contributes to the *American Review of Reviews* an article in which he expresses the hope that the War will end in the overthrow of the Turkish power, and when that happens, philanthropic America will come forward to help the Turkish moslems educationally, socially and materially.

The Moslems of Turkey, like those of India, Egypt, and other countries, will come under the sway of Christian powers. Those of Persia are already virtually subject to Great Britain and Russia. Afghanistan is negligible as a world power. We shall therefore no longer have Moslem states, no longer Islam armed. That menace to human civilization is removed.

The article is not altogether free from the usual patronising airs and swagger which the westerner adopts when speaking of peoples other than Christians, but it is refreshing to note that the writer has at least one good word for the much abused Turk. Says he:

Can we deny, is there not painful and overwhelming evidence of the fact, that even among the intelligent and sincere Christians of our time there exists a narrowness and selfishness which has its origin and support altogether outside of the teaching of Christ and His apostles, or even of that of the prophets of Israel? Turks—and others—have treated Armenians with incredible inhumanity. How many of us are there who, instead of condemning all Turks as outside the pale of our fellowship recognize and appreciate the fact that very many Turks condemn the acts of their rulers, and at serious personal peril have shielded and saved their Christian fellow countrymen from their ruthless persecutors?



## THE AITCHISON COMMISSION AND AFTER

THE majority report after giving a short summary of the recommendations of the Public Services Commission of 1886-7 says:

'The foregoing summary will have made it clear that the intention of the Commission of 1886-87 was to meet the claims of Indians to higher and more extensive employment in the civil services by reducing the strength of the Indian civil service and by transferring a corresponding number of appointments to provincial civil services to be recruited separately in each province in India. They desired generally to see imperial and provincial branches created, and the former materially reduced and recruited for exclusively in England. The reforms which they introduced undoubtedly resulted in a great improvement in the standard of every service. The provincial civil service officers, in particular, upon whom devolves the greater part of the administrative and judicial work in which the people at large are most interested, have given general satisfaction in the limited sphere allotted to them. We are also satisfied that, generally speaking, the officers promoted from the

provincial civil services to hold Indian civil service posts have done efficient work. On the other hand the expectations formed as to the status which these officers would enjoy have to a great extent been falsified and there is no doubt that the provincial service system generally has not proved successful as a means of meeting the claims which have continuously been put forward on behalf of Indians to employment of the higher type. The inferiority in status and social position which has always attached to the provincial services aggravated to some extent since the reforms were introduced by subsequent changes have been felt by the Indian public as a real grievance, particularly in the case of the more important services such as the civil, educational and public works. We have found it necessary to abandon the attempt to provide for the growing demand for equality of opportunity as between Europeans and Indians by the means which commended themselves to the commission of 1886-87.

Mr Chaubal has the following on the subject

\* The present Commission, by way of improving their prospects, has laid down that those among them who are promoted to major charges will be full members of the superior service, taking rank according to seniority, except in the case of the Indian Civil Service. These 'listed' officers, as they are called, will also be henceforth 'eligible on their merits for any posts in the service'. But as their promotion to the superior ranks will continue to come at the far end of their career, it is easy to see that 'any post will mean, as now, 'the lowest post' in the superior service, and the footing of social equality' which the Aitchison Commission wanted to see established will be as far off as ever. Moreover, the arrangement by which they are now, in the words of the Commissioners 'relegated to certain of the less popular districts will continue to remain in full force, for being at the bottom of the superior service they will be confined to minor charges, though the Commissioners call such an arrangement to be 'not only indefensible in principle but mischievous in practice,' because 'the discrimination exercised to their prejudice is widely misinterpreted and the practice also tells against efficiency, for with a lower status, there is a danger that a lower standard will be established'. Under the circumstances there is no wonder that the 'listed' appointments fail to evoke any enthusiasm. Justice Rahim has shown that only 2-4 per cent of the provincial civil service officers have a chance of securing one of these appointments. He says, truly enough, that the majority's recommendations 'remove the theoretical bar but are not adequate to ensure any practical benefits'. His recommendation is that the 'listed' officers should be promoted at about the same age (40) as the officers recruited in England both should receive equal pay and be borne on the same list for purposes of further promotion.

'Chapter II of the Report deals with the Public Services Commission of 1886-87. The Indian view of the main recommendation of that Commission, and of the decision taken on it by the Secretary of State is, however, not very complimentary to it. We had clear evidence before us that Indian public opinion considers it to be not only inappropriate for the time but positively of a retrograde character and that instead of doing full justice to the claims of natives of India to the higher and more extensive employment in the public service it was calculated to put back considerably the employment of Indians in the higher service. Seven years before the appointment of that Commission the Secretary of State, with the full concurrence of the Governor General in Council, had framed rules under which a proportion not exceeding one-fifth of the total number of civilians appointed by the Secretary of State to the Indian civil service in any one year was to consist of natives of India selected by the local Governments, and it was further provided that the nominations in the first three years (1879-1881) might exceed the said proportion by two. As pointed out in the report of the last Commission, the practical effect of the limit imposed by the rules, when calculated upon the regular annual recruitment of covenanted civilians fixed as proportionate for each province was to give 7-36 as the total yearly number of statutory appointments for the whole of British India. Now if the rules had continued in force and the proportion fixed under them had been worked out there would by the end of 1914 have been about 260 appointments to the higher service made in India in a period of 35 years. And we might have expected to see that number (subject to the rate of decrement) always in the service. Instead, the Aitchison Commission fixed 108 posts for all time to come.

The effect of these recommendations, retrograde as

they were was further limited by the Secretary of State. The 108 were reduced to 93, and the posts were not cut down from the schedule of reserved posts and transferred to the local service thenceforward designated the provincial service. The junior posts out of these 93 have now been mostly incorporated with the provincial service, the result being that there are at present only about 61 specific superior posts to which it is open to make appointments from the members of the provincial service but they do not form part of an organised service.

Mr Justice Abdur Rahim's opinion on the same subject will appear from the following extracts

'I have had no hesitation in coming to the conclusion that the recommendations of the Aitchison Commission have failed in their desired object (the commission was expressly asked to suggest measures which would do full justice to the claims of the natives of India to higher and more extensive employment in the public service and the object in view was to quote their own words that all his Majesty's subjects should receive equal treatment and all invidious distinctions of class or race should be removed). So far as appointments made in England are concerned experience has shown that the chances of Indians are inconsiderable, and the Aitchison Commission itself rightly regarded the London door of admission as a supplementary source. Their most important recommendation that recruitment in England for the Indian public service should be substantially reduced as a necessary step towards steadily increasing the scope for Indians has not been carried out. In fact the reverse has taken place in the more important services. There has been an increase altogether of 678 (i.e., from 2,338 to 3,016) in the number of officers recruited in England excluding the number of civil servants required for Burma which had not been annexed in 1886-87.

The inevitable result has been a repression of the expansion of the Indian element in the higher administration. On the other hand that part of the scheme of the Aitchison Commission which recommended payment to officers appointed in India on a lower scale of salaries, pensions &c., than to those appointed in England even when both were engaged on the same plane of duties has been carried out perhaps beyond the intentions of the Commission. The differentiation in this respect has undoubtedly become much more marked now than it was before 1886-87. Then the officers appointed in India for instance, to the Indian Civil Service, called 'statutory civil servants', received from the commencement of service two-thirds of the pay allowed to officers appointed in England, and the same with regard to the education department. In the public works department, equal pay was allowed. Now no officers are appointed to the posts of assistants in the Indian civil service, and the provincial civil service officers holding identical appointments receive about one half the pay of a civilian assistant. In the education department the officers appointed in India receive on the average less than half of what is received by a similar officer appointed in England. In the public works the average pay of an officer recruited in India is less than two thirds of the average pay of an officer appointed in England and in the Survey of India the average pay of an officer appointed in India is about 88 per cent of the average pay of the imperial officer.

The departure in the policy as regards the conditions of pay, &c., was recommended with a view to achieving a larger and gradually increasing substitution of recruitment in India for recruitment in England, that object failing it has only tended to deteriorate the Indian officer's position in the higher ranks of the public service.

The points of view from which the majority of the Commissioners and myself have approached the question of employment of Indians are substantially different. The question they have asked themselves is, what are the means to be adopted for extending the employment of Indians (see paragraphs 35-36). But the proper standpoint, which alone in my opinion furnishes a satisfactory basis to work upon is that the importation of officials from Europe should be limited to cases of clear necessity, and the question therefore to be asked is, in which services and to what extent should appointments be made from England. The suggestion involved in the majority's point of view is that special measures are necessary for finding employment for Indians in the administration, and that the practical question, therefore, is how many or how few posts are to be handed over to them. On the other hand the view which upon a review of the situation has forced itself on my conviction is that if Indians have not established a footing in the higher ranks of administration it is not through their own fault, it is due to barriers of many sorts that have been raised in their way. It will be sufficient if the disabilities be removed and the doctrine of equal opportunity and fair dealing be established as a practical measure. No special protection or favour will be necessary if the need for protection is guarded against. It will appear from the tables given in paragraph 34 of the majority report that out of the existing 11,064 appointments on Rs 200 a month and upwards only 42 per cent was held by Indians and Burmans of pure Asiatic descent on the 1st April, 1913. Then, as we ascend higher up in the scale, the position grows much worse. Out of 4,934 posts carrying salaries of Rs 600 a month and upwards, only 542, or 10 per cent, were filled by them as against 4,042 or 81 per cent occupied by Europeans or Anglo-Indians. When we reach the salaries of Rs 800 a month and upwards which to a large extent though not entirely, indicate the level of higher appointments of supervision and control—for there are some provincial appointments of a less important character which carry a salary of Rs 800 and a few of Rs 1,000—only 242 or 10 per cent of the appointments were held by Indians against 2,259 or 80 per cent, filled by and Anglo-Indians. Reference is made in paragraph 31 of the majority report to the progress made in this respect from 1887 to 1913. In the region of

\* *Whereas* Mr Chadwick has shown that the progress referred to here will be found to be merely nominal if the posts in the new province of Burma are not included in the calculation. In para 31 of the majority report it is conceded that 'ordinarily recruitment for the public services of any country might reasonably be expected to take place within its own borders'. Why then is this differentiation in the case of India? Here is the Commissioner's reply: 'The circumstances of British rule in India introduce special considerations in the case of certain services'. These circumstances as we have seen in the missioners to grounds of policy and efficiency

appointments carrying salaries of Rs 200 and upwards the percentage has risen from 34 to 42

All that the Indian members of the Commission could do was to tear the efficiency argument to tatters. The "grounds of policy" are nowhere specified and so they could not be categorically answered but Justice Rahim has not hesitated to state that even on grounds of policy it might be advisable in the best interests of both England and India, for the British people to retain the Government of India and gradually

since 1887 and in appointments of Rs 500 and upwards from 12 to 19 per cent and in those carrying a pay of Rs 800 and upwards from 4 to 10 per cent. This during the space of a quarter of a century.

ally relinquish all share in the administration. The real ground seems to be that the Indian civil service is constantly and most strongly represented on the Government of India and will not surrender its vested interests (see para 82 of Mr Justice Rahim's minute).

## OTHER SERVICES

### I

**THE RAILWAY DEPARTMENT**—Of the 221 superior posts in the three state managed Railway lines under inquiry, namely the North Western, the Eastern Bengal and the Oudh and Rohilkhand 10 are filled by Indian officers in the traffic department. Justice Rahim says

I agree with the recommendation of the Commission that the number should be increased. It is specially important that there should be an adequate number of Indian officers in the traffic establishment as it may be expected that their knowledge of the customs and habits of the people will contribute materially to the smooth working of the passenger traffic on the railways. There is one Indian in the stores but none in the other departments. In the locomotive carriage and wagon departments facilities should as recommended by the majority be provided for the training of the statutory natives of India for the work. In fact the aim in view should be that the revenue establishment of the railway should be entirely recruited for in India.

### II.

**AGRICULTURE**—"In no department of Government," say the Commissioners, "are the advantages of employing indigenous agency to the fullest possible extent more conspicuous than they are in the agricultural department, where success demands so much on intimate knowledge of local conditions and ability to appreciate the needs of the cultivator." They accordingly recommend that half the superior appointments should be filled by statutory natives of India and the standard of the agricultural colleges should 'be brought up to the level of the best equipped agricultural institutions of Europe and America.' While

Mr Chubbuck thinks that the specific recommendations of the Commission will not have the desired effect, the civilian members of the Commission are on the other hand opposed to a proportion of Indians being fixed for many years to come. Justice Abdur Rahim says that the Sabour College is admittedly a failure, and quotes Mr Butler, the director of the Punjab institute who states that in the present state of agricultural knowledge in India no elementary text book on Indian agriculture can be written which cannot be shown to be full of glaring misstatements of fact in regard to crop physiology and similar fundamental matters as applied to India.

Indians have hitherto been relegated entirely to subordinate work. The higher work is such that there should be no difficulty in finding Indians capable of doing it. They have been carrying on valuable researches in chemistry, physics and in other domains of scientific work, and there is no reason to doubt that if they were afforded a fair chance they would do equally well in agriculture. On the other hand there have been cases of Indians highly qualified for the higher agricultural work who had done excellent research but who did not find sufficient scope in the department and had to seek elsewhere for a proper field of employment. (Justice Rahim)

### III

**CUSTOMS DEPARTMENT**—Mr Chubbuck's note runs thus

Though we have not inquired into many posts under the local Governments carrying a salary of Rs 200 and above I would draw the attention of the authorities concerned to the disproportionately large number of posts held by the Anglo-Indian community in this department for out of 246 posts only

27 are held by Asiatic Indians and Burmans while Europeans and Anglo-Indians hold respectively 104 and 115. This feature of the service by which one community has practically the monopoly of it ought not to be lost sight of and I do not think that a larger employment of Asiatic Indians will in any way be prejudicial to departmental efficiency.

## IV

### FACTORY AND BOILER INSPECTION DEPARTMENT—Mr Justice Abdur Rahim says

'It is primarily the protection of the mill hands that is provided for by this department. The *prima facie* presumption is that Indian inspectors of suitable technical qualifications if available would be in the best position to ascertain in what directions the interests of the operatives are injured. It is not difficult to realise that the European inspecting staff must be at a great disadvantage with respect to the language of the Indian labourer and in winning his confidence. The Indian inspector would not be handicapped by such difficulties. For the candidates generally whether Europeans, Anglo-Indians or Indians it is necessary that the general educational qualifications should be sufficiently high to exclude men who are not likely to appreciate the responsibilities of their position. The present standard of salaries [the average pay is Rs 680 a month] is sufficient to attract a good class of men and it is difficult to understand why the services of Indians have not hitherto been utilised [out of 14 posts inquired into not one is held by an Indian]. There is also no doubt that qualified Indians are available as found by the majority of the commissioners. That being so I not only agree with the general recommendations of the majority but would add that the employment of Indians in this department should be specially encouraged.'

## V.

### INDIAN FINANCE DEPARTMENT—

This is the only department in which all officers whether recruited in England or in India are treated alike in every respect. They are all on one scale receive the same pay, all are equally eligible for promotion and all enjoy the same status. The qualifications ordinarily insisted on are high and a substantial portion of the cadre is recruited by competitive examination. The results judged from the state of efficiency of the department as contributed to by the Indian element in its personnel, are highly satisfactory. The Indian public naturally points to this department as showing the high level of responsibility which the Government are able to entrust to a man if a fair scope is given to their well qualified men and they are not hampered by artificial restrictions and galling distinctions. Indeed members of the department are often selected to conduct special statistical and other similar inquiries and much value is evidently attached to their work. The history of the department points another moral how dangerous it is for the interests of the country to look to any particular community alone for the supply of officers when that community is unable to produce sufficiently well qualified men. Formerly the department used to be recruited in India from among domiciled Europeans and Anglo-Indians, but when

the duties grew more complex with time and the Anglo-Indian community was no longer able to supply well qualified officers, the field of recruitment had to be shifted. Since a more liberal policy has now been adopted and Indians of a suitable class have been admitted the success of Indian recruitment is no longer in doubt.

The work of the Military finance department, though similar in character and requiring the same kind of qualifications, has not hitherto been entrusted to a single Indian. The service consists of 57 officers, with an average salary of Rs 967 a month, and it is admitted by the military accountant general that the time has now come for making the experiment of appointing Indians, and recently an Indian officer of the Finance department was appointed controller of war accounts. Mr Abdur Rahim says that there are several Indian subordinate officers of the department who are fit for promotion to the superior staff.

## VI

THE FOREST DEPARTMENT—The Civilian attitude in regard to the employment of Indians in the superior services may be seen from Mr Sly's note on this department, where he says that this department, which contains only two Indians in the imperial service though the subordinate ranks are manned entirely by them, is not likely to attract a really good class of Indian candidates, and will, so far as can reasonably be foreseen at the present time, require a strong European element, as the department, from its nature, is subjected to the minimum amount of inspection, and errors in the treatment of forests may have disastrous effects lasting over generations. The majority of the Commissioners however adopt a more liberal policy.

## VII.

GEOLOGICAL SERVICE OF INDIA—Owing to the rule that officers may retire with a pension after 20 years of service, more than one officer was enabled to come back to Europe at about 46 years of age and obtain lucrative occupation there. "Thus" says Justice Rahim, 'the experience and skill of a highly valuable character acquired in the Indian service is lost to the country. This will necessarily be the case more or less when European officers are employed. On the other hand, by the employment of Indians the Government

secure for the country a gradual and steady accumulation of most useful geological knowledge and experience "

## VIII

**PILOT SERVICE** —Mr Justice Rahim truly says .

"There is at present a class of Muhammadans in Bengal who would be extremely well suited for pilot duties if well trained. Many of them have proved themselves excellent navigators on the difficult rivers in eastern Bengal and on the Hugli and also it may be added in the coasting trade. In fact the inland navigation of Bengal is mostly managed by them. They are generally well trained and their educational qualifications are of a rudimentary character. But boys of this community if trained, would supply very efficient material for the service."

## IX

**THE POLICE DEPARTMENT** —The rules for competition in England provide that "every candidate must be a British subject of European descent." The Commission propose to modify this rule to allow Indians, who have been educated in England for five years prior to the examination, to appear at the competitive test. But as candidates shall have to appear at this examination at the age of 17 1/2, the modification, as Mr Chaubal points out, and as the Commissioners in a manner admit, "is calculated to observe the letter and ignore the spirit" of the law against racial disabilities. Five per cent of the total number of superintendentships and gradually ten per cent, will be recruited from the provincial service. Mr Justice Rahim observes

"Whatever other valuable qualities an European policeman may possess he is naturally handicapped by insurmountable difficulties in the detection of crime and in supervising the work of the lowest grade staff. It will be in my opinion nothing but a sheer set back to reforms in the police administration if Mr. Rahim says that 'there is hardly another department of the Indian Government whose work is subjected to such constant criticisms as the police.' If the class of educated young Indians, who were attracted to this service by the encouraging terms of the Police Commission's report should be told that though engaged in the same kind of duties as the officers recruited in England they were not to have substantial chances of promotion and must be satisfied with a lower status. There are distinct signs of disappointment in the provincial force and some of the young recruits have already left it."

## X

**THE POST OFFICE** —Justice Rahim observes .

The Post Office is the only large department which is recruited for almost entirely in India. The superior staff which alone was the subject of enquiry, consists of 247 officers with an average pay of Rs 489 a month not including the postmasters. This is exclusive of the members of the Indian civil service employed in the department. In the entire department out of 277 officers drawing a salary of Rs 200 and above the Indians hold 132 or 48 per cent and out of 46 appointments on Rs 500 and over Indians hold only 5 or 11 per cent and out of 23 posts on a salary of Rs 800 and more the Indians hold only 2 posts amounting to 8 per cent. These figures are especially instructive having regard to the fact that the appointments are all made in India.

This entirely unsatisfactory position of the Indians cannot be said to be due to the fact that they are not suitable for the work of the department. The reasons are different. In the first place ten per cent of the appointments are reserved for Europeans, then the standard of qualifications required of the recruits is kept low enough for the reach of an ordinary Anglo Indian schoolboy and the higher appointments being largely filled by promotions made from the subordinate ranks a tradition has grown up that the department offers a lucrative career for Anglo-Indians and domiciled Europeans with inferior educational qualifications. The majority report seems to evince in this connection a special anxiety for Anglo-Indian competitors, and for them they propose that the passing of an examination of 'a correspondingly standard prescribed for the European schools should be accepted in the place of a university degree. It should also be borne in mind in making the selection that the Anglo Indian community is a very small community compared with the Hindus, the Muhammadans, the Sikhs, the Parsis and they are not entitled to ask for any special considerations.

The majority of Commissioners, in annexure VI, observe that in the post office the problem has been successfully solved "by a judicious blending of officers belonging to the various communities in India." If this be an instance of "judicious blending" and "successful" solution, then Indians, properly so called, need expect very little from the Commission's recommendations in respect of some of the services which are henceforth to be recruited largely or mostly in India.

## XI

## PUBLIC WORKS DEPARTMENT —

The work of the public works department is divided into two principal sections one connected with irrigation and the other with the construction repair and maintenance of roads, buildings and bridges. It is difficult to imagine why the ordinary requirements of this department should not within a reasonable time be met in India. India could not have entirely lost that aptitude for the engineering art which found such wonderful expression in their architecture and schemes of irrigation relics of which are still extant. The Indian engineering colleges, notably the Thomas College at Roorkee, are admittedly efficient institutions and it seems to me that the proper policy to pursue in this department would be to look entirely

ly to these colleges to supply the engineering needs of the country. For the present, however, I am satisfied with the proposal made in the majority report that the percentage of recruitment from Indian colleges should be raised from about 30 to 50 per cent. With regard to the recruitment of Indians in England, my view is that the ten per cent rule in England may be abolished, but on the ground that it has been interpreted as indicating a maximum. The drift, however, of the observations in paragraph

10 of the majority report seems to be that Indian students who come to Europe to study modern engineering should not be encouraged to expect being appointed in this department. If such be the suggestion, I wish entirely to dissociate myself from it. On the other hand, there should be no hesitation in appointing as many Indians as are found to be well qualified" (Justice Rahim).

POL.

## SEPARATION OF JUDICIAL AND EXECUTIVE FUNCTIONS

### I.

#### ANNEXURE TO THE MAJORITY REPORT.

"**O**PINION in India is much exercised on the question of the separation of the executive and judicial functions of officers and in the course of our inquiry into the methods of recruitment and the systems of probation and training for the Indian civil service a good deal of evidence was submitted on this subject.

*Criticisms directed against the present system—*Against the practice of entrusting the district officer with those powers it is alleged that, as an executive officer, he naturally contracts a habit of mind which unfits him for the impartial discharge of magisterial duties. He knows, it is said, too much about the people, who are brought up for trial, and has too great an interest in securing a conviction, when he thinks that a conviction is justified on the merits to be deterred by small imperfections in the chain of evidence. The opponents of the present system admit that the district officer rarely tries cases himself, but regard it as objectionable that an officer, who is the head of the police and responsible for the peace of the district should also supervise the work of his subordinate magistrates, who depend for their professional advancement on his good will and are, therefore, necessarily influenced by their estimate of what his opinions regarding a suit are likely to be. A further count in the charge is that it is wrong in principle that offences under the forest and revenue acts in particular should be brought in appeal to an officer who is the direct revenue superior of the prosecutor in the suit. Criticism is also levelled against the powers, conferred on the district magistrate under section 110 of the criminal procedure code, of calling on any persons within the limits of his jurisdiction to show cause why they should not be ordered to execute bonds for their good behaviour. It is argued that such powers are particularly liable to be abused by executive officers acting on information supplied to them by a not too reliable police, and that, as a matter of fact, some miscarriage of justice has occurred under the operation of this provision. Lastly, it is contended that, owing to the demands of his other business the district magistrate is continually under the obligation of shifting his court. Not infrequently cases are begun in one place and finished in another, with the result

that considerable inconvenience is caused to vakils, pleaders and witnesses.

Arguments in favour of the present system—Such in broad outline are the criticisms of those who object to the present system. On the other side it is argued that in the present circumstances of India the concentration of authority in the person of the district officer is a prime necessity of government. In India, it is claimed, there is no active public opinion in favour of the punishment of wrongdoing. The sense that society suffers from the impunity of hardened criminals is still imperfectly developed, and to the inhabitants of an Indian village there seems to be something harsh and inhuman in the inflexibility with which the European fits the punishment to the crime. It is therefore necessary that the official agency for the punishment of offenders should be endowed with an authority proportionate to the weakness of the support which it receives from the community at large. This is all the more necessary on account of the fact that the subordinate magistracy is too apt to take an indulgent view of crime and misdemeanour. It is further urged that a concentration of functions is especially needed for the enforcement of sanitary rules, to which the subordinate magistracy is apt to ascribe less importance than they deserve. The duty of superintending the machinery of criminal justice cannot, it is asserted safely be delegated to the sessions judge, who is already overburdened with judicial work, would also be less likely to know the district well, than the executive head. In practice it is also said the district magistrate tries comparatively few cases himself, whilst he exercises very little direct control over the police. The real advantage of the present system lies in the powers which the district magistrate holds in reserve, and he knows too much about the police and too much about the district to be misled by police evidence of a corrupt and flimsy character. It is contended also that in the circumstances of an Indian village there should be some authority capable of advising the high court regard to administrative questions touching the working of the judicial machine. The district officer with his intimate and varied knowledge of the district is more likely to be able to do this adequately than any other official who could be substituted in his place. Finally, it is urged that to deprive the chief of all magisterial power would weaken his authority and influence in the district. Life is still very

judicial and executive functions in the present organization of the civil services. This question for the purpose of our inquiry was formulated (Nos. 88 and 18 respectively in the lists of questions for the Indian civil service and the provincial civil services) in these words: "To what extent are the functions of the officers of the executive and judicial branches of the Indian civil service differentiated? Is any change desirable, and, if so, in what directions? Considerable evidence was collected in every province and the Indian public opinion showed itself keenly interested in the subject. It was not until a late stage in the inquiry that it was even suggested that the matter fell outside the terms of our reference. I do not think the suggestion is well founded. In inquiring into the methods of recruitment and training it was necessary that we should keep in view not only the nature of the work to be done but the conditions of employment of the officers. It could hardly have been contemplated that if we found that the official arrangements under which particular classes of officers were employed in the performance of certain duties were not conducive to efficiency we should be precluded from drawing the attention of the authorities to the matter or from making appropriate suggestions for rectifying the arrangements. Nor can there be any doubt that by the interrogatories as we framed them, we intended to elicit opinions on the well known subject of separation of judicial and executive functions which has long agitated the public mind and not the separate recruitment of judicial officers. The subject is dealt with in paragraphs 71 to 75 of annexure X to the majority report, and with all deference to the majority I must freely express my opinion that their treatment of it shows a very inadequate comprehension of the real issues. Nor has it been possible for me to understand clearly the drift of their conclusions as stated in paragraph 75. If what is meant to convey is that the evils arising from the combination of the functions are more theoretical than real, and that a differentiation of the functions is being evolved then the conclusion is based on a misconception of the situation.

The principal points in the complaint refer to the office of the district magistrate and collector which is a "strange union of the functions of constable and magistrate, public prosecutor and criminal judge, revenue collector and appeal court in revenue cases." It is this officer who has the entire administrative control of the subordinate magistrates who are also employed under him in the discharge of revenue and general executive duties. What has been asked for is that magistrates should form a separate class of officers from the executive and revenue officers. Their duties are different and often clash with each other, their training and the administrative arrangements for their employment must be separate and suitable. "Magistrates should not be employed in revenue and executive work nor should revenue and executive officers be employed in magisterial work. The officer responsible for the peace of the district and for its general executive and revenue administration should have no authority or control over the magistrates." The present state of things does not satisfy these conditions and there can be no doubt as put by Sir Harry Adamson the then home member of the Government of India in his speech on the budget delivered in 1914 that "the inevitable result of the present system is that criminal trials affecting the general peace of the district are not always conducted in an atmosphere of cool impartiality which should be a credit of justice."

Nor does this completely define the evil which I see, so much in what is done, as in what may be done to be done, for it is not enough that the administration of justice should be pure, it can never be bedrock of our rule unless it is also "above suspicion." Gross miscarriages of justice have also arisen as a result of the combined system, and applications and the allegations that are constantly made to the high courts bear indubitable testimony to the fact that confidence in the magisterial trial of cases is much weakened by the present arrangements. To quote again from the same: "The exercise of control over the subordinate magistrates by whom the great bulk of criminal cases are tried is the point where the present system is defective. . . . But if the control is exercised by the officer who is responsible for the peace of the district, there is the constant danger that the subordinate magistracy may be unconsciously guided by other than purely judicial considerations." The main, if not the only, argument advanced in support of the system is that if the district officer is deprived of his magisterial powers and of his authority over the subordinate magistracy his prestige will suffer. One would have thought that his position as the chief revenue and executive officer, and in fact the local representative of the Government, was sufficiently important and did not require any further enhancement by the addition of magisterial functions. On the other hand, I have no hesitation in stating my belief that the prestige of the Government in all the advanced provinces distinctly suffers in the public estimation by keeping up a system by which its administration of criminal justice is subject to suspicion. It is for a long time that the system has been condemned, not merely by the press and the political bodies of India, but by eminent judges and the legal profession generally, whose knowledge of its evils is direct and first hand.

Having regard to the importance of the question and the fact that it has been growing in acuteness, I shall here set out a memorial which was addressed to the Secretary of State for India in July 1899 by Lord Hobhouse, Sir Richard Garth, who had recently retired as Chief Justice of Bengal, Sir Richard Couch who also had been chief justice, Sir Charles Sargent who had been chief justice of Bombay and by other retired judges and high officials.

To the Right Honourable Lord George Francis Hamilton, M.P.,  
Her Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for India, India Office Whitehall, S.W.  
My Lord,

We, the undersigned, beg leave to submit to you, in the interests of the administration of justice the following considerations in favour of the separation of judicial from executive duties in India. The present system, under which the chief executive official of a district collects the revenue, controls the police, institutes prosecutions, and at the same time exercises large judicial powers, has been and still is condemned not only by the general voice of public opinion in India, but also by Anglo-Indian officers, and by high legal authorities. The state of Indian opinion with reference to the question was so well known as to require neither proof nor illustration. The separation of judicial and executive functions has been consistently urged throughout a long series of years alike by the Indian press and by public bodies individually well qualified to represent Indian opinion. We propose, however, to refer briefly

of the numerous occasions upon which the principle of separation has been approved by official bodies, next, to explain the nature of the existing grievance, and the proposed remedy, and, finally, discuss objections which have been or may be advanced against alteration of the present system. This memorial therefore, consists of three sections, which it may be convenient to indicate as follows—

- (a) An historical retrospect (paras 2 to 10)
- (b) The existing grievance, and the remedy (paras 11 to 14), and
- (c) Answers to possible objections (paras 15 to 18)

#### (a) An historical retrospect

2 So long ago as 1793 the Government of India under Lord Cornwallis, recognised the dangers arising from the combination in one and the same officer, of revenue with judicial duties. Section I of regulation II, 1793, contained the following passage—

"All questions between Government and the landholders respecting the assessment and collection of the public revenue, and disputed claims between the latter and their rayats or other persons concerned in the collection of their rents have hitherto been cognisable in the courts of *maul adawlat*, or revenue courts. The collectors of the revenue preside in these courts as judges, and an appeal lies from their decisions to the board of revenue and from the decrees of that board to the Governor General in council in the department of revenue. The proprietors can never consider the privileges which have been conferred upon them as secure whilst the revenue officers are vested with these judicial powers. Exclusive of the objections arising to these courts from their irregular, summary and often *ex parte* proceedings and from the collectors being obliged to suspend the exercise of their judicial functions whenever they interfere with their financial duties, it is obvious that if the regulations are infringed, the revenue officers themselves must be the aggressors and that individuals who have been wronged by them in one capacity can never hope to obtain redress from them in another. Their financial occupations equally disqualify them for administering the laws between the proprietors of land and their tenants. Other the proprietors, therefore, must be given to landed property security, and to the rights attached to it before the desired and to the improvements in agriculture can be expected to be effected. Government must divest itself of the power of infringing in its executive capacity the rights and privileges which, as exercising the legislative authority, it has conferred on the landholders. The revenue officers must be deprived of their judicial powers. All financial claims of the public, when disputed under the regulations must be subjected to the cognisance of the courts of judicature superior to judges who, from their official situation and the nature of their trusts shall not only be wholly uninterested in the result of their decisions but bound to decide impartially between the public and the proprietors of land, and also between the latter and their tenants. The collectors of the revenue must not only be divested of the power of deciding upon their own acts, but rendered amenable for them to the courts of judicature, and be made subject to a personal prosecution for every exaction exceeding the amount which they are authorised to demand on behalf of the public, and for every deviation from the regulations prescribed for the collection of it. No power will then

exist in the country by which the rights vested in the landholders by the regulations can be infringed, or, the value of landed property affected."

3 These observations aptly anticipated the basis of the criticisms which during the succeeding century have so often been passed as well by individuals as by public bodies of the highest authority upon the strange union of the functions of constable, and magistrate, public prosecutor and criminal judge, revenue collector and appeal court in revenue cases. In 1838 a committee appointed by the Government of Bengal to prepare a scheme for the more efficient organisation of the police issued its report. As a member of that committee Mr F J Halliday (after Sir Frederick Halliday, sometime Lieutenant Governor of Bengal and member of the council of the Secretary of State) drew up an important minute in which after citing at length the considerations that had been urged in favour of separating police from judicial duties in India. The passage quoted with approval by Mr Halliday declared that there was no more important principle in jurisprudence than the separation of the judicial from the executive ministerial functions, that a scheme to combine the duties of judge and sheriff of justice of the peace and constable in the same individuals would be counted as absurd as well as mischievous, that a magistrate ought to have no previous knowledge of a matter with which he had to deal judicially, and that the whole executive duty of preventing and detecting crimes should be thrown upon the police. In support of the proposition that these remarks applied with double force to India Mr Halliday wrote—In England a large majority of offenders are, as here, tried and sentenced by the magistrates, but in the former country the cases so tried are comparatively of a trivial and unimportant nature. In India the powers of the magistrates are much greater, their sentences extend to imprisonment for three years, and their jurisdiction embraces offences which, both for frequency and importance, are by far the weightiest subjects of the criminal administration of the country. The evil which this system produces is twofold: it affects the fair distribution of justice and it impairs at the same time the efficiency of the police. The union of magistrate with collector has been stigmatised as incompatible, but the junction of thief-catcher with judge is surely more anomalous in theory and more mischievous in practice. So long as it lasts, the public confidence in our criminal tribunals must always be liable to injury, and the authority of justice itself must often be abused and misapplied. For this evil—which arises from a constant and unavoidable bias against all supposed offenders—the power of appeal is not a sufficient remedy. The danger to justice, under such circumstances, is not in a few cases, nor in any proportion of cases, but in every case. In all the magistrate is constable, prosecutor and judge. If the appeal be necessary to secure justice in any case, it must be so in all; and if—as will follow—all sentences by a magistrate should properly be revised by another authority, it would manifestly be for the public benefit that the appellate tribunal should decide all cases in the first instance. It is well known on the other hand, that the judicial labours of a magistrate occupy nearly all his time, that which is devoted to matters strictly executive being only the short space daily employed in hearing than reports. But the effectual maintenance of even a small police force and the



inquire into the organisation of the police. It consisted of representative officers from the North West provinces, Pegu, Bengal, Madras, the Punjab, and Oudh—"all," in the words of Sir Bartle Frere, "men of ripe experience, especially in matters connected with police." The instructions issued to the commission contained the following propositions—

"The functions of a police are either protective and repressive or detective, to prevent crime and disorder, or to find out criminals and disturbers of the peace. These functions are in no respect judicial. This rule requires a complete severance of the police from the judicial authorities, whether those of higher grade or the inferior magistracy in their judicial capacity. When, as is often the case in India, various functions are combined in the hands of one magistrate, it may sometimes be difficult to observe this restriction, but the rule should always be kept in sight that the official who collects and traces out the links in the chain of evidence in any case of importance should never be the same as the judicial officer, whether of high or inferior grade, who is to sit in judgment on the case. It may sometimes be difficult to insist on this rule, but experience shows it is not nearly so difficult as would be supposed, and the advantages of insisting on it cannot be over stated." Again "The working police having its own officers exclusively engaged on their own duties in preventing or detecting crime, the question is at what link in the chain of subordination between the highest and lowest officers in the executive administration is the police to be attached, and so made responsible as well as subordinate to all above that link in the chain? The great object being to keep the judicial and police functions quite distinct, the most perfect organisation is, no doubt, when the police is subordinate to none but that officer in the executive Government who is absolved from all judicial duty, or at least from all duty involving original jurisdiction, so that his judicial decisions can never be biased by his duties as a superintendent of police. It is difficult to lay down any more definite rule as to the exact point where the subordination should commence than by saying that it should be so arranged that an officer should never be liable to try judicially important cases got up under his own directions as a police officer. This raises the question—who is to be responsible for the peace of the district? Clearly that officer, whoever he may be to whom the police are immediately responsible. Under him it is the duty of every police officer and of every magisterial officer of whatever grade, in their several charges to keep him informed of all matters affecting the public peace and the prevention and detection of crime. It is his duty to see that both classes of officers work together for his end, as both are subordinate to him, he ought to be able to ensure their combined action. The exact limits of the several duties of the two classes of officers it may be difficult to define in any general rule, but they will not be difficult to fix in practice if the leading principles are authoritatively laid down, and, above all, if the golden rule be borne in mind that the judicial and police functions are not to be mixed up or confounded, that the active work of preventing or detecting crime is to rest entirely with the police, and not to be interfered with by those who are to sit in judgment on the criminal."

9 The Police Commission in their report (dated September 1860) expressly recognised and accepted this "golden rule." Paragraph 27 of their report was as follows—"That as a rule there should be

complete severance of executive police from judicial authorities, that the official who collects and traces out the links of evidence—in other words, virtually prosecutes the offender—should never be the same as the officer, whether of high or inferior grade, who is to sit in judgment on the case, even with a view to committal for trial before a higher tribunal. As the detection and prosecution of criminals properly devolve on the police no police officer should be permitted to have any judicial function." But although the commission adopted without question the general principle that judicial and police functions ought not to be confounded, they proposed, as a matter of practical and temporary convenience, in view of "the constitution of the official agency" then existing in India, that an exception should be made in the case of the district officer. The commission did not maintain that the principle did not, in strictness, apply to him. On the contrary, they appeared to have stated expressly that it did. But they recommended that in his case true principle should, for the time being, be sacrificed to expediency. They reported—"That the same true principle, that the judge and detective officer should not be one and the same, applies to officials having by law judicial functions, and should, as far as possible, be carefully observed in practice. But, with the constitution of the official agency existing in India, an exception must be made in favour of the district officer. The magistrates have long been, in the eye of the law, executive officers, having a general supervising authority in matters of police, originally without extensive judicial powers. In some parts of India this original function of the magistrates has not been widely departed from; in other parts extensive judicial powers have been superadded to their original and proper function. This circumstance has imported difficulties in regard to maintaining the leading principle enunciated above, for it is impracticable to relieve the magistrates of their judicial duties and, on the other hand, it is at present inexpedient to deprive the police and public of the valuable aid and supervision of the district officer in the general management of police matters." The commission recognised that this combination of judicial with police functions was open to objection, but looked forward to a time when improvements in organisation would, in actual practice, bring it to an end. "That this departure from principle will be less objectionable in practice when the executive police, though bound to obey the magistrates' orders *quoad* the criminal administration, is kept departmentally distinct and subordinate to its own officers, and constitutes a special agency having no judicial function. As the organisation becomes perfected and the force effective for the performance of its detective duties, any necessity for the magistrate to take personal action in any case judicially before him ought to cease."

10 The recommendations of the Police Commission were adopted by the Government of India and, in accordance with them, Sir Bartle Frere introduced in the legislative council on September 29 1860, a bill for the better regulation of police. The debate on the second reading of this measure, which afterwards became act V of 1861, and is still in force, is important as showing that the Government of India regarded the exceptional union of judicial with police functions in the district officer as a temporary compromise. Sir Barnes Peacock, the vice president of the council, stated that he "had always been of opinion that a full and complete separation ought to be made between the two functions," while in 1861

## THE PROSPERITY OF INDIA

THE growth of Indian prosperity is the theme of chapter III of the majority report. Long ago, the late Mr Gokhale, in proposing in the Imperial legislative council four tests of the progressive character of a government, mentioned as his first test the moral and material improvement of the mass of the people, but he was careful to add

'Under this head I do not include those appliances of modern government which the British government has evolved in this country because they were necessary for its very existence though they have benefited the people such as the construction of railways the introduction of posts and telegraphs and things of that kind

The majority report however deals with these things, and proceeds in the following strain

Valuable light on the general effect of this material development on the condition of the people of India has been thrown by the recently issued report of the committee of enquiry which the Government of India appointed to investigate the course of prices during the two previous decades. The conclusion there reached is that a remarkable growth of national prosperity has taken place which has been accompanied by a rise in prices

This is followed by some quotations in the footnote from Mr K. L. Datta's report, and the Commissioners have not even forgotten to note that Mr Datta is a Fellow of the Royal Statistical Society. Mr Chaubal, alluding to these observations, says

The relevance of the figures of material prosperity to the three great questions in connection with the services which we have been commissioned to enquire into is not very obvious. The really important figures that have a distinct bearing on the problems before us are those relating to the intellectual progress of the country during the last 30 years. The want of careers for young men is more or less a problem of anxiety to parents in most countries but perhaps in no country in the world is it so acute and accentuated as in India."

Mr Justice Rahim deals with this point somewhat more in detail. Here is what he says

In chapter III of the majority report under this heading [changed conditions of India] a large amount of matter is introduced whose relevance to the questions under enquiry is but of a remote character. The only paragraph which has a distinct bearing on one of the subjects referred to us namely

the employment of Indians is the one dealing with their intellectual progress. Some of the paragraphs bearing on the economic condition of India raise questions of a highly controversial kind which the Commission was never asked to consider and did not in fact investigate. They cannot be said to be lifted out of the plane of controversy because certain figures have been quoted in support of a particular inference. That inference is expressed in the words of Mr K. L. Datta a member of the Indian finance department who was deputed to inquire into the rise of prices in India. His conclusion is that an enormous rise in the prices of foodstuffs and other necessities of life in India has been accompanied by a proportionate rise in wages as that the agricultural and labouring classes at least who form the great majority of the population have both been improved in their material condition. This conclusion has been keenly controverted by the Indian press, which does not recognise his authority to speak on economic questions. Without attempting to discuss the matter in its various bearings I shall only mention a few broad facts which go to show that in more than one direction the picture sought to be presented of the material progress of India's general population is inaccurate and misleading.

From the report of Mr Datta himself it appears that in 1896-97 62 millions in 1907-8 50 millions of the population were affected by famines within certain areas mentioned and from 1888 to 1908 more than 160 millions were affected by famine conditions. In paragraph 71 of his report he prefaces his narrative of the factors affecting the growth of population in these words — The most important factor affecting the growth of population between 1891 and 1911 was famine. The familar furies in the train of famine are cholera dysentery and fever, which play havoc with an already enfeebled population. Since 1896 when plague made its first appearance in India it seems to have secured a permanent foothold in the country. Mr Datta says

Since the black death of the fourteenth century (I believe he means that which raged in Europe) there has never been such mortality from plague as in India between 1896 and 1912. The mortality was even from 70 to 85 per mille though at times it was considerably higher. The Punjab (the home, I may parenthetically point out of India's brave soldiers) had lost by 1912 about 2,200,000 persons from plague out of a total population of under 20,000,000. It is interesting to note that the mill on 1 unit in the plague mortality was not reached till 1904 when 1,143,933 deaths were recorded. The lowest death rates during the period from 1901 to 1912 seem to have been in those two years the figures standing at 20 and 20.7 per 1,000 respectively during the intervening years they varied between 30.0 and 38.2 per thousand. The seriousness of these facts cannot be dissuaded because in spite of them India has shown considerable recuperative powers as indicated by the increase in the total population between 1891 and 1911 from 287 to 315 millions. Nor in the face

"the scientific chairs of physiology, pathology, materia medica (or pharmacology) and their connected posts should be open to all comers, and officers of the civil services should compete for them on the terms as the general public."

Mr Abdur Rahim observes :

I have proposed the exclusion of all professional chairs whether in the ordinary arts colleges or in special institutions like the medical colleges from the list of any service. To fill these appointments for which men of original powers of mind and thought with distinguished work to their credit are wanted, is obviously inexpedient, as the facts disclosed in evidence have amply shown, that the authorities should be required, or ordinarily expected, to confine their choice to the limited personnel of a service. The ordinary service conditions are not always favourable to the growth of such men and cannot at least be depended upon to ensure an adequate supply. I have therefore recommended that for all appointments of a professional status the practice should be to secure men of achievement wherever found for the more important subjects of study and research, and that the state should offer them such reasonable terms as will be suitable in each case. I have shown in the appropriate annexures that the report of the majority has failed to give full recognition to this obviously sound principle for fear of causing injury to the Indian educational service and the Indian medical service. While this apprehension of theirs is unfounded, their proposals show an inadequate appreciation of the real needs of general, professional, and technical education in India at the present day."

Again,

"I think it is a just demand that all professional appointments and also the directorships of the larger laboratories in the bacteriological department should be filled only by men who have distinguished original work to their credit, and should not be treated as prizes for a close service. The incumbents of such posts should be sought in the open market but if the best man available for a particular post is to be found in the Indian medical service, or in the locally recruited services, there will be no objection to his being appointed. I should also mention here that the head of the Indian medical service himself admitted that there were a great many Indians 'who would be extremely well as professors.' That men like Dr. S. P. Sarbadhikary, Dr. N. R. Srinivasan, Dr. Kedar Nath Das of Calcutta, and Dr. T. M. Nair of Madras, to mention only a few prominent names, should be precluded by the present arrangements from professional appointments in their special subjects and from hospital work altogether is in itself a sufficient condemnation of the present system." "Stress was laid before us upon the necessity of providing European doctors for the families of the European employees of the Government as they do not like to be treated by Indian practitioners. If the argument on the European side is sought to be pushed to this length that because there happens to be one or two European officials in a district, the state must provide them with a European doctor or member of the European medical service, it is prima facie unreasonable and cannot be admitted to over-

ride the larger interests of the country and of the general population." "One has only to look at the schedules to annexure AII of the majority report to realise that no real change in the situation is intended and that appointments in the proposed civil medical service will remain as much the monopoly of the officers of the Indian medical service as they are at present, with this difference, that they will adopt a different official designation."

Justice Ablur Rahim then proceeds as follows

That the Indian medical service in the past has done good work is not denied nor is it denied that it contains able men. The services rendered by it in developing medical education in India are fully appreciated by educated Indians. But we have now a body of Indian medical practitioners whose average efficiency is of a high level, and not a few among them have acquired distinction in the pursuit of their profession as surgeons, physicians, gynaecologists, and so on. It is through these Indian practitioners that the blessings of the modern medical sciences have begun to be realised by the people of India. But there are however still numerous classes of the population who do not benefit by western medicine and with whom it has yet to be popularised, and this will only be effected if and as the strength of the indigenous medical profession increases. The total strength of Indian practitioners with registrable qualifications is about 1,500 and their number must be enormously increased before it will be possible to combat with any degree of success the various diseases of which India is at present the victim. Having regard to the still very limited character of the classes which offer a lucrative field for the practice of western medicine, the practical exclusion of Indians from those valuable inducements and opportunities which the civil medical department offers is naturally keenly felt. Its inevitable effect will be to check the growth of the medical profession, and of all the professions in India medicine is preeminently the one to which it ought not to be said, "thus far and no farther."

The chief specific complaints made against the present system are: First, that qualified Indians do not find proper scope in civil medical work in the country. Secondly, the exclusive control by officers of the Indian medical service, of the civil hospitals almost all of which are under the management of the Government and also of the bacteriological department, practically means the exclusion of the members of the independent medical profession from hospital work and from the opportunities of laboratory research. On this point, what could be gathered during the inquiry was that it was not possible for experienced and competent members of the independent profession—apart from the question of post graduate training—to have a fair and honourable sphere of work, especially in the hospitals, side by side with members of the Indian medical service. Thirdly, it was a general complaint that the employment of this military service in the civil department is producing all the injurious effects of subsidised competition. Fourthly, that the reservation for this service of professional chairs both scientific and clinical, has in a number of instances led to unsatisfactory appointments. The evidence shows that all these points in the complaint are well founded, and indeed the facts being as they are it could hardly be otherwise.

## THE EDUCATION SERVICE

THE Commissioners in their report say that the 'provincial' branch of the education department originally connected only a difference of pay, as in the public works department, but it has gradually 'drifted into a definitely inferior position, notwithstanding that it contains a number of officers who are doing work of no less importance and value than that done by members of the imperial service.' In attempting to justify different rates of salary for Europeans and Indians for the same work, the report makes certain observations from which we quote the following:

"We think that the grievances which now exist are due rather to the prevailing differences of dignity than of pay, and that harmony can exist in a service even without absolute equality of emoluments. It does not, however, follow from the acceptance of this general principle that statutory natives of India must at all times and in all circumstances get less pay than their European colleagues or that the difference between British and Indian rates can be measured by an identical amount or proportion in every service. Such a conclusion would rightly be regarded as derogatory to India.

To illustrate what the commissioners mean, they add:

"There may be a service in which suitable Europeans can be obtained from Europe at a very modest cost, either because the standard of preliminary education required is comparatively low, or because the qualities needed are very generally possessed by British schoolboys or for both these reasons, and yet this same service may be one into which no statutory native of India should be admitted without having given guarantees of the highest qualities. In such a service the salary of the statutory native of India required may well be as high in relation to the general run of Indian salaries as the salary of the European officer is low in relation to the general run of British salaries."

After the enunciation of this strange doctrine of equality both of material prospects and in moral qualities, the Commissioners proceed:

"We feel, moreover, that the reasons of sentiment which suggest equality of payment are stronger in the case of the administrative posts generally; and of the education service in particular, where the officers affected are in such close touch with the youth of the country that it is especially important to avoid any element of suspicion about their treatment."

Then, discussing the question of the pay

of Indian educational officers with European degrees, the commissioners observe:

"Obvious objections can be urged to offering higher rewards to men educated abroad than are offered to those who have passed through the educational institutions of their own country. Such a policy must tend to retard the development of Indian education and appears to give official recognition to the view that the universities of India are inferior to those of Europe. We are, however, assured by our Indian colleagues that public opinion in India attaches importance to securing absolute equality between Europeans and Indians who have been through the same educational course. The number of persons concerned is not large, and in view of the strength of the sentiment expressed we are not prepared to recommend a departure from existing practice."

\* Four members of the Commission, e.g., the Earl of Ronaldshay, Sir Murray Hammick, Sir Valentine Chirol, and Mr. F. G. Sly, have recorded a strong minute of dissent against this recommendation of the commissioners. They consider that between Indians and Europeans, difference of pay is 'a legitimate ground of differentiation,' because the latter have to serve abroad, among surroundings, climatic and otherwise, which impose upon them a heavy strain. To maintain the same distinction of pay among Indians educated at home and abroad is however illogical, unjust, inexpedient, and 'the height of folly,' because (1) it is an injurious and unpopular distinction, (2) it gives an undue advantage to the rich boy of moderate abilities who can proceed to England to prosecute his studies, (3) it diffuses the false and most undesirable idea that the Indian educated in his own country is inferior in status and ability to his fellow countryman who has been partly educated abroad, (4) it places a perpetual and irritating discount, in the eyes of the youth of India, upon the institutions of their own land. The arguments against, according to Indians, the 'equality of service and the higher rates of pay and the more generous leave rules which are granted to Europeans,' are, therefore, in the opinion of these members 'whelming and unanswerable.' The remedy is the establishment in India of institutions 'capable of satisfying the highest educational aspirations of her people,' and the commissioners as a body 'recommend measures designed to achieve this object.' But Sir Theodore Morrison, another member of the Commission, is not satisfied that the arguments for differentiation in the matter of salaries are convincing. 'At present the Government of India does not pay the Indian who is serving in his own province any less than the Indian who is serving far from his home, and yet the Man who has to serve in the Punjab has perhaps a better title to a foreign service allowance than an English man serving in the same province whose family have made their home in the Himalayas. The wisely declines to investigate the personal and

The position of the education department, in India is peculiar in view of the important part which is playing, and which it is destined to play, in the process of blending eastern and western culture in a harmonious whole. That being so grounds of policy suggest that the staff should contain officers who are typical of what is best in both civilisations, and that in the initial stage the European element should be substantial.

The Commission divides the superior service into two classes, class I and class II, and also provides certain special grades above class I. In class I they propose the appointment of qualified Indians in what

peculiar circumstances of its officers and to make them a ground for a differentiation of salary because it knows that it would be impossible to assess them mostly in terms of money. Even if it be held that the economic arguments for differentiating between Englishmen and Indians are stronger than I conceive them to be, the political reasons against such a course are, to my mind overwhelming. Indians feel that they are slighted by being assigned as a class less pay than Englishmen when they are doing the same work. In India the rate of salary is so commonly taken as a criterion of merit that this is not altogether unreasonable. But whether reasonable or unreasonable the feeling is there and we have to take account of human nature as it is, not as it might be. The political wisdom of appearing to put a slight upon Indian officers as a class needs no demonstration. The misconception to which this policy is open in the minds of malevolent people is also obvious. The Government of India, they argue is composed of Englishmen, and they take good care to look after their own countrymen, so they have found an excuse for giving them bigger salaries than Indians. Even a Government as clean handed as the Government of India cannot afford to give such a handle to its enemies, it must be seen and acknowledged to be fair. When the arguments are so evenly balanced as they are in this case, it should choose the course which is not open to any misconception.

Mr Justice Abdur Rahim, alluding to the enormous rise in the cost of living speaks of those social and religious obligations which in the East still largely take the place of those amenities of life which among Europeans have come to be regarded as indispensable, and would have the Government bear this in mind in fixing the Indian rates of pay. The extracts from Mr K. I. Datta's report quoted by the commissioners go to show that the standard of living among Indians has also risen higher and higher with the rise of prices. All this has been in a manner admitted in the report of the commission in para 22 of which the majority observe: "They [Indians] too had been affected by the general rise in prices and they, too had their own special financial burdens. Moreover amongst educated Indians new standards of living were gaining general acceptance. Already many of the higher officials had come to live in European style either from preference or because of the obligations imposed upon them by their official position." It would thus appear that all the grounds, whether of policy or justice of differentiating between Europeans and Indians doing the same kind of work, when closely examined, are found to be without substance.

they consider to be substantial numbers. The term 'professor' is henceforth to be reserved for the highest class of educationists as a personal distinction, the others being called lecturers and assistant lecturers. They further observe:

"A strong case has been made out for the creation of a certain number of professorial chairs—we suggest twenty in the first instance—the holders of which should expressly be liberated from the ordinary work of preparation for the B. A. Examinations. These chairs should be outside the college staffs should be open to all alike whether Europeans or Indians and whether Government servants or not, on the same terms and should carry a rate of pay sufficiently high to attract men of distinction who have already established their reputation in Europe or India. Care should also be taken that no chair is created save in a subject capable of being pursued to the point of originality in India. Thus it would be wrong to establish chairs of English literature or English history right to create those of physics, geology and Indian archaeology."

In a Note submitted by the Earl of Ronaldshay, Sir Valentine Chirol, and Mr. H. A. L. Fisher, they state that the colleges might have a chance of thriving if they were relieved of all work up to the standard of the intermediate examination. In the Indian colleges,

"The professors are largely concerned with work of a character more elementary than any which is undertaken in the universities of the west. The professor of an Indian college though he may be a man of great intellectual eminence, is not a professor in the sense in which that term is employed in the universities of Great Britain and Germany. He is part schoolmaster, part college lecturer, and save in rare instances, lacks the leisure and the appetite for original work."

Then they proceed to consider 'how best to create and sustain a passion for learning among the university teachers' and observe:

First, then, India should possess a body of teachers who have the root of original work in them. Then these teachers should be given facilities for the highest forms of intellectual development and influence. They should have the use of good libraries and laboratories. They should work to the stimulus of a congenial intellectual society. The bulk of college drudgery should be taken from their shoulders and whatever teaching of a more popular nature they may be called upon or may desire to give should be regarded as a minor feature of their activities. The main part of their teaching energy should be expended upon a few selected pupils desirous of fitting themselves for the life of study. It is not too much to say that such a body of professors working under favourable conditions would in the course of a generation

\* Let us hope that this will not mean in practice that all the drudges will be Indians and all the professors, living in the pure and calm atmosphere of study and research, Europeans.

raise the whole intellectual tone of the Indian universities "

### The Note rightly concludes :

" Western knowledge is valuable in itself, but for young minds in India the most fruitful discipline is afforded by those branches of learning in which western ideas and methods are brought to the interpretation and criticism of eastern things "

Mr Justice Abdur Rahim's opinion may be gathered from the following extracts from his minute of dissent

" The present arrangements in the education department have proved a failure because, in the first place, the principle of making appointments on the basis of specialised qualifications was hardly recognised the whole department being practically organised under a rigid service system. In the second place though the theory was that both the imperial and provincial services contained posts of equal importance, the salaries &c. fixed for officers recruited in England and in India respectively were grossly unequal, giving rise to inequality in status, and thirdly, because there was no promotion allowed from one service to the other. For this department an integral part of my recommendations is that a sufficient number of professorial chairs and some other important educational appointments should be set apart for men who have already done valuable work and for the less important appointments my recommendation is that these should be a service recruited for in India. Officers of the former class should be obtained wherever available. For officers of the latter class there should be a liberal provision for study leave to enable them to carry on special studies and research in Europe. The proposals of the majority on the other hand are based on some " grounds of policy," which according to them necessitate the employment of young English graduates and a practical continuation of the present close service system "

Mr. Justice Rahim proposes that 90 such posts should be set aside and filled by the appointment of specialists who have already done original work of a high

order, and these men should be paid ' 1,000 to 2,000 rupees a month. The remaining 486 posts should be recruited from among the best Indian graduates available, on a salary rising from Rs 250 1000

" I am convinced that no scheme less radical this will adequately meet the present requirements India, combining economy with a great incentive to our best men to devote their lives to the educational work. This is to my mind the only way to create a true academic atmosphere in India and steadily raise the general level of learning in the country, enabling India ultimately to take her proper place among the nations of the world as a contributor to the stock of human knowledge. " In perhaps no other department have the defects of the artificial division into imperial and provincial obvious enough wherever it exists, led to such deplorable results. The chief cause has been the gross disparity of pay, which has naturally resulted in the officers drawing the larger salaries assuming a superior status. In administrative services like the Indian civil service and the police, it is possible for the head of the department to allege that the administrative ability of officers of the service to which they themselves belong is of a higher order than that of the personnel of the locally recruited service, which is mostly engaged in the less important duties. But in assessing the respective merits of men in a department like that of education, which gives scope and opportunity to the officers to achieve work whose value can be appreciated by the world at large, the departmental judgment counts for very little. That Dr P C Roy, the well known chemist, Mr Sircar the historian, and some others who could be named should be condemned to the service of a lower status, while an average young English graduate is appointed to a service with more than double the emoluments and with a higher status is a sufficient proof of the unsoundness of the arrangement. It was by a hairbreadth chance that the famous physicist Dr J-C Bose has escaped being treated as a member of the lower service, and if Rabindranath Tagore the poet, had chosen an educational career in the Government service he also would probably have found himself in the provincial service "

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## THE PROBLEM STATED

### I—THE MAJORITY REPORT.

IT is also to be noted that within the decade covered by the census of 1911 literacy in English increased by 50 per cent and was claimed by nearly 1½ million persons. These bold figures, however, convey but a very faint impression of the extent to which the spread of western education, despite all

its existing deficiencies, has tended not only to enter the circle of Indians more or less directly familiar with western thoughts and western methods, but break down however slowly, the barriers which social and religious customs interpose between the different Indian communities and castes as well between Europeans and Indians. Western culture may, indeed, be said to have produced a

Indian opinion which, through the medium of the English language, has brought the communities of the vast Indian peninsula not only into closer communion of thought among themselves but also into closer contact with the minds of the British people. We need only mention in this connection the Indian national congress. With its political activities we are not concerned. But it brings together periodically from all parts of India a large body of Indians who have been educated on western lines, and whose discussions are conducted in English because it is the only language they have all in common. Founded four years before the Public Services Commission of 1886-87 issued its report, this body has since assumed considerable importance, and in the evidence given before us we have had proof of the influence which it exercises over the public opinion of the educated classes in every quarter of India. Another very significant indication of the stimulating effect of western education is the rapid increase of literary and journalistic activity. In 1890-91 there were only 1484 printing presses, 517 newspapers, and 330 periodicals, where as in 1911-12 the totals were 2851 presses, 659 newspapers and no less than 2269 periodicals. The number of books published in European languages—the vast majority in English—rose from 664 at the earlier to 1,596 at the later date, and of books published in Indian languages from 6395 to 9983. Indians in rapidly growing numbers have gone into the legal profession. But the study of the higher branches of science, for medicine for engineering, and for other technical purposes, has likewise come into growing repute, whilst the urgent demands for the improvement of industrial and commercial education indicate a realisation of the part which the development of the vast natural resources of India on modern lines must play in the progress of the Indian people. Financial and economic questions have also attracted increasing attention, and as we have already noted, there has been a growing appreciation of the value of organisation especially for agricultural purposes. In a word the value of a liberal education is being more and more widely recognised, more and more men who have made contributions to science and literature, or have achieved distinction in other walks of life, are being produced, and amongst the boons announced at the Delhi Durbar during the royal visit to India none was more gratefully appreciated than the promise of a generous grant for educational purposes.

"We have shown in the preceding chapter the increasing extent to which Indians have been playing a part in various branches of public life. In the public services, however, as will be seen from the figures which we shall quote in detail in a later chapter, the progress achieved by them has been less marked. This position of affairs has been vigorously discussed in India for some years. On the European side, the objection is not so much to the larger employment of Indians as to the form in which the demand for their employment is often put forward. It is also claimed that the number of Europeans admitted to the public services is small compared with the resources and population of the country, and that the maintenance of British rule has its corollary in the employment of a European element in the more important services. Attention is also drawn by Europeans to the practical necessity of obtaining from Europe recruits for many of the scientific and technical services owing to the lack of educational facilities for producing candidates with the required qualifications in India. Doubt

is expressed as to whether there is as yet in India a sufficient supply of young men with the capacity for administration to justify anything more than a slow and cautious advance in the utilisation of an indigenous agency in the highest ranks of the public services, and stress is laid on the point that the maintenance of a high level of efficiency in those services, is necessitated by the conditions of government in India. The reply on the Indian side is that Indians are not wanting in the qualities required for administrators and that such deficiency as may have been proved against individuals is largely due to their being persistently relegated to subordinate positions in which those qualities have little chance of being developed. It is urged that even when in theory Indians are supposed to enjoy the same status as their European colleagues, and are often actually performing the same duties, they are subjected in various ways to differential treatment, and that this produces a galling sense of inferiority, which reacts on the quality of their work. Thus they are practically debarred from admission to the higher branches of certain of the public services, whilst in others they suffer under serious disabilities. They must in some cases proceed to England to pass the necessary examinations or to receive the educational training which cannot at present be obtained in India. All this, it is urged, is a breach of the spirit, if not of the letter, of the statute of 1833 (3 and 4 Will 4, Cap 85), and of Queen Victoria's proclamation of 1858. Indians contend that their familiarity with the peculiarities of Indian character and customs and ways of thought, as well as with the vernacular languages, constitute in the discharge of administrative duties an inherent advantage which hardly any European official acquires in the same degree. A further point which they urge is that however valuable may be the services of the European official so long as he remains in India, the experience he has acquired is lost to that country as soon as he retires, and goes back to Europe, whereas the experience acquired by an Indian official endures in many ways to the benefit of his fellow countrymen even after he has retired from the service. Whilst, therefore, admitting the necessity, on various grounds, of retaining an adequate European element, the Indians hold that the time has come when if properly qualified they should be admitted in substantial numbers and on terms of equality with Europeans to the higher as well as to the lower branches of the administration. This, then, is one of the main problems which have been submitted for our consideration."

## II—MR M B CHAUBAL.

"The questions relating to the salary, leave, pension, and prospects in the services are, comparatively small, and of subsidiary importance. By far the most important part of the existing problem relates to the employment of Indians in the higher branches of the service. The lower branches of the service, and the subordinate services, have ever been and must continue to be mainly recruited from the natives of the country, partly because Europeans cannot afford to serve on the salaries generally attached to the posts in them. The question relating to their larger em-

\* Justice Abul Rahim has shown that in some branches of the public service Europeans earn full pension and retire as early as their 40th year, whereas in most branches they are eligible for retirement on full pension between their 45th to 50th year.

ployment in the higher services requires, under the present political conditions of India, to be approached and looked at from a broad, far reaching, and statesmanlike point of view, and these are certain factors which must, under the present circumstances, be steadily kept in mind.

The too limited employment of Indians in the higher services is one of the main causes of the discontent and unrest which has recently become so marked among the educated classes, and about which so much has been heard and written. To understand the genesis of this unrest one must consider what young educated India is at the present day and how it has come to be what it is. Young men of the present day do not and cannot appreciate the benefits of the British rule to the same degree as did the men of a past generation. The latter contrasted the peace and security of life and property with the troublous times before the British rule and felt happy and contented. The young man of the present day takes these great blessings as his birthright. When western education was started and schools, colleges and universities were established the young Indian began to study eagerly the history and literature of free and advanced western countries and the biographies of great men, studied their careers and how they struggled for freedom and liberty; he studied the birth and growth of liberal institutions in western countries, and he began to contrast their state with his own helpless dependence. A vague discontent took possession of his mind, and a wild enthusiasm to break through his environment seized him. He fancied that his progress in every direction was hampered. Nearer home he saw how a small nation, comparatively recently quite as low as his own country in civilisation rose in splendour and worked out its own salvation. These forces, which had been working silently, found expression in the annual national Congress, came to a head at the noted Surat Congress and the school of anarchy of which we now find exhibitions had its origin in this discontent. The phenomenon of practically all the higher offices in the state being monopolised by the foreigner and the European<sup>\*</sup> loomed large in the view of those young men, who formed originally the extremist school. A few wise and far-seeing men, like the late Mr. Gokhale, saw the trend of events and were afraid of the pit into which young India was being led. To counterbalance this school they wisely placed before their educated countrymen the goal of a 'colonial self government' and the privilege of the citizenship of the largest empire in the world and they declared that as they made themselves fit for it, they would draw nearer to this goal, until India took its proper place in the empire as a self governing colony. In the speeches in the viceroy's legislative council the restricted employment of Indians in the higher service was the frequent theme of attack on the lines on which the administration of the country was run. By their incessant efforts, they have now been able to persuade a very large body of young educated Indians to adopt this ideal, and those who believe that this ideal is attainable by self improvement and constitutional agitation form what is recognised as the moderate school in Indian politics. A wider and more liberal employment of highly educated and capable Indians in the higher posts under Govern-

ment will, it is believed, in no small degree strengthen this party and correspondingly break through the strength of the other school."

### III—MR. JUSTICE ABDUR RAHIM.

"The main significance of the changed conditions in India is to be found in the growth of a national sense within the last few years. Like all great ideas, it is showing a remarkable rapidity of development, whose full meaning is not easily grasped by outsiders. The factors that have contributed to it are manifold, and cannot be discussed here in detail. It will be useful, however, for a broad comprehension of the situation to refer to some of the more prominent movements in this connection. In the region of social reforms which have been instituted in the Hindu community by a notable galaxy of reformers in all parts of India, the Brahma Samaj of Bengal, the Arya Samaj of the Punjab, the depressed classes mission of Madras, and the Servants of India Society of Bombay, the last founded by Mr. Gokhale, are but a few of the more visible manifestations. No one who lives in India and knows the people can fail to perceive that a vast welding force has come into existence. It may be safe to assert that whatever undesirable significance the caste system may have had in the past, the educated classes of Hindus would at the present day regard it as an undesirable and cruel aspersion of their character to have it suggested that they do not sympathise with the uneducated masses or would not deal fairly by them in the discharge of their official duties. No doubt there are erratic and narrow minded men among the Hindus, but so there are in all nations and communities. The Hindus above all have been the organisers of the Indian National Congress, whose proud boast today is that its title 'national' has been amply justified. It is pointed out that almost all the important items in its original programme have received warm support of the leaders of all Indian communities, whether they speak from the Congress platform or from that of the Moslem League or from the Sikh Khalsa. The unifying and democratic spirit of Islam is well known, and among the Muhammadans there have been no such relics of an old system as the castes to mislead those whose knowledge of the Indian people is mostly historical and theoretical. Further, it must be remembered that care for the poor, so definitely enjoined by all religions of the east, has developed in the Indian character generally almost an overflow of charity and generosity, while the new movements have helped largely to divest much of that fund of philanthropy into more regulated channels.

The inquiry has disclosed a remarkable change in the attitude of the Muhammadan community towards the questions debated before us from what it was in 1886-87. At that date the Muhammadan views were dominated by a revived hope that considerable encouragement would be afforded by the Government to their desire to regain a fair and fitting place in the public service of the country. Their representatives therefore pleaded for some special measures of protection not, perhaps, compatible with a high standard of educational qualification. In the meantime, however, mainly under the guidance of Sir Syed Ahmad and his fellow-workers, the community has shown an earnestness in keeping abreast of the times not unworthy their past traditions. It now holds its own primary education along with other commu-

\* Mr. Chaubal might have added, as he has himself shown "and most of the less high by the domiciled Anglo Indian."



and Muhammadan graduates have increased within the last nine years by 80 per cent. There is much more way to be made up yet, but the unflinching determination with which the Muhammadan leaders are now seeking to adjust the ideals of the people to modern conditions indicates that the community is inspired with a new confidence. This again is but a proof that the Indian Muhammadans have not remained unaffected by the recent national movement. Their sense of the duty to live in amity and friendship with one's neighbours so strictly enforced by their religion has now insensibly glided into the channels of nationalism. The younger followers of Sir Syed Ahmad cite with cordial approval the simile in which he likened the Hindus and the Muhammadans to the two apples of India's eyes. They repudiate with equal warmth the dissent which he had at one time expressed from some of the more advanced political measures advocated by the Indian National Congress as being inconsistent with his own ideal. This change in the political outlook of the community was reflected in the views expressed before us by its representatives as to the principles which should regulate recruitment for the public service. The keynote of their attitude is the same as that of others a demand for a more intimate and a more extensive association of the people with the administration and a complete removal of disabilities.

As for the allegation that the Indians are wanting in initiative, driving power, resource, and the faculty of control, so far as it depends upon *a priori* assumptions, it could not affect our deliberations. The facts relating to the services enquired into, however, show that so far the Indians have been mostly employed in the lower ranks of the administrative services. If they have not found their way to the higher appointments in the administration above those included in the cadres of the provincial services, it is because these appointments have been reserved for officers recruited in Europe into the imperial services. In the imperial services the number of Indians has been so few that they cannot be said to have been given any thing like opportunity for competing in this respect with Europeans. There are, however, other facts from which a clear inference can be drawn, the reverse of this allegation.

Looking back to past history, India until the disruption of the Mogul empire, always produced men of high administrative talents, and at the present day in the more advanced native states wherever opportunity exists, Indians are successfully bearing the burden of the entire administration, some of them achieving notable distinction, such as Sir Salar Jung and Sir T. Madhav Rao. It should also be noted

that a fair proportion of these men were originally in the British Indian service but only found an adequate opportunity for a full play of administrative capacity when they were appointed either as ministers or heads of departments in these states. Then where there are large Indian commercial communities, such as in the Bombay presidency, Indians successfully conduct the affairs of industrial concerns of considerable magnitude.

In professions where success is dominated by free competition and the value of work accomplished is judged under conditions different from what prevails in an Indian official department the merits of the Indian's work cannot be gainsaid. In the profession of law which, it must be observed, was wholly unknown to the Hindu and the Mahomedan systems and is, of all institutions, peculiarly occidental, Indians have acquired such remarkable proficiency that it is now conceded to them as being particularly suited to their aptitudes. In western medicine, in the practice of which they suffer from many disadvantages as I shall have to point out, their success has been equally remarkable. Not only is the general level of efficiency of Indian qualified practitioners highly satisfactory, but some of them in the more advanced presidencies have achieved eminent distinction as surgeons, doctors and gynecologists, and a few men have also done research work of value with such facilities as were within their reach. Of those who devoted themselves to politics, it would not be difficult to mention the names of a number of men of commanding gifts of political judgment and foresight and of platform oratory, debate and organisation. In the region of scientific research of higher order, at least two names may be mentioned, those of J. C. Bose and P. C. Roy who have won more than an Indian reputation while the Nobel prize of literature was awarded the year before last to Rabindranath Tagore, whose poems have become familiar to most cultured men and women of Europe and America. Then to everyone who knows India will occur the names of those men who organised momentous movements of social, religious, educational, and political reforms that have so largely changed the outlook of India. Under Lord Morley's scheme of reforms, Indians have been found fit for appointment in the executive councils of the Viceroy and of the council of the Secretary of State for India. While on the benches of the High Courts Indians have long established their reputation. An Indian sits on the judicial committee of the Privy Council. In the face of these facts it is hard to believe that India is deficient in wealth of intellect or character."

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in this respect are entitled to far more weight than all the considerations mentioned in the report taken together.

\* Then it is said that if the Indian civil service is to be kept efficient, it is important that an officer should attain a position of responsibility at a comparatively early age, i.e., at about 30, that at present or even if the age limits were reduced by a year he would be 33 or 32 by the time he attains that position, and this is too late. It seems to be assumed that as a junior officer his position is not one of trust and responsibility. I think, on the contrary, that the position of an assistant collector or an assistant judge is one of considerable responsibility though not the same responsibility as that of a collector or district and sessions judge. Looking at the large civil criminal and revenue powers exercised by collectors, district magistrates, and district and sessions judges I should say that no one ought to be entrusted with them before he is 35,\* and surely there ought to be no complaint if out of a total service of 35 years a person passes only 8 to 10 years in a junior position of responsibility. The argument that officers in selection posts as members of council &c. may be in some cases a little over sixty is not one to which much weight need be attached.

Mr Justice Abdur Rahim has the following on the proposed reduction of the age-limits:

\* This to my mind would be a retrograde measure directly in contravention of the best university opinion of great Britain and the unanimous views of the Indian witnesses. I am unable to follow how it is possible to allege administrative necessity for the change in the face of decided Indian opinion to the contrary. If in 1886-87 the Secretary of State and the Government of India agreed with the finding of the Atchison Commission that having regard to the large powers magisterial and executive, which an Indian Civil servant exercises soon after arrival in India, the age of 17-19 to which it is now proposed to revert was too low, it is difficult to understand how at the present day, when the powers which they exercise are not less and the complexities of the situation have much increased, it is feasible to recruit school boys for the service. As regards the theory about tastes and aptitudes being set and so forth I do not think it can bear analysis. On the other hand it is not very difficult to understand that a civil servant's education and training which has to be completed at least two years earlier must be defective to that extent while the three years' probation will entail unjustifiable expenditure to the state.

Another serious objection to the reduction of the age is that it will have the effect practically of closing the London door of entry to the Indians. This apprehension is considerably borne out by the fact that only 2.5 per cent of the places offered were

\* Justice Rahim says 'I disagree with the view of the majority that a civil servant should expect to act as a collector and necessarily also as a district and sessions judge at the age of 30. This may well be in the interests of the officers but not of the administration.'

† Every recruit will receive an allowance of £150 a year out of the Indian revenues during his period of training in England.

secured by Indian candidates between 1878 and 1917 when the age was 17-19, while the proportion of successful Indians increased to 5.6 per cent between 1892 and 1912, when the limits of age were 21 to 23 or 22 to 24. If the majority's proposal reducing the age be considered in conjunction with their other proposal to make it a condition for admission to the London examination that candidates must produce a certificate that for a minimum period of three years before the examination he has been pursuing his studies in certain school be named by the civil service commissioners it be left entirely to their discretion whether to do with the production of such certificate in the usual circumstances of candidates coming from India, Indian public opinion will be justified in saying that the London examination, by which 80 per cent of the civil service appointments are to be filled under the scheme of the majority report, will in future be closed to Indian candidates. The so-called compensation which is spoken of is that about 10 per cent of the appointments will be filled in India. This is but little more than what was laid down and enforced for some years under the rules of 1879. Only part of the scheme which has some claim to be regarded as an advance upon the past is the institution in India of an examination for a portion of the cadre, but this change of method however welcome cannot mitigate the serious aspects of their other proposals. I am convinced that even if the compensation were far more substantial and much amplified Indian public opinion would refuse, and in my opinion rightly, to assent to a virtual effacement of the right to a free and equal opportunity for appointment to the premier civil service of their country. I am unable to conceive that advanced political bodies in India like the Indian National Congress, representing the constitutional school of politics who have for years been agitating for simultaneous examination for the Indian civil service will now, when the slow moving Muhammadans and the others have supported the demand, should accept an arrangement diametrically opposed to its main principle. If Indian candidates should not be limited to a fair proportion of the civil service appointments.

#### THE PROPORTION OF INDIANS IN THE SERVICE

As for the proportion of appointments to be thrown open to Indians, viz., 25 per cent of the superior posts, Mr C. observes that this should be raised to at least 25 per cent of the whole cadre of Indian civil service, and not of the superior posts only. Mr. Chaulai has no objection in showing that the so-called 'transit posts' or 'inferior posts' of assistant judges and assistant collectors are posts of

\* Sir Theodore Morison, and Mr Ramsay donald agree on this point with Mr Chaulai. Justice Rahim would go further and so to the effect of Mr Chaulai's recommendation, he may be to agree with him. The result is that four members of the commission agree that nine appointments in India are insufficient. Had Mr Gokhale been alive, there can be no doubt that his support would have been given to this minority.

of a generation back, the consideration at once suggest themselves that the law which the modern civilian is called upon to administer is far more complicated, while the legal profession has vastly increased in numbers, and has attained to a far higher standard of training. At the same time the knowledge of law possessed by the natives of India generally, and their disposition to appeal to the courts whenever possible, has gone through a remarkable development. The question, therefore, naturally presents itself—What legal training has the civilian of the present day for the important duties which devolve upon him? The answer, we fear, is somewhat as follows. He has read in England the Indian penal code, the code of criminal procedure, and the evidence act. That may be the sum total of his legal knowledge. He need have learnt nothing of the underlying principles of law. He has not even seen the inside of a court. When he arrives in India he is subjected to a desultory and unscientific form of training which consists of learning by heart more cases and of doing a little practical work. He then takes his seat on the bench, where he has to cope with lawyers highly trained in law and endowed by nature with subtlety and ingenuity in an uncommon degree. The natural result follows. Some time or other he has to deal with a case presenting more than usual difficulty in which a subtle lawyer is engaged. Conscious of his ignorance, he becomes flustered and makes errors of all kinds. Then he is pilloried in the press which in this country, is controlled by the legal profession to an extent scarcely paralleled elsewhere, and thus English justice is brought into contempt. We do not think that this picture is overdrawn. It is most frequently in criminal matters that the native newspapers attack our administration of justice and that errors and irregularities become the subject of public criticism. It is in such cases in all countries that miscarriage of justice attracts most attention, but in civil and revenue cases affecting private rights it can scarcely be doubted that similar errors occur and the departmental proceedings which come before us frequently display a surprising ignorance of elementary legal principles on the part of the officers concerned. It is unnecessary for us to elaborate the subject further. We have said enough to demonstrate the truth of our contention that there is urgent necessity for improvement and that unless some remedy can be found the influence and reputation of the service and the Government itself are bound to suffer.

\* The above extract proves that the Government knows as well and even better than the general public that the civilian as a dispenser of justice is an absolute failure and that on the other hand natives of India possess great legal acumen and have 'attained to a far higher standard of training'. The inevitable conclusion which any body of sane persons would be disposed to draw from this state of things is that in all judicial, magisterial and revenue functions requiring a knowledge of law the civilian should, in the interests of the administration of justice, be replaced by the trained Indian lawyer. But this obvious conclusion does not suggest itself to either the Government of India or the Public Services Commissioners. They both apply themselves to tinkering with the training of the Indian civilian, and suggest slight modifications which will effect no real improvement in the situation. Why do they do so? Not in the interest of the masses surely, at whose expense the civilian acquires such legal training as he possesses. They

We shall now quote from Mr. Justice Rahim's able minute, where he deals with the subject with a mastery born of intimate first-hand knowledge.

*"The recruitment of judges from the Indian civil service should be materially curtailed and then gradually abandoned.—The removal of judicial appointments from the cadre of the Indian civil service is now overdue and should be fully recognised. The old recruits under which that service was drawn upon for filling a number of judicial appointments has long been obsolete. The object of employing such officers was primarily to help in placing the organisation of judicial administration in India on a systematic basis, the actual work of administration of law being left at first entirely in the hands of Indian judges, and lawyers trained in the Muhammadan and Hindu systems. The profession of law has steadily and rapidly grown both in numbers and efficiency all over India not only in the presidency towns but also in the provinces. In the larger provinces—Madras, Bengal and Bombay—the larger element of the profession has become so strong that the predominance of English barristers, who until recently led the bar, has entirely disappeared from the first two provinces and is on the point of disappearing from the other. The keen competition that now exists in the profession has had its natural effect in enhancing the average standard of efficiency, while the leaders of the Indian bar to-day would stand comparison in learning and ability with their confederates in other countries. That the higher branches of the professions consisting of the barristers, the vakils of the high courts and chief courts, advocates and pleaders today offer a very ample field for recruitment of the judiciary in India does not admit of any real doubt. This fact is now receiving proper recognition so far as the highest tribunals, viz., the high courts, are concerned, where senior barristers and pleaders are being appointed in increasing numbers, and it might be presumed that the services would have been still more largely utilised, but for the statute which requires that one third at least of the number of judges of the high courts must be members of the Indian civil service. The junior members of the profession have always been employed in the provincial judicial services and try the great bulk of the suits in the district. The reputation won by Indian judges of all grades recruited from the profession, high and has not been questioned before us. On the other hand, the constitution of the Indian civil service and the conditions of its recruitment are such that it has not afforded sufficient opportunity to its members to keep pace with the vast development of the Anglo-*

do this because they are conscious that they must not tread upon the vested interests of the Indian civil service or suggest remedies which though thoroughly sound in themselves would prejudicially affect the prospects of the service. This is what the argument of efficiency, economy, and regard for the well-being of the masses as opposed to the interests of the really comes to. Nor should we forget Justice Rahim's remark that the 'subtlety displayed by the Indian lawyer in unravelling a system of harshly western speaks highly of his power of

Indian legal system or with the growth of specialised knowledge and aptitude in the profession which has taken place within the last 30 years.

Not the least of the objections to the method of filling district and sessions judgeships from the Indian civil service is the cost of the training which it involves. A civil servant will have for at least eight years to do the work of a less important appointment either as a magistrate and executive officer as at present, or as a munsiff and a subordinate judge. The average pay of provincial service officers who fill the great bulk of magisterial and executive appointments of the same class is Rs 434 a month, and the munsiff's and subordinate judge's average pay is Rs 421 while the average pay of the Indian civil servant holding a similar appointment is Rs 862 a month, including similar allowances. There are at present 153 Indian civil service judicial posts, and the total cost of the minor appointments which have to be reserved for their training is about 8 lacs, and the difference in cost of filling these minor appointments by Indian civil servants and by provincial service officers is about 4 lacs a year. So much additional expenditure would only be justified by a clear and substantial gain in efficiency far from that, the Indian civil service organisation is ill suited for recruitment of the judiciary.

The defects of the Indian civil service system in ensuring the qualification needed for judges have long agitated the minds of the Indian authorities and have been growing more and more manifest with time, until after an active correspondence which went on between the Government of India and the Secretary of State from 1903 to 1907 the Government of India (Lord Minto, Lord Kitchener, H. Earle Richards, law member, E. N. Baker, of the Indian civil service, C. H. Scott, military member, and J. F. Finlay, of the Indian civil service, J. O. Miller, of the Indian civil service, and H. Adamson, of the Indian civil service dissentients) recorded its opinion of the situation in these emphatic terms—'It would be difficult to exaggerate the political dangers of the present situation or the importance of effecting a material improvement in the capacity, training and status of the Indian civil service judges. It is impossible at any rate in the advanced provinces to justify a system under which a gentleman who has no knowledge of civil law and who has never been inside a civil court in his life can be and often is at one step promoted to be a judge of appeal in civil cases, and to hear appeals from subordinate judges who are trained lawyers with years of legal experience.'

The history of the service shows that the reluctance of its members to adopt a judicial career has been increasing with time, so that it became necessary to offer the inducement of increased pay. Even then the tradition has persisted that the executive department is more sought after by the best men than the other branch.

Not only has the lure of the sphere of revenue and executive work more attractions for them, but there is a feeling that as a judge they would be like square pegs made to fit round holes. That feeling was very graphically described to us by an able member of the local civil service of Madras.

A civilian judge who has never been behind the scene, never drafted a plaint or a written statement nor examined or cross examined a witness in his life, must be at a considerable disadvantage in

arriving at the true and important facts of a case. He can but dimly realise the value of interlocutory proceedings in bringing issues to a head, and his control over the conduct of the trial in court must tend to be weak and uncertain. Not the least formidable of his difficulties is the inevitable lack of understanding and sympathy which must ordinarily be between him and the bar. Supposing he has had the opportunity, which he has not, to bring to the bench a sufficient stock of knowledge of the law, he will have realised on the first day of his judicial career that the really difficult task for which he had no preparation was to apply the right law to the facts before him. That is not capable of being learned except by years' experience and training. It is not learned by passing an examination however difficult. It is possible to acquire it on the bench, but only at a great cost to the litigant public. There have been civil service judges who surmounted all these difficulties and made the continuance of the system possible for so long. But the system itself is unround, and the authorities should, I think, be prepared to discard it. The proposals for its improvement should be regarded only as a provisional measure. The only reform which is worth trying in the Indian civil service system as a recruiting field for judges would be by effecting a bifurcation immediately after the open competitive examination. From this stage their special training must be regulated with a view entirely to the requirements of a judicial officer. This was the proposal made by Lord Kitchener, and approved by Lord Minto and the members of his executive council except Sir Harvey Adamson and Mr. Miller. It should be understood that any time diverted to executive work is not only lost but must retard the growth of a habit of mind which is best described as the judicial as contradistinguished from the executive manner of doing things. I would, to that extent, modify the recommendation of the majority on this point made in paragraph 32 of annexure X.

I am aware that some members of the service told us that in their opinion the best training for a judge in India was ensured by his employment for a sufficiently long time in executive duties. On the other hand the Indian public opinion, both lay and professional, strongly expressed before us, was to the reverse effect, the thing they deprecated most was what they called executive bias.

The training of a civil service judge will have to be graduated as far as it is possible having regard to the constitution of the courts in India. There are two grades of civil courts under a district judge, that of munsiffs (in Bombay called subordinate judge, class II), and of subordinate judges already described. It would be necessary for a civilian recruit to act for at least four years as a munsiff and for another four years as a subordinate judge before being appointed to officiate with any degree of permanency as a district and sessions judge. It might also be arranged that while a civil servant is working as a munsiff he should have the powers of a magistrate and try some criminal cases.

I may as well notice here the argument urged before us in favour of appointing judges from the civil service that some such system prevails in several continental countries, notably Germany and France, where it has been found to work satisfactorily. We

were not, however, furnished with any data which would enable us to say how far the analogy holds good. It would be necessary to know for instance, how many grades of jurisdiction there are, how the procedure is adjusted to each class of court, whether the judges sit singly or in bench whether the judges or the juries find facts, what are the provisions for rectifying errors the nature of the litigation, whether the law is codified, how far the rulings of the court are regarded as authoritative on questions of law, how many systems of law have they to administer and so on. The pecuniary limits of courts of civil jurisdiction in India are high enough to cover the great bulk of civil suits, they are not limited to any particular class of actions, and the judges have to find facts as well as to apply the law. They also exercise summary jurisdiction which precludes appeals and have frequently to dispose of difficult and complicated questions of law and procedure. The judges of all grades have to be familiar with the Hindu law and the Muhammadan law, with numerous acts of the Indian legislature, the rulings of the high courts and the Privy Council and they must have a good grasp of the principles of the English common law and equity law. A man without a legal training and experience of proceedings in the courts will have to find his way very slowly indeed, and it is not expected that an Indian civil servant sitting as a munsiff or a subordinate judge will be able to cope with much work. Apart from anything else the mass of vernacular documents and accounts he will have to deal with every day will be a serious difficulty to him.

The other sources from which to obtain district or sessions judges are (i) the bar in India and in England, and (ii) the munsiffs and subordinate judges. The advantages of appointing from the bar are obvious. You get a man who is already trained, and the expense of training which is considerable in the case of a member of the Indian civil service is saved; and provided the field of selection is large enough the chances of making a mistake should be very little. It has been said that in India the competent barristers and pleaders are too rich to accept a district judgeship and the rest are not competent. Such a form of reasoning hardly needs refutation. My estimate is

that, in the larger provinces specially, barristers and pleaders of considerable attainments and practice would be available in sufficient numbers to fill all the district judgeships and more. The Aitchison Commission in 1886-87 recommended that some appointments to district and sessions judgeships should be made from the bar, and it is remarkable that, though the recommendation was accepted by the Government, it has not yet been given effect to. The growth of the profession in the meantime, in numbers and efficiency, has on the other hand been phenomenal. Similarly in England we were told by the master of the rolls and Lord Justice Swinfen Eady that considering the salary of the district judges (which is on the average Rs. 2,300 a month) there would be so many candidates of the standing of the county court judges that the difficulty would lie in making a selection. I feel sure that such men would be welcomed by the profession. If after they have been selected in England they are allowed say six months to master the rudiments of the vernacular of the province to which they will be posted and another six months in India to acquire a certain amount of familiarity with the spoken dialect and with the procedure of the Indian courts, they will have little difficulty in grasping the essentials of Indian legal business. If the civil servant judge having been longer in the country has some advantage in the matter of knowing the people better—though that knowledge is much exaggerated—that will be more than counterbalanced by the superior training of the barrister judge. Besides it should be remembered that in most district and sessions judges' courts there are interpreters and translators, the arguments are conducted in English and there is always the bar to be relied upon in matters of difficulty. The great advantage which a trained barrister from England would bring to bear upon the administration of justice in the districts will be a habit of mind inspired by the best traditions of the English courts. I would suggest that a beginning at least be made with, say, ten appointments throughout India, and when experience has been acquired, the number of judges from England for the district courts may be substantially increased.

POL.

## THE NECESSITY FOR RECRUITMENT IN INDIA

[Quoted from the minute of Justice Abdur Rahim in the Report of the Public Services Commissioners].

**“**WHEN the question of employment in the public service of India has to be considered in its important aspect of affording an adequate career to the educated Indians wishing to serve their country. In this connection it will not be inappropriate to take a bird's-eye view of the field of recruitment in England for Indian public services. The evidence shows what was naturally to be expected that under normal conditions an Indian career does

not rank at all high in the estimation of English youths of more than average capacity and ambition. Such men prefer one of the many careers open

\* Elsewhere Justice Rahim urges that greater importance should be attached to oriental subjects in the Indian civil service examination, “to draw the young Englishmen for whom ‘the magic of the east is not entirely computable in salaries and pensions.’ The bureaucratic attitude with regard to India is further expressed in their favourite phrase, ‘the of regrets’.”

to train expensive to employ—two men roughly speaking being required to do one man's work"—and is a dead loss to the country when he retires. Even supposing that he initially brings to his work some

\* This is no exaggeration the figure for the Indian civil service is that for every 100 superior appointments the leave deputation and training reserves consist of 94.5 junior officers

superior qualifications still the balance of advantage must in the nature of things be heavily on the side of the Indian official. Further, an efficient Indian administrator has a value to the country far greater than is to be measured by the actual output of his daily routine work. He becomes a centre of far-reaching growth.

POL

## CONCLUSION

WE have finished our summary of the Report of the commissioners. We have dealt only with the main features and general principles, and not with the details of the recommendations in such matters as the reorganisation of the services, increase of salaries, proportion reserved for Indians in the various departments, &c. As Mr Chaubal observes, these recommendations, *if taken in their entirety*, will eventually mean a fair advance, but two things have to be kept in mind in this connection. In the first place, three of the members of the Atchison Commission gave their adherence to the report on the distinct understanding that the scheme would be acted on as a whole and no alterations would be made on any essential point, but this was soon forgotten and important recommendations which favoured the Indians were ignored, while those of a retrograde character were approved and introduced. In the second place, as Mr Chaubal very rightly points out, "It is I believe, the expectation of the Indian public that this commission should recommend a proportion of the higher service for recruitment in India which will not only redress this set back, but will take into account the progress that India has made since 1856 and such further progress as she may reasonably be expected to make during the next thirty years, for it will take fully that time to work up the proportion recommended, taking into consideration the fact that vested interests must be safeguarded."

The majority of commissioners, in paragraph 36 of their report, observe: "We believe that in the long run the surest security for the employment of a due number

of Indians lies in publicity and in the watchfulness of the representatives of their interests in the various legislative councils. To secure this publicity and watchfulness we have made a special study of the report and have presented the results in a form which we trust will succeed in evoking public interest. Mr Ramsay MacDonald also says, in almost similar terms that "the only real guarantee of their adequate employment is the improvement of their educational institutions, and the influence they gain in their legislative councils." It is, therefore, necessary that the elected representatives of the legislature should awake to the needs of the situation, and study the question seriously.

Such a study, we are bound to confess, will create a feeling of bitter disappointment, but we must gather courage for failures. This feeling, as we have been told by persons who knew Mr Gokhale intimately, contributed not a little to his premature and sudden death, and Mr Chaubal has spoken in one place of a minute of dissent of the 'painful impression which the evidence received by the mission for two years left on his mind, and elsewhere he alludes to 'the strength and influence of the forces that work in India for encouraging recruitment from abroad'. The Indian civil service, a strong and organised body, brought all its forces to bear on the occasion, and in respect of the legitimate aspirations of the Indians adopted the motto of 'no surrender'. Indian opinion was not similarly organised, and the selection of witnesses for examination by the commission being in the hands of the Government whose policy was under criticism, unanimity of view

on the part of Indians, was not to be expected. The result was, that the official attitude triumphed, perhaps beyond its most sanguine expectations, for the constitution of the commission was not predominantly bureaucratic, and even Mr. Kim say Macdonald was swept away by the reactionary tide, and told us plainly that unless we gained in power and influence nobody could help us.

Not that there was any lack of fine phrases and generous sentiments, we know from experience that the promise is usually the more loud as the performance is poor. Mr. Justice Rahim refers in one place to 'the wide divergence that still exists between declarations of policy as made by British statesmen and their enforcement in actual practice by those immediately concerned with the Indian administration'. In paragraph 35 of their report, for instance, the commissioners speak of the tendency of a minimum of high posts reserved for Indians to become a maximum, and on this ground they 'wish to establish nothing which will prevent qualified Indians, wherever available, from being appointed in any number on their merits'. The commissioners even claim to have been inspired by the sentiments of Mr. Gokhale. They say,

We owe much to the ripe experience gained by us in the lifelong service of his country and are confident that in many of our recommendations the spirit of his counsels will be found reflected.

But no Indian need be told whether this declaration is more in accord with the facts, as they reveal themselves in the shape of recommendations, than that of Mr. Justice Rahim, who prefaces his dissenting minute with the observation

I must acknowledge that I have derived much confidence from the fact that the main proposals which I have ventured to put forward had his (Mr. Gokhale's) entire approval, and were virtually formulated in consultation with him.

The object of the commission of 1886-87 was declared to be to 'do full justice to the natives of India to higher and more extensive employment in the public service,' it was, to quote their own words once more, 'That all Her Majesty's subjects should receive equal treatment' and 'all invidious distinctions of class or race should be removed.'

When the Under secretary of state announced the appointment of the present

commission in 1912 from his place in the House of Commons, he said

The problem before us when we have educated Indians is to give them the fullest opportunity in the government of their own country to exercise the advantages which they have acquired by training and by education.

But what is the result? All the opportunity of government that has been given is represented by the proposal to appoint seven Indians annually in the Indian civil service and possibly two more. There are of course other recommendations, but this is the foremost of them. The following extract from Mr. Chaulbal will give a correct idea on the subject

The estimate of the net increase in cost involved in the recommendations of the commission is given as Rs 42 25 760. This as stated is an estimate of the ultimate increase which will occur when all our proposals have taken effect. How long it may take to give all of them practical effect is not stated nor is there any attempt at calculating this time. But during this indefinite transitional stage increased salaries and better prospects have in the immediate future been recommended for all European officers in those departments which are to be eventually services wholly recruited in India such as agriculture, civil veterinary, forest &c. and these increased salaries are proposed as the present ones are considered to be insufficient to secure and retain the services of men of the required calibre. Substantial increases over the present rates are proposed because it is considered desirable that officers who may be appointed to any of these departments from Europe should be of the highest quality and the conditions of employment should be such as to make it reasonably certain that they will remain in India for a full term of service. This implies that for many years to come there will not only be no decrease in but an appreciable increase over the present cost roughly for about 30 years more in some departments at least and at least for the next 10 to 15 years in some others. Though it may be difficult to calculate this immediate increased cost precisely it will on a rough calculation come to about Rs. 20 00 000. Then the increased cost for the super posts in the educational department is not included in the estimate. Assuming an average of Rs 2 000 a month for these posts it will cost about Rs 5 00 000 more.

The cost involved in the proposal to abolish the 4 per cent contribution towards the pension of Indian civil servants is about Rs 9 00 000. The increased maximum pension proposed means an additional cost of Rs 9 00 000. The additional pensions proposed to certain high officers mean an added cost of Rs 3 00 000. Thus the immediate additional cost involved in the various proposals comes to —

Rs 20 00 000	for the officers who will be recruited in Europe in certain services
Rs 9 00 000	for the abolition of the 4 per cent contribution
Rs 9 00 000	increased maximum pension
Rs 3 00 000	additional pension to certain officers and
Rs 5 00 000	super posts in the educational department.
Rs 46 00 000 or £209 667	

\* The italics are ours

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"If Mr Gokhale's bill for popular education, supported as it was by the entire educated opinion of the country, had not been placed on the Indian statute book, the blame cannot be laid at their door."

"So far as this is a matter for personal observation, one should have thought that the standard of living which obtains among the great mass of Indian population could hardly have been any lower."

Take, again, the following from Mr Chaulab

*Speaking of the post office, telegraph and some other departments,*

"Thus the Indian percentage in the three classes is only 23, 82, and 64. And yet they are all services recruited in India. This illustrates how large still is the field for the wider employment of Asiatic Indians in services in which recruitment is ordinarily stated to be within the country. In view of the present figures, it would be more appropriate to call them Europe recruited services than Indian recruited."

"The proportions must be such as will cumulatively throughout the services help to create the feeling that we Indians are in a substantial degree carrying on the Government of the country."

"The evidence received by us in India during the last two years has left on my mind a painful impression that a much more sympathetic treatment by, and a far more liberal association with, Englishmen is required before that sense of subjection is appreciably reduced, and before the desired sentiment of a common citizenship is created, for at present it is indeed non-existent except perhaps in platform speeches."

"One cannot help being struck with the assumption that this capacity to represent the masses is taken for granted in the European and the Anglo Indian. It is difficult to understand exactly what is intended to be conveyed by the word 'represent'. If it implies a knowledge of the conditions of life of these masses, their habits, their ways of living and thinking, their wants and grievances, the ability to enter into their thoughts, and appreciate what is necessary to educate them, to give them higher ideas of life, and make them realise their duties towards all about them, there ought to be no doubt that the educated Indian has all these in a far greater degree than any European or Anglo Indian can claim to have."

"Perhaps the truth, however unpalatable, is that there is still a number of the average English officials in India who have a distrust and suspicion about the educated Indian. The explanation of this is probably that given by Sir P. M. Mehta in his evidence—that the English Official does not like the independence, the self-assertion, and the self-respect which come naturally in the wake of education. As Dr Wordsworth stated in his evidence before the last Commission, 'deferential ignorance, condescending manners, and a plentiful absence of originality and independence are now and will always be, at a premium.' It is high time that this shibboleth was exploded."

"It is indeed hardly consistent that while on the one hand Government should foster and encourage the growth of opportunities for educated Indians for participation in public life, in the municipalities and district boards, and in the imperial and provincial legislative councils, they should on the other, so jealously guard the entrance of educated indigenous

agency into the higher and better remunerated posts in the state."

"It must not be lost sight of that, owing to the necessity of safeguarding vested interests, any recommendations that the Commission make will require about a generation to take full effect, and therefore our recommendations must not be simply based on the present progress and advance of India, but must take into account such further progress as may reasonably be expected to take place within a period of about the next thirty years."

"The very meagre percentage of Asiatic Indians in the higher service must not be hidden from view by lumping the Anglo-Indians and the Asiatic Indians together, under the plausible excuse of the definition of the 'statutory natives of India' in the Act."

"The large body of [Indian] evidence which considers that the British official in India must have arrived at some maturity of judgment before being invested with the large civil and magisterial power which even as a young officer he is called upon to exercise soon after his arrival in India. . . The wisest of the people of India in this respect are entitled to far more weight than all the considerations mentioned in the report taken together."

The point of view of the domiciled community is fitly represented by Mr. Madge, who quotes the following from Sir J. Fitz-james Stephen:

"It seems to me the first principle which must be borne in mind is that the maintenance of the position of the district officers is absolutely essential to the maintenance of British rule in India, and that any diminution of their influence and authority over the natives would be dearly bought even by an improvement in the administration of justice."

Mr. Madge has the hardihood to speak of the 'ostracism of the domiciled community' from appointments to which they ought to be eligible, and in order to justify the low standard of education which prevails in it, falls foul of the Indian universities as cramming institutions which furnish no test of character, says that 'there is no teaching to compare with that gained in the practical experience of fulfilling duty,' and appeals, perhaps not successfully, to the 'universal law that a child takes its nationality from its father.'

While the bureaucrats of the Indian civil service would save Burma and the political departments from the invasion of successful candidates at the open competitive examination (vide the desultory note of Sir M. Hammick and Mr. Sly), Mr. Rahim insists on at least one third of the appointments of the entire civil service cadre being thrown open to Indians. By way of compromise, Mr. Chaulab in a quarter, and is supported in this by Sir T. Morison and Mr. Ramsay Macdonald. Mr. Gokhale, had he been alive, would more likely to side with Mr. Rahim than



Mr Chaubal The Commission recommends that Indians should be declared eligible to 25 per cent of the superior posts only. It may safely be taken for granted that out of eleven members of the commission at least five e.g., Sir T. Morrison and Messrs. Chhabal, Rahim, & MacDonald and Gokhale, are in favour of throwing open 25 per cent of the entire civil service cadre, and not of the superior posts only, to the Indians. And nothing less than this is likely to meet the barest requirements of the situation, for as Mr Chaubal observes,

"Whatever may come after a successful termination of the war the country is now in a ferment and is anxiously waiting the final pronouncements of the Commission for some substantial indication of the altered angle of vision towards Indian problems."

Even the most superficial reader cannot fail to rise from a perusal of the report and its annexures and minutes of dissent without feeling convinced that the moral victory lies with the Indian members of the commission though they have failed so egregiously in liberalising the recommendations of the majority. We may be sure, however, that time will come sooner or later, sooner perhaps than later, when this moral victory will be converted into a triumph in the region of practical politics. Education will spread for the school master is abroad, and the legislative councils will gain in power and influence. In the opinion of the majority of commissioners the function of these councils at present is to bring the Government 'under effective criticism' (paragraph 20 of the report). This is a function which the legislative councils of no other country in the world are confined to for everywhere else their proper business is to bring the Government under effective control. And if the legislative assemblies of India are to maintain their usefulness nay even their existence, they must be gradually assimilated to the standard of the rest of the world. At present Indian interests on the Government are represented by a foreign bureaucracy which, however well meaning in the abstract, looks first and foremost to serving its own interests, and not till Indian interests are represented in the councils of the executive government by Indians who are there in sufficient strength to make their influence felt, will the justice of the arguments in favour of the larger employment of their countrymen in high offices

receive its due recognition. Till such a time comes, the plain logic of facts will continue to be overridden by such vague and often unmeaning phrases as 'grounds of policy,' and 'British character of the administration.' But British administration is democratic and not autocratic in character and democracy means fully representative government.

The Hon. Mr. Malaviya's motion that no steps should be taken in regard to the recommendations of the commission before a full discussion in the council is most opportune and proper. The minutes of dissent of the Indian members have fully brought out the fact that not only are the Europe recruited services practically closed to us but even the superior India recruited services are in no better case than the former so far as Indians properly so called are concerned for they are monopolised by the domiciled community. The commission has done something to mitigate the evil in regard to the latter class of services in particular by recommending that instead of appointments being made in the hole and corner fashion which was in vogue so long, the vacancies shall be properly advertised and full publicity shall be given to them, and also that Indians shall be represented on the selection committees. But the proportions reserved for statutory natives of India—apart from the fact that the fixing of a proportion is in itself unjust and degrading to our self respect though it may be expedient in view of the forces that are at work to exclude us from the higher posts—are in most cases inadequate, specially in view of the fact that the definition includes domiciled Europeans and Anglo-Indians who have hitherto benefited most largely under such a reservation. Mr Chaubal has made it clear that by laying down a proportion the interests of the Europeans have definitely been safeguarded, whereas competition has been introduced between Anglo-Indians and Asiatic Indians in which for reasons not necessary to mention the former are bound to score. In some places in the report only 'a pious hope is expressed,' (to quote Mr Chaubal) that on occasion of offers, and gradually more appointments will be thrown open to Indians, e.g., in the superior ranks of the police. The time is long past when we would be satisfied with any such assurances and we have been fed up with

so long that the elected members of the council would do well to insist on more substantial fare this time. It is essential, as Mr. Chaulal has shown, that 'for the convenient purpose of getting into Government employ' Anglo Indians should not be allowed to call themselves statutory natives of India, and should be definitely classed with Europeans, as they themselves want to, for all purposes. And they should also be required to compete on equal terms with other natives of India by graduating at the existing universities instead of merely going through a European school course. Most important of all, Indian opinion should press upon the Government the necessity of giving effect to the recommendations of the Commission in order of their urgency. The observations of Mr. Chaulal on this point are so important that they deserve to be quoted here:

"If this indication of priority in incurring added cost is necessary (as I think it is) the first item of

importance in my opinion is the recommendation to improve the permanent source of recruitment to the services in India by way of providing facilities in India for complete instruction in technical and scientific subjects, by equipping fully the existing institutions and starting such as do not exist and making them capable of imparting the same high standard of instruction as similar institutions in the United Kingdom do. It is this recommendation which requires to be acted upon not only to make the proposed entire recruitment in India for some of the services feasible but in view of the contribution it must make to the industrial development of the country, and the impetus it will give to scientific and technical research by Indians in their country.

"Next in importance comes, in my opinion the improvement in the prospects of the provincial services, such as the provincial civil services, the educational service, the provincial medical service, and the introduction of the incremental scale proposed in all of them. The incremental scale proposed for these provincial services is admittedly a modest one, and although the figure of the net additional cost would appear a large one, it will be found that it is necessarily so owing to the large number of officers affected.

POL

## THE TRUE DEFENCE OF OUR HEARTHS AND HOMES

THE Government of India have issued a resolution (19 May, 1917) deploring "the disappointing response which has been made to the opportunity afforded to the people by the Indian Defence Force." They tax the people with want of patriotism and of loyalty to the Empire inasmuch as the leaders of Indian opinion have adversely criticised the conditions of service [for pure born Indians].

The Government of India tell us, what nobody had ignored, that "men of position and means in the United Kingdom did not think it derogatory to join the ranks both of the Territorials and of the New Army and to serve as private soldiers. They asked no questions as to pay or other conditions. They put forward no pretensions or demands. Their one ambition was to serve their country in her hour of need." The Viceroy explains his maintenance of the colour bar in the commissioned ranks of the Indian Defence Force, by saying that "the matter is engaging the earnest and sympathetic consideration of

Government." But "it should be obvious that during the progress of the greatest war in history it was not possible to reorganise or modify radically the general conditions governing the military service of the country." His Excellency hopes that "the leaders of Indian opinion are doubtless aware" of these facts. Yes, they are aware of these facts and of a few others which the lawyer who presides of the Government of Simla appears to have forgotten in the above Resolution, "the progress of the greatest war in history" has not made it impossible to give Curasians the same pay and eligibility for commissions as Home born Englishmen enjoy in the Indian Defence Force. "The progress of the greatest war in history" has not made it impossible to sanction the enlistment of a regular Burmese regiment on exactly the same footing as English Tommies. "The progress of the greatest war in history" has not made it impossible to increase the salary of the I. C. S. men and some European officers of the Education

Department in anticipation of the finding of the Public Services Commission. Above all the progress of the greatest war in history has not made it impossible to give the few Parsis and native Christians who were already Volunteers the status and pay of pure Europeans. Lord Chelmsford evidently does not regard these as important and difficult questions the hurried consideration [and decision] of which during the emergencies of a great war could not be justified.

But these Himalayan homilies about the glory of having one ambition to serve the country in her hour of need, the responsibility of the people to the Empire and the beatitude of voluntarily serving in perpetual subordination to officers of another race were reserved for consumption by the Hindus and Mohammedans only. They were not communicated from India when Eurasians put forward pretensions and demands of equality with pure Europeans—and got it.

The question raised by the leaders of Indian opinion which has filled His Excellency with such righteous indignation is not a question of sentiment as some Anglo-Indian papers regard it. On the one hand there is the stern economic need of a living wage and on the other side the consideration of a truly efficient and permanent defence of our homes.

The Eurasian office clerk joins the white branch of the I D F and gets the nice quarters, better rations and higher pay of an English soldier and can become an officer. The educated Indian leaving a higher position of comfort pay and power than the Eurasians joins the Indian branch of the same force and must be content to be a private all his life and draw Rs 11 a month (as against Rs 42 for the other). No doubt the most brilliant and experienced Indian professors in the Colleges under Lord Chelmsford's Government have to put their self respect in their pockets and act as subordinates to any and every European that is appointed. But then you make it worth their while to put up with it: you give these Indian professors something more than what they could have got in privately managed Colleges. But to ask educated Indians to serve perpetually as privates and take their orders from Anglo-Indian and even Eurasian officers in return for Rs 11 a month is to expect them to do something

which neither satisfies their stomach nor warms their heart. Neither the sordid money making instinct nor the nobler ambition of rising to the full stature of our manhood even at a pecuniary sacrifice can be enlisted by such an arrangement as that framed by Simla for the Indian members of the Indian Defence Force.

Nor can it supply the best defence of India for the money spent on it. After all the last defenders of a country are those whose home it is and not an army of occupation however efficient. If the worst comes to the worst and India is invaded by—the Martians—(the censor has warned us not to speak a word about any possible terrestrial nation)—in what respect shall we be better able to repel the attack than His Excellency's ancestors fifteen hundred years ago were? The Britons had been perpetual privates under Roman rule; they were fine soldiers but had been jealously excluded from being the brains of the army. And in the hour of need of their country these privates could make no stand against the Picts from the North and the Teutonic invaders from beyond the sea. The military expenditure and organisation of India therefore can be of real benefit to India in her hour of need only if she has officers from her own people. It is not a matter of sentiment but a stern lesson of history.

We accept His Excellency's statement that Indian aspiration with reference to commissioned ranks are engaging the sympathetic attention of the Government of India but that the question is one in respect of which that Government is not the ultimate arbiters. It must be obvious to every thinking man that the best way of materialising the sympathies of the Simla Government and forcing the hands of the inexorable Jorkins at the India Office—or is it the Horse Guards?—would be to convince that obstructionist that calls for patriotic sacrifice and effort do not go hand in hand with a policy of distrust and political exclusion on the ground of race.

The greatest English historian of Napoleon has said that if Pitt could have broken the aristocratic monopoly of the government of England and given the people a share in the conduct of their own affairs (including commissions from the ranks as in the army of Republican France) then he could have called forth

partly because of the natural antipathy felt by the priests towards the free republics partly because of the later date of most of the extant priestly literature and especially of the law books ignore the real facts. They convey the impression on that the only recognised and in fact universally prevalent form of government was that of kings under the guidance and tutelage of priests. R 2

Dr Rhys Davids also mentions some facts which he thinks go far to confirm Professor Bhandarkar's recent views as to the wholesale recasting of brahmin literature in the Gupta period.

It is probable then that in the composition and recasting of brahmin literature the authors and editors had to please the priestly class and also the kings whose patronage they stood in need of. These literary men would not as human nature goes, put down or preserve anything very obnoxious to monarchs. If therefore in brahmin literature we find things which are in the nature of checks on kingly power, we may be justified in presuming that the rulers were so accustomed to these restraints and they were such familiar contemporary facts that they were not omitted from the books forming part of brahmin literature. We make these general observations without any reference to the dates of the different works collectively called 'brahmin literature'. Some of them may have been composed after the Gupta period, but some were also composed before or during the Gupta period or cited during this period. And if the general testimony of brahmin literature be in favour of the conclusion that the Hindu monarchy was not absolute the presumption may be ventured that the political injunctions contained in Sanskrit works were not in all cases pious wishes.

There are idealists who show little practical capacity, and there are practical men who show very little power of formulating ideals. There are also some practical idealists. Whatever the case may be with individuals of peoples as collective entities it may perhaps be said that there has never been a people who have only formed ideals but never reduced them to practice or who have been very practical but without any idealism. In every country there has been some approximation to the ideals held up by its thinkers. There is no reason to think that India is the only country where the men with brains simply dreamed dreams and wrote utopias without there being any

body with either the desire or the power to give them concrete shape to some extent.

In all countries the history of literature shows that each age or epoch is marked by some prevailing tendency favouring the creation of some particular form of literature as the drama the novel the lyric, &c. The Sanskrit books on polity, canon law etc. which are the sources of our information regarding the political institutions and ideals of ancient India, were not all contemporary works. They did not belong to the same age. We cannot, therefore say that in one particular age it was the fashion for Sanskrit authors to indulge in pious wishes, as in the Elizabethan age it was the prevailing tendency for English authors to write plays. If, then, in different ages we find Hindu writers laying down rules regarding the duties of kings, ministers, &c. we must hold one of two theories (1) that the Hindu mind has been particularly fond of and prone to indulging in pious wishes age after age, in spite of their futility, or (2) that these rules were not all pious wishes but had some correspondence with objective reality.

In the past history of many countries we find that the supreme check on the tyranny of oppressive kings was their expulsion or deposition or regicide. And generally in the countries where these means were adopted lesser checks were also sought to be imposed on the monarchs. The history of England exemplifies our remark. In the ancient history of India, there are examples of bad kings being expelled, deposed or slain by their people. Is it quite unlikely that the people who were capable of putting an end to tyranny in this drastic manner, were also probably accustomed to the imposition of lesser restraints on kingly power?

Historical evidence corroborating brahmin literature is not entirely wanting. For instance the power of the ministers and the people to elect a king in certain cases mentioned in some Sanskrit works finds historical corroboration. From the poet historian Bana as well as from Huen Tsang we know how a successor was appointed to Rajya Vardhana, King of Kanauj. After the treacherous assassination of Rajya Vardhana by the King of Pundra, the Prime Minister Bhandu with the concurrence of the Council of Ministers and the approval of the people, placed Harshavardhana on the throne.

The island of Ceylon is, as regards the type and origin of its civilisation, a part of India. Any strictly historical proofs relating to the political institutions of Ceylon may, therefore, be presumed to confirm conclusions, regarding the existence of such institutions in ancient India, based on data furnished by Sanskrit works. The council of ministers with considerable powers, is thought to have been such an Indian institution. Now Dr Buerger has done his work —

\* From the Ceylon inscriptions we learn that in that island all measures were enacted by the king in Council and all orders were issued by and under the authority of the Council. In the *Vevala Katiya* inscription of Mahinda IV\*, for instance we find the following: "all these lords who sit in the Royal Council and who have come (together) in accordance with the mandate delivered (by the king in-Council) have promulgated these regulations. When any grant was made by the State to any individual or body a Council Warrant of Immunity was issued. In the *Madirigiriya* Pillar inscription of Kasyapa V (980-990 A.D.) we find the following passage: "Whereas it was so decreed by the Supreme Council we all of us Officers-of-State namely v. (five names) have come by Order and granted this Council warrant of immunity to the area. Sometimes Pillars of Council Warrant† were set up to inform people of the privileges granted to religious or other institutions. The appreciation of the importance of the Council by monarchs is shown by the Slab Inscription of Queen Lilabati where she says "By creating a council of wise brave and faithful ministers she has freed her own kingdom from the dangers (arising) from other kingdoms."

In some Sanskrit works details such as the constitution and work of village assemblies is given. Corroborative historical evidence is found in such inscriptions as those quoted by Sir C. Sankaran Nair in his article on village government in south India, contributed to the (March 1914) number of this Review. "Certain long inscriptions of Parantaka I are of especial interest to the students of village institutions by reason of the full details which they give of the manner in which local affairs were administered by well organised local committees or *panchayats*, exercising their extensive administrative and judicial powers under royal sanction" (V A Smith)

In a previous note we have referred to the fact that some details in Chanakya's *Arthashastra* are confirmed by Megasthenes

When some of the political deductions made from Sanskrit works are thus corroborated by the strictly historical evidence of inscriptions and of the writings of foreign travellers, it may not be improbable that the other deductions too are not entirely unwarranted.

It is not contended that the checks on kingly power which existed in ancient India in theory always actually succeeded in preventing the arbitrary exercise of power by kings. In fact, this does not seem to have been the case in any country. Take the case of England. Restraints on the power of the king existed in theory before the Great Charter was wrested from King John, before the civil war in Charles I's reign, before the revolution which placed William III on the throne, and at the time when some of the Georges acted like despotic kings. But the very fact that there have been revolutions in England shows that many British kings did not care much for the constitution. Still, we shall not be justified in describing any provisions of the British constitution as a pious wish. In contemporary India we find there are laws which are in practice treated as non-existent by some persons and classes. But that does not make them pious wishes. Of course, there is much difference between our ancient canon laws and *mitis* and modern western statute laws. What we take the liberty to suggest is that even if an injunction or rule was not followed or observed uniformly in every case, it might have been somewhat better than a pious wish, it might have been more binding.

These observations of ours are in no sense meant to be a substitute for a historical discussion. They are rather intended to evoke such discussion. We have a genuine and earnest desire to know our past history. Our past does not, of course, limit our present or future. But it is good to know our strength in the past, in order that we may be stronger in the present and the future, it is better still to know our failures and weaknesses in the past and the causes thereof, in order that we may apply the proper remedies. We are prepared to face the whole truth in the calm conviction that as we possess souls like other peoples we shall find nothing impossible of achievement in human affairs.

\* *Epigraphia Zeylanica* Vol I No 21

† *Epigraphia Zeylanica* Vol II No 6

‡ Vide Pillar inscription of Dappula Ep 2 Vol II No 8.

§ *Epigraphia Zeylanica* Vol I No 14

### Postings in the Archaeological Department

For the purposes of the Archaeological Department the Indian Empire is divided into six circles (1) Eastern circle comprising Assam Bengal Bihar and Orissa and Central Provinces (2) Burma (3) Northern circle comprising the United Provinces and the Punjab (4) Frontier circle consisting of the N W F Province (5) Western circle including the Bombay Presidency Rajputana and Central India and (6) Southern circle consisting of the Madras Presidency.

The University of Calcutta has appointed Mr Bhandarkar of the Western circle the Carmichael Professor of Indian History. There will therefore be a vacancy in his place. It is to be hoped that some competent Indian scholar will be appointed to fill the vacancy. Hitherto it seemed to be the fixed policy of the present Director General of Archaeology to recruit officers for the Department from among Europeans whose special fitness for their work was not quite apparent to outsiders. Draftsmanship miscell knowledge of architecture rather than archaeological attainments seemed to be the forte of many of these men. But the war having made the further pursuit of this policy impracticable Sir John Marshall has been obliged to make India his recruiting ground.

Some of his postings seem rather inexplicable. It cannot of course be the approved aim of any department in India to prove the Indians unfit for it. But as sometimes Sir John Marshall transfers a man from a province of which he knows much to a province of which he knows next to nothing such postings may result in proving that Indians are unfit for archaeological work. Of course Europeans being supermen can sometimes make a name in Indian archaeology without having any local knowledge or without knowing any of the dead or living languages of India. But Indians being ordinary mortals can work best in provinces of which they have some local knowledge and of which they know the vernaculars. Let us take a concrete example. Mr V. Natesa Aiyar was good for Madras. But he has been made Superintendent of the N W Frontier Province. Whatever knowledge of this province and its language Mr

Aiyar possesses he was no doubt more familiar with his own native province of Madras at any rate than the European officer who now fills his place there. This European gentleman we are informed is one of Sir John Marshall's glorified draftsmen. Should Mr Natesa Aiyar's transfer to the Frontier circle be taken as a precedent then the Muslim gentleman who is Assistant Superintendent in Delhi might be sent to Burma and Mr Tan Sein Ko be transferred to Delhi or Bombay. This would prove the incapacity of Indians though that may not be the object of the Director.

Bengal and Bihar should be saved from the fostering care of the author of the Zoroastrian Period of Indian History. Calcutta is supposed to be the headquarters of this gentleman though he seldom sets foot here,—not at any rate so long as he can help it. He resides at Bankipur where he is perpetually on tour and draws touring money throughout the year, besides the fat allowance he gets from Sir Ratan Tata for Zoroastrianizing the ruins of Pataliputra. This gentleman who is technically perpetually on tour is very much averse to touring. We hear that he is so busy with his excavation work that he can rarely make time to visit the ancient monuments the exploration and preservation of which form a principal part of his duties. For some unknown reason he was brought to Bankipur seven or eight years ago and during this period the only work he has produced is the Zoroastrian Period of Indian History which was criticised in this Review by Nimrod. His headquarters were transferred to Calcutta in 1913 so might do some important work in Calcutta Museum. All that he has done since practically amounts to touring allowance for himself and his by residing at Bankipur. The Government of India can save a good deal of public money by transferring this person to the Eastern circle to some other locality where his Zoroastrian propensities likely to be better appreciated.

### Nationalism and War

Speaking at a meeting of the League of Nations Society Lord Bryce said: General Smuts said that the war stamped into the hearts of millions of men and women the intense desire for a

order of things. The old order of things was now useless. All the treaties and optimism of the nineteenth century had ended in suffering and losses baffling description. It had been computed that eight million men had been slain in this war and a greater number permanently maimed. It had been stated that the casualties in this war were equal to the white population of the British Empire. If such wars were allowed to recur, the whole fabric of civilization would be endangered. It was time for action in the matter, not for folding hands and bending heads. If one hundredth part of the thought given to this war were given to peace, there would never be a war again. I believe that a passion for peace has been born in this war which will prove greater than any passions for gun or conquest and, as far as is humanly possible, such a war as this should never be tolerated again.

General Smuts struck the right note when he went on to observe: "However here is a danger in believing too much in realities until we have a radical change in the hearts of men. But, I think that change is coming." What that change is was indicated in the first Note in our last February number in the following paragraph:

Peace is des red—a lasting peace embracing all countries and peoples, civilised and uncivilised. How is this to be had? Prophets of love have said that there be good will to man there will be peace on earth. The Ishpanisat says:

Enjoy what He has given, do not covet anyone's wealth. There can be no quest on that the root cause of many wars and of the present war is greed of monarchs and nations wish to conquer in order to be able to take possession of the wealth of others, either by means of administration or of exploitation. Both the seeking of markets is often an euphemism for the desire to plunder. Many wars have also been caused by tribal, national or racial hatred. The prophets then have been true promoters of peace when they have laid stress on *mantra* or friendship to all and denounced greed and hatred. They have also tried to convince mankind that mere outward possessions cannot make one truly happy and happiness is an inward possession.

General Smuts laid down a correct proposition when he said: "Every nation must have the choice of its own destiny and not be cut and carved to please the great powers," but we do not know whether he fully realized the full implication of what he said. Is he prepared to follow this principle in the case of India, and support the demand of autonomy for

India? We hope he is. There can never be lasting peace nor the triumph of humane and just principles, unless statesmen give up the habit of even unconscious mental reservation and of formulating universal propositions which are meant to be applied only where they do not clash with self interest.

Speaking at the same meeting of the League of Nations Society Lord Hugh Cecil said that of late years European sentiment had retrogressed. "We felt a boundless devotion for our own country but had none for any other." He would like to see ministers of Christianity, of all denominations and in all countries foregather to enforce the principles that war and nationalism were inconsistent with Christianity. It cannot be gainsaid that nationalism has driven powerful independent nations to war and to the spoliation and oppression of foreign peoples, because the former felt a boundless devotion for their own country but had none for any other. In the case of dependent peoples, nationalism may mean simply a desire for national unity and freedom. This is a legitimate desire and does not clash with the real welfare of any other peoples. But when dependent or autocratically governed peoples obtain freedom and become strong, their nationalism may lead them to aggrandise themselves at the expense of other peoples. There was a time when Italy lay under the heels of her oppressor Austria. Italian nationalism was then a legitimate and beneficent desire for national unity and freedom. But what a strong, united and independent Italy has done in Tripoli cannot be supported by lovers of humanity. There was a time when Japan was autocratically governed. She then obtained a constitution and became strong. It cannot be said that her nationalism has not subsequently been injurious to the people of Korea.

There is some hope, however, that Russian nationalism will not result in any harm to any foreign peoples. The nationalism of the Russians has got rid of their Tsar. If the Revolution be not followed by any counter revolution, Russia will become stronger than before. How will she use that strength? The following passage from the *Nation* (London) gives some indication—

THE controversy over war aims came to a head this week. Mr. Mikuloff gave to the Press an extreme

having enabled the Britisher to see for himself what the Indian was like, "there would have been an unhesitating pronouncement by the British Government, especially a democratic government like that of Mr Lloyd George, that full self government should be granted to the people of India." That would have been a calamity from the point of view of the bureaucracy. They have therefore "utilised the presence of the delegates to the War Conference to put off the reforms which have become overdue." This is true to a great extent. The Indian "delegates" have been loudly advertised as the representatives of India and honoured and feted to a most suspicious extent. But we are not deceived. We would prefer an ounce of real political power to tons of honours and freedoms of cities and honorary university degrees.

### Mr Madhava Rao on the Bureaucracy

Members of the bureaucracy in India will not feel flattered to read what Mr Madhava Rao has said of them.

We must therefore concentrate our efforts on attacking the present system of bureaucracy and securing a truly Representative Government. It is only then we should have a solution of the questions that are now agitating the public mind whether in the region of trade commerce agriculture and finance or education and sanitation. The Bureaucracy has been tried and been found wanting. We must now ask to be brought face to face with the British Democracy who should take up our case and free us from the Rule of the Bureaucracy.

The Bureaucracy has stood between us and the British Nation and should be told to step aside and allow us to place our case before the supreme authority in England.

Great things were expected from the assumption of direct sovereignty by the Crown. But the only result has been the growth of a powerful Bureaucracy which no public opinion in this country can check and over which no effective control is exercised by Parliament at home.

This Bureaucracy instead of forwarding the cause of self government has put every obstacle in its way. It opposed the measures of Lord Ripon in regard to local self government and equal treatment to Indians and Europeans thirty five years ago. It opposed the Minto-Morley Reforms which gave extended powers to the Legislative Councils both Imperial and Provincial. Every effort to give Indians a larger number of appointments in the higher grades of the service has been obstructed.

If the Bureaucracy had discharged its trust properly endeavoured to carry out the policy of the British Nation that India was to be governed solely for the benefit of the Indians and that Indians should be trained for occupying all positions of trust and responsibility, we should have the expedition to

Mesopotamia entrusted to an Indian, say a man like the Maharajah of Bikanir, and Indians made largely responsible for the mobilization of resources in money and material which the Viceroy has so graphically described in his speech at Lahore. As it is, we have the privilege of supplying fighting men, camp followers, munitions and foodstuffs, supplies and stores but their ordering is all in the hands of the Bureaucracy. This was not so in the times of the Indian Rajahs and Padshahs of old. Akbar sent Ray Todar Mall and Raja Man Singh to put down a insurrection in the Khyber and the latter, I believe, went to Kabul and was appointed its Governor. Where is there scope for an Indian now to rise to such distinguished positions under the Bureaucracy?

The Bureaucracy has neglected and mismanaged things so badly that, when a crisis like the present War arises, India in spite of her earnest desire to give every support to the Mother-country find herself unable to do all she can in helping England in men and material. This aspect of the question has been well brought out in General Sir O. Moore Creagh's letter where he says that if the Provincial Autonomy recommended by Lord Hardinge in 1911 had been granted the help would have been immensely greater. The fact is the Bureaucracy will not allow full scope being given to the schemes of Self Government ever as they are.

The speaker urges that "just as after the Mutiny the British Nation took away the Government from the hands of the company, so now, they will have to replace the Bureaucracy by popular institutions and entrust the administration to the people themselves under the suzerainty of the British Nation."

### Tinkering will not do

Mr Madhava Rao is not a believer in tinkering or administrative patch work. He says "Any reform to be made should aim at a complete change in the character of the government and there should be no such thing as a gradual extension of self government. The Provinces will have to be re-grouped according to the chief languages spoken in them. The machinery of government should not be on the costly scale that we have now and popular control over the executive should be secured."

### Political Capacity of even illiterate Indians

From his own personal knowledge and experience, Mr Madhava Rao bears testimony to the political capacity of different classes of Indians, from the illiterate ryots upwards. Speaking of the Mysore Representative Assembly he says



The members drawn from the agricultural and commercial communities entered into the spirit of the institution almost from the first day and the working of the assembly has, in addition to bringing the government in direct touch with the people, their wants and wishes has been of the utmost value in educating the people in methods of self government. Within a few years it was made entirely elective. I had the privilege of taking part in its proceedings in one capacity or another almost from the beginning of the institution, for a period of 25 years until my retirement as Dewan in 1909. The intelligence, sobriety and self-restraint with which the subjects were discussed and the wishes of the people urged before the government would have convinced any responsible Ruler of the capacity of the Indians to manage their own affairs. The discussions were conducted in the vernacular of the State. The qualifications were fixed sufficiently low to admit of as large a proportion of the population as possible being represented. I think there were some illiterate patels or village headmen among them, but the illiteracy did not mean any inability to understand the principles of government or inability to enter one's sentiments.

Further on he says: "I have known many a ryotwari holder who did not know English, but who could discuss public questions with great ability and knowledge." He bears equally emphatic testimony to the successful working of the Mysore Legislative Council. Regarding the Travancore Popular Assembly he says—

From the moment the Assembly was brought together, the keen interest the members took in it and the enthusiasm which the very idea of people being consulted regarding the measures of government aroused in them was a sight which would have rejoiced the heart of any well-wisher of his country. The Assembly has in later years afforded a striking proof of the aptitude of the people to share in the responsibilities of administration.

He bestows similar praise on the Legislative Council in Baroda.

### Political Enthusiasm and Caste

There is a passage in Mr. Madhava Rao's address which shows how political enthusiasm weakens caste prejudices. It is long but worth quoting.

The first meeting of the Assembly is instructive as showing how people when under the influence of ideas which are connected with their participation in the Councils of the Government, can and do rise above long standing caste and sectarian and creedal prejudices. Travancore it is well known, is the country where distinctions of caste are observed in their crudest and offensive forms. The class of agricultural and trading communities known as llavas or Thiyas belonged to the untouchable category, but under the rules framed for election which were entirely based on property qualification, an appreciable number of them had been found qualified and had actually been elected. On the day of the first meeting of the Assembly the members had all collected in the outer verandah of the hall of the

meeting. There were Brahmins, Nairs, Methans (as the local Mahomedans were called) and Syrian Christians and other Christians and llavas. The officer in charge of the arrangements, Mr. Sankara Menon, Dewan Peisbar, came to me in a great state of mind and asked me how in view of the untouchability of some of the castes the seats of the members were to be arranged. I said he need not be anxious. The enthusiasm among the men was so great and the novelty of the thing had so possessed the minds of the people that they would have no time to think of these distinctions. In matters of this kind it was best not to appear to take notice of them and if he allowed the members to enter the hall as the names were called out things would adjust themselves without our attempting to regulate them. The thing happened just as I predicted. A Brahmin and a Nair and an llava and a Methan and a Christian were sitting side by side and all were too eager to know what was going to happen to give any thought as to who the man seated next to them was. Thus the untouchability of the llava was got over and since then I hear Travancore has achieved what has been found impossible even in the less intolerant Provinces of the Deccan and Gujerat. Pariah and Pulayan boys are attending the Elementary Schools in which caste boys are under instruction. This together with the movement which is in active operation throughout India for the elevation of the Depressed Classes should at once silence those who ignore the effect of political privileges in uplifting lower classes from a state of caste and social degradation.

### Declaration of the Aim of British Policy in India

It has been suggested that the British Government should make an immediate pronouncement on the subject of self government for India and make an authoritative declaration of the aim of British policy in India. The Times of London supports this suggestion. We do not think it necessary to offer uncompromising opposition to the idea, though there is the almost certain danger of a certain class of men booming such a mere declaration of policy, when made, as a far greater political privilege bestowed upon Indians than the political power which the people of Russia have won by the revolution. So far as declarations, proclamations and expressions of sympathy and good intentions go, there has never been any dearth of them. But they have produced a soporific effect on the British conscience. We, therefore, now want that the British people should rather be slow to promise but quick to perform. And we also want that before fresh promises are made, performance should overtake those already made.

### Critics Criticised.

In the very able, outspoken and well-informed address which Mr. V. S. Srinivasa

Sastri delivered as president of the Bombay Provincial Conference, he subjected Sir Michael O'Dwyer and Lord Sydenham to well deserved criticism. Here is a passage

Neither Lord Sydenham nor His Honour Sir Michael O'Dwyer can pause in their proxyism of indignation to distinguish between Savadshism and Sinn Féinism between constitutional agitation and anarchist conspiracy between the enthusiastic Congressman and the fanatic bomb-thrower. You are a saint and the Lieutenant Governor of the Punjab and your speech is wisdom. But if I fancy that other people misunderstand you I will shut you up and no mistake. Some assassin took a well thumbed copy of the Gita to the gallows that sacred book thenceforward fell under official displeasure. A revolutionary pamphlet contained a quotation from Mazzini no owner of his works was thereafter free from suspicion. A professor in a town supposed to be infected with sedition delighted in expounding Burke to his pupils the father of English conservatism was thereupon condemned as unfit for University curricula. Lord Sydenham the angel of innocence whose educational zeal the perverse Bombay University mistook for political jealousy sought happily in vain to banish English History from the course of studies for the graduate's degree because forsooth the virtues of patriotism love of freedom and brave citizenship which it inculcates are unsuited to Indian youth who must be trained up in the way of submission servility and apocryphancy. Doings like these defeat their own object and create the very evil they are intended to cure. Sir Michael O'Dwyer bade us the other day cease from our propaganda lest it should lead impatient youth to the commission of crime. May we out of gratitude for this lesson in political science remind His Honour and those who think like him that unbalance speeches like his ran the faith of the public in the progressive and benevolence of British rule leave the constitutional politician without a following and swell the ranks of the revolutionary school of thought? The mild Congressmen in India do not need this sort of homily. We have perer organized armed resistance to lawful authority and threatened open insurrection though the career of Sir Edward Carson is not exactly a lesson in the duty of loyal submission to the decrees of Parliament. We do not intend any attempt to overthrow by force the established Government of the land and hope that no revolutionaries in the country have been led to believe that if they succeeded the House of Commons and the Premier of England would send them an enthusiastic and fervid greeting.

### Compulsory Education

In connection with the subject of compulsory education, however, Mr. Srinivasa Sastri spoke in appreciative terms of what Sir Michael O'Dwyer intended to do for his Province observing

I welcome with the liveliest pleasure the announcement made the other day by Sir Michael O'Dwyer that his Government would entertain proposals coming from municipal and local boards for making elementary education compulsory provided they had the support of public opinion and were willing to bear

the responsibility of working the compulsory system. I serve the trust that the announcement was made with the sanction of the Government of India whose attitude of *non possumus* has hitherto discouraged other Governments from lending any countenance to the attempts made by our representative in local legislatures in this direction. In this presidency the popular movement sustained a repulse from the Government a few months ago. But the glad news from the Punjab will put heart into the champions of popular education and I feel sure that my redoubtable friend the Hon. Mr. Patel will renew his attack and I should not wonder if the Government of Bombay made terms with him with a view to eventual surrender. I trust that H. E. Lord Willingdon will leave behind him a memorial in the form of a small Act in favour of compulsory attendance of children of this presidency before he leaves office next year. It is possible however that I am rejoicing too soon and I would therefore appeal to the leaders and local bodies of this presidency not to relax their efforts in the least.

### Wanted Political Power

In another part of his address Mr. Sastri made it quite clear that what he wanted was not merely the opportunity to express our opinions on all matters of public interest, but political power, the power to manage and control our own affairs.

### "Reciprocity"

While expressing satisfaction that the Imperial War Conference "unanimously approved of the principle of reciprocity between the Dominions and India and commended the memorandum presented by our representatives on our position in those countries to the favourable consideration of the Dominion Governments," Mr. Sastri very properly observed "till we know the text of the memorandum, we can have no idea what 'reciprocity' connotes and cannot judge the exact gain to our credit."

### Internal and External Freedom

In the special Imperial Conference proposed to be held immediately after the war, India as well as the Dominions should, according to a resolution of the Imperial War Conference, have an adequate voice in the determination of foreign policy and foreign relations. "So far so good," says Mr. Sastri. But, he proceeds to ask, "What about this other principle, that any readjustment should recognise the Dominions as autonomous nations of the Imperial Commonwealth and India as an important portion

## NOTES

thereof? Does it mean that our representatives have consented to an arrangement which even in the future will place India on an inferior level to the Dominions? Or does it mean, that though India may see no change in her internal constitution she will enjoy, so far as the Commonwealth is concerned, equal status with the self governing Dominions? These questions involving the question of India's internal autonomy and external equality with the other parts of the Empire, with the relative importance of these two items of political progress, Mr Sastri discusses with great ability, originality and correct information. We regret space prevents us from quoting the discussion.

### "Prosperous yet Discontented."

Some of our Anglo Indian critics profess to be surprised that, though India has in their opinion progressed and prospered under British rule, we should still criticise bureaucratic rule and want self rule. We need not here discuss whether there is increasing material prosperity in the country, nor whether progress in other directions has been as great as in other oriental countries during a shorter period than the period of British rule in India. Taking it for granted that we have progressed and prospered adequately what Mr Sastri says ought to be a convincing reply to our critics.

Only a few days ago in a debate on the condition of Ireland both Mr Asquith and Mr Lloyd George referred to the material prosperity that the Irish enjoyed but neither of them wondered at the serious discontent of that people. Hear what the Prime Minister said. I want to show that the discontent of Ireland is not material but still there remains one invincible fact after all this great record of beneficial legislation—in spite of the fact that Ireland is more materially prosperous than she has ever been there remains the one invincible fact to-day that she is no more reconciled to British rule than she was in the days of Cromwell. It proves that the grievance is not a material one it is something which has to do with the pride and self respect of the people. I entreat the House of Commons and the British people to get that well into their minds. It is a fact which must be grasped by the House of Commons or by any Government which means to attempt a settlement of this question. On a later occasion Mr Bonar Law emphasised the same truth. I know what the views of Nationalist members are and I do not agree with my noble friend that the only thing you have to think of with respect to the government of Ireland is to set up a government that will govern in the best way. I do not think so at all. I think that very often a very bad form of government if it is with the consent and good will of the people governed, will work infinitely better than a

much better system without that consent and good will.

We may add that in a letter contributed to the London *Times* of March 26, Mr J G Swift MacNeill, M P, quoted Mr Gladstone's utterance on April 9th, 1886 in the course of which he said "England tried to pass good laws for the colonies, but the colonists said 'We do not want your good laws we want our own'. We admitted the reasonableness of that principle and it is now coming home to us from across the seas. We have to consider whether it is applicable to the case of Ireland." Is it not also applicable to the case of India?

In the extract given above, Mr Bonar Law may or may not have meant to imply that a very bad form of government can have the consent and good will of the people governed, but such consent and good will are scarcely possible. Taking everything into consideration popular self rule on a representative basis is always better than the best forms of other rule.

### "Step by Step"

Mr Sastri has shown that our legislative councils constituted in 1853, "worked for eight years before the first Indian found entry into them by nomination."

Thirty years passed before the next step was taken a period within which other peoples found it possible to begin and consummate their political evolution. This step consisted of a slight increase of non official Indians some of whom came in by a subsidiary process of election not recognised in law. Seventeen more years passed before election became a reality and the provincial legislatures had a majority of non-officials which has proved a delusion and a snare. What is the next step to be and when will it be taken? Perhaps we should get an elected majority in two years more that is ten years after the last reform. Of course this majority would be bare and utterly ineffective. To make it decisive at least one decade would be necessary. Our mentors would then take us in successive decades through such fractions as two-thirds three-fourths four-fifths till in another half a century we might have a wholly elective legislature in the advanced provinces. Of course a longer period would be required for the Indian Legislative Council and the Councils of the backward provinces to reach this level.

Referring to our progress as regards the public service Mr Sastri has shown that

"Eighty four years after statutory affirmation of our equality we are still looking forward to getting something between a fourth and a third of the chief administrative posts in our own country. And the whole history is marked by noble sentiments and promises backsliding bitter recrimination and paltry and graceless concerns on Can a people who

have endured this sort of thing be accused of seeking to introduce catastrophic or revolutionary changes or effect a sudden upheaval and a startling transfer of political authority into ignorant and inexperienced hands?

### Imperial Preference

Regarding Imperial Preference Mr Sastri remarked

To add to our misgivings a recent cablegram reports a unanimous recommendation of the Imperial War Conference in favour of a system of Imperial Preference. This would mean if anything that India's fiscal freedom would be greatly crippled and that she could not fully protect her cotton industry against the ruinous competition of Lancashire and that she might be compelled to sell her produce to England for prices lower than those that she might command outside the Empire. Some years before when the same question was raised under the name of preferential tariffs the Government of Lord Curzon proved almost uncontestedly that India would be placed at a heavy disadvantage under such a system.

India is principally a producer of raw materials. Before the war all countries of the world could purchase these from her on equal terms and she was also able to drive bargains with all countries unhindered. But after the war should a system of Imperial Preference be introduced, India is bound to lose many customers. The system would probably mean that on exports to any part of the British Empire there would be no duty or a small duty, on exports to the present allied countries a heavier duty on exports to neutral countries still heavier duties and on exports to what are now enemy countries heaviest duties of all. There would, therefore, be on the part of the allied, neutral and enemy countries a strong tendency to seek for or grow in other countries the raw stuff hitherto taken from India. Therefore India would lose many customers. At the same time no part of the British Empire would be bound to purchase anything from India. If, for instance, England could get wheat or cotton cheaper from America than from India she would purchase there. All these circumstances would combine to compel the Indian producer either to sell his stuff at very cheap rates to British Empire customers or to allow them to rot or both. This would in time reduce the area and volume of production in India. Therefore Imperial preference would be a very great economic blow to India as regards her exports. As regards imports she has hitherto bought in the cheapest markets. As

after the war under the system of Imperial Preference manufactures from parts of the British Empire, allied countries, neutral countries would be subjected to an ascending scale of duties, India would perforce have to purchase the costlier British or colonial made article instead of the cheaper thing made elsewhere, as the price of the latter would be artificially enhanced by means of higher duties. The competition of all the manufacturing countries of the world has destroyed Indian industries and is preventing their revival. Hitherto we have had, however, the melancholy satisfaction of buying from those destroyers of our industries who could produce the cheapest things. But even that consolation may hereafter be denied to us.

In this connection we would draw the attention of our readers to the note on "Economic War after the War" in our last January number, p. 125.

### Two Calcutta University Syndicate Resolutions.

The minutes of the syndicate of the Calcutta University for July 7, 1916, contain the following item on page 9

28. Read applications from Nimacharan Maitra and Manikumar Mukherjee who appeared at the M. A. Examination in 1914 praying that the order of the Syndicate regarding the case may be favourably reconsidered.

Resolved—

That Nimacharan Maitra and Manikumar Mukherjee be permitted to appear at any University Examinations in 1919 or subsequent years.

The "case" of these two candidates, not described in these minutes, was that they had used unfair means for passing the M. A. Examination. Nimai Charan Maitra is we believe, a son of the Assistant Registrar of the University, and Mani is Nimai's friend. Details of their case were given in the *Modern Review* for June 1916, pp. 643-644. They are now permitted to appear at any University examinations in 1919 or subsequent years. We do not know of any such consideration having been previously shown to any other similar offenders. But as we are not believers in everlasting damnation we think the syndicate has done well in showing mercy. But in the minutes for the same date, p. 17, we come across a similar application with a different result.

56. Read an application from Birendranath who having used unfair means at the B. A. Examination in 1913 was debarred from presenting again.

Examination of this University praying that, in consideration of the facts stated therein he may be permitted to appear at the next B A Examination as a non-collegiate student with Sanskrit and Honours as the combination of his subjects, and enclosing certificates in support of his application

That the consideration of the application be postponed to the next meeting of the Syndicate

It will be noted that here the offence of the applicant is described, no such tenderness being shown to him as has been shown to Nimal and his friend. It will also be noted that this applicant appeared at an examination in 1913, whereas the other two had appeared in 1914, so that he has already been debarred from an examination for a period one year longer than the other two, therefore he should have been shown mercy at least at the same time with them, if not earlier. But the consideration of his application was postponed to the next meeting. And what happened at the next meeting? The minutes for the 15th July, p. 86, show that it was resolved "that copies of the application be circulated to the Members of the Syndicate." We do not know whether this was done, but so far as our information goes, the application has not yet been finally disposed of.

### Please be more prompt

A student of the second year class of a mofussil college in Bengal, failing to attend the necessary percentage of lectures, applied to the University on the 18th January through his principal to be allowed to appear at the I A examination as a private candidate. For the sake of brevity we omit the subsequent details of the story and mention at once the final fact that the boy received a telegram from the Registrar on the 31st March that he was permitted to appear at the examination. But the examination had begun on the 19th March and ended on the 30th. As going backwards is possible in space, impossible in time, the permission granted by the University must remain emblazoned in history as one of those expressions of sympathy and good intentions which lead to nothing.

### War, and Nationality and Trade

Referring to the formation of the British "League of Nations Society," at a meeting of which General Smuts, Lord Hugh Cecil and others spoke, as noted before, The Nation asks "Can we secure peace by an abstract argument to set up arbitra-

tion or conciliation, and enforce delay? Must there not be some general agreement on the threshold about the main causes of war, nationality and trade?" Nationality has obviously been used here in the sense of "nationalism, devotion or strong attachment to one's own nation or country." How the aggressive nationalism of independent nations seeking to aggrandise themselves or the nationalism of dependent peoples struggling to be free, can lead to war, has been repeatedly exemplified in history. The desire to be the strongest and richest nation in the world is also a cause of war. We have discussed the question of nationalism and war in a previous note. By "trade" as a cause of war, the Nation evidently means commercialism and industrialism. One cause of war is undoubtedly the desire to secure new markets by conquest. When manufacturing nations directly or indirectly prevent other nations from starting industries of their own, or destroy the industries of the latter by some means or other, such methods are also probable causes of war. Jealousy regarding markets is also such a cause. The industrial success of most manufacturing nations depends on large scale production. And such large scale production is undertaken on the assumption that the greater part of mankind must forever remain buyers. Should they try to become producers, industrial nationalism must frustrate their attempts. This shows how modern industrialism rests on an unrighteous and insecure basis and is, therefore, a cause of war. The history of how rubber was successfully collected in the Congo Free State and the history of other similar industries, show that some industries may directly involve cruelty and suffering like war.

### Lieutenant Colonel K. R. Kirtikar.

Lieutenant colonel K. R. Kirtikar, I. M. S., retired, who recently breathed his last, was, besides being a physician and teacher of repute, a noted botanist who had done some original work in the science he loved. The last work he did was in collaboration with his friend Major B. D. Basu, I. M. S., retired, in giving to the world their elaborate and copiously illustrated production on *Indian Medicinal Plants*. He presided over the Ayurvedic Sammelan held at Muttra, U. P. Old subscribers of the *Modern*

Review will remember the series of articles he wrote on the teaching of science in the Indian universities. Dr Kirtikar also cultivated the art of writing poetry.

### Revolutions in England

It is a superstition with Englishmen that they are a very conservative people. They are proud of this fact. And though in English history there have been revolutions and though during the course of the present war there have been not one but several revolutionary changes and English statesmen of all parties have warmly acclaimed the Russian revolution the rulers of India would have us believe that the British people are incapable of making or appreciating any but very slow changes and that in the whole world India is the only country where any change that does not suit the bureaucracy must produce cataclysms.

That we have not been reading revolutions into contemporary English history will appear from the following extracts from Sir Edward Carson's speech at a luncheon of the British Empire Producers Organisation.

Let them not imagine that there was no revolution going on in this country and the Empire. True His Majesty was never more safely and securely seated on the throne than at present. (Cheers) Look at the almost automatic innovation of the Imperial War Cabinet. People talked wildly of Imperial Federalism not knowing what it would mean. The meeting of the Council of the Empire as a cabinet from year to year to discuss the Empire's executive matters was the nearest approach at the moment that we could get to the ideals at which we were aiming. There was a revolution in the Empire. At home the Franchise Bill was itself a great revolution.

This Franchise Bill would add eight million voters to the rolls of electors and six millions of these new voters would be women.

Sir Edward Carson proceeded

Labour would never again be satisfied nor ought it to be satisfied, in the same condition as before the war. I sat out in the number that had sent out was laying the foundations of our future progress mainly on our present liberties and must have the world not call it reward but its fair share in the body politic.

One example may be given of what the present ministry has done in England in spite of the preoccupation of the war. *New India* writes

Problems which in peace times excited very keen controversy extend over years have been settled almost by a stroke of the pen during the present War

in England and in its latest issue *the New Statesman* invites attention to one such reform, the promise of a minimum wage to labourers on the land. The present Cabinet brush aside all past controversies have promised a minimum price for British grove products and at the same time promised a minimum wage of 20s per week to the labourers. These two steps will compel the return of a large section of the British population to the land and will thus materially increase the amount of home grove foodstuffs. At the same time the nation will have to pay no higher price than it will have to pay under the system of free trade. This is surely a revolution of a very far-reaching character and the present Government has been profusely congratulated on the excellence of its scheme except of course by the few rich who scandalously think that their interests require the perpetual poverty of labourers.

And that Sir Edward Carson, leader of the Ulster party, should exhort people not to make an idol of imperialism, is in itself a revolution.

Let us not talk too much of imperialism continued Sir Edward Carson. To some it rather idealises domination to others it means aggression and to others it means exploitation of the people for the benefit of the few or of capitalists. You must get rid of that out of their minds. You must rather teach them of the Empire and the greatness in which each unit is a help and strength to other units.

### Leakage of Calcutta University Question Papers

The committee appointed by the Calcutta University senate to investigate the leakage of questions has been reconstituted though we have not been told definitely whether the old committee still exists. As Dr Kedarnath Das said at a senate meeting the preliminary report of the old committee 'represents the views of four out of seven members of the committee. Although signed by five one of them did not attend any of the meetings.' Why does the senate appoint members who cannot or do not care to attend meetings? It is to be hoped that it is not dodge. And why do such members accept office at all? They ought at once to decline the honour as soon as they are appointed.

Anders has got abroad, not without reason that the work of the committee is not being done with as much energy and expedition as is desirable and practicable, and that it is feared that it may drag its slow length along until the university commission commences its work in November, when the far greater importance of the latter may, by monopolising public attention make it easy to shelve the question of the leakage. Already the delay may have done

irretrievable harm. And that delay may be a cause of failure has been admitted by the committee itself. For in explaining its inability to catch the thieves who stole the first Matriculation questions it was asserted that the enquiry was taken up too long after the event. We hope the University and the committee have taken all possible steps to prevent the concealment or destruction of evidence or clues which may lead to the detection of the criminals. No one, of course, yet knows definitely whether, as enumerated in the *Prabasi* for March, the theft took place in the press, on the way from the press to the University office, in that office itself, along the postal lines or at any post office, or at any centre, or at the residences of any of the paper-setters. But of all these places, the university office is completely under the control of the University. And, therefore, we suggested in the *Prabasi* for March that all those officers of the University who could possibly have handled the papers should have been suspended pending the enquiry, as was done by the Allahabad University on a similar occasion. We do not, of course, dogmatically assert that any men in the University office have been placing any obstacles in the way of the enquiry or concealing or destroying evidence, but, business being business, all possibilities of any such description ought to have been guarded against at the outset. There is no harm in being over-suspicious and over-careful in such matters, not with a view to punish innocent men, but in order to make the enquiry successful. The following facts mentioned by Dr. S. P. Sarbadhary at a senate meeting, as reported by the *Englishman*, are not calculated to inspire confidence.

Dr. S. P. Sarbadhary in supporting the amendment, said that it seemed to him that this report was the play of Hamlet, with Hamlet left out. From his personal knowledge, he was able to say that when the report was signed and circulated some of the most important facts connected with the leakage had not been brought prominently to the notice of the Committee. For instance, there was a communication from the Director of Public Instruction, Burma, to the Registrar, to the effect that a sealed cover reached his house purporting to contain certain question papers, but which, when opened, was found to contain nothing. Here was a fact on the record.

Sir Asutosh: It was not on record at the time.

Dr. S. P. Sarbadhary: That is my impression, that it was on record.

Sir Asutosh: I contradict that.

Dr. S. P. Sarbadhary: If it was not on record, it

has got also to be investigated as to why it was not on record when the Registrar knew that such a damaging communication had been received.

Continuing, Dr. Sarbadhary said that there was another fact which also required their serious consideration, that some centres received covers containing question papers in such a damaged condition that they ought to have aroused suspicion.

It was certainly very important to discover which officer of the University actually despatched the cover to the D. P. L. Burma.

Incidentally, one may be curious to know how, seeing that Sir Asutosh is no longer the Vice-Chancellor, he was in a position to contradict Dr. Suresh Prosad. Does the University office or any of its officers supply Sir Asutosh with information which is not at the same time placed at the disposal of the other members of the committee?

We suggest that the members of the committee should personally inspect the strong room and the safes where question papers are kept. But perhaps the suggestion is already too late. We hope, members of the committee are keeping their own notes of the proceedings. We suggest this precaution, as we personally know of reports of committees which were in some points at variance with either the evidence, or even with some of the conclusions arrived at at committee meetings. Of course, we do not assert that any such thing will happen in the present case, but we only advise caution.

Though Dr. Kedarnath Das's amendment was lost, we hope when the committee submits any report or reports in future, it will embody "therein full information as to the method adopted for carrying on the enquiry, the number of meetings held, the names of members present at each meeting, the names of persons examined, interviewed or communicated with, the letters, the answers to questions put to them and any other allied matters."

It was very urgent that the Matriculation examination should be conducted, in July next, without a hitch. And for that a special officer with a special staff has been appointed. Beyond this, there was no need to proceed, and that in a hurry, before the receipt of the final report of the committee. And, as rightly pointed out by Dr. Das, if the recommendations of

committee be quite different from those of the old committee it would be very embarrassing for the senate to take fresh action. The appointment of a Controller of examinations even for three years was uncalled for at this stage and gives an impression of a crisis a panic and a hurry which facts do not warrant. As we indicated in our last number there is no proof that the Registrar's work has become unmanageably heavy or that it has become so in this particular year for the first time. Besides it is known that by the appointment of a secretary to the Post graduate council the Registrar's work was already going to be made lighter. However as the Senate has resolved to appoint a controller we hope a man of unquestionable ability and integrity like Babu Girish Chandra Mukherji will be appointed. Were there not a penchant for superannuated European registrars a man like him would have been quite able as Registrar to carry on all the work of the university satisfactorily without any addition to the staff.

We cannot approve of the decision. That in future no paper should be printed in this country. It may be necessary to take such a step for one year as an emergency measure even though there may be no proof that questions leaked out from a local press but to cast a slur upon the honesty and capacity of all printing concerns in the country for ever, is both unjustifiable and intolerable. Other countries do not get their question papers printed abroad and the secret printing of secret state documents here and the fact that budget statements do not leak out untimely, show that capacity and honesty are not absolutely wanting in the country.

### Government of India Resolution on the Indian Defence Force

The resolution of the Government of India on the inadequate enrolment of Indians in the Defence Force was neither called for nor statesmanlike. A Government which arraigns the people under its care also arraigns itself. The people may be to blame but the past and present policy of Government are also to blame. It is no use telling us that it is not possible to make momentous changes such as the granting of King's commissions to Indians the augmentation of the pay and allowan-

ces of Indian soldiers &c. during a crisis like the present war. Our opinion is that the very fact of the war necessitated such changes and that they are not at all impracticable during the period of the war, is shown by the many revolutionary changes already made and in course of being made in England where the preoccupation of the war is far far greater than here.

Government ought to have recognised that it was itself responsible for the delay in the publication of the rules and in the supply of forms of application for enrolment. We have shown in our March number why Englishmen sojourning in India and Indians ought to have been treated alike. There was in any case no justification for making any distinction between Eurasians and Indians or between Indian Christians with English names and other Indians. There was also no reason why Indian lads between 16 and 18 should not have been given a training like European Eurasian and English named Indian Christian lads. Nothing ought to have been done to damp the enthusiasm of our youth. On the contrary everything ought to have been done to arouse increase and sustain their enthusiasm—particularly as the large number of internments has had a very irritating and depressing effect upon their minds. We lay so much stress on enthusiasm as it is not the elderly men guided by the political calculations of present or future advantage to the nation who were expected to join the force but warm blooded youngmen who are impelled by their ardour.

Men join the army either because it offers a career, or because patriotism enthusiasm for the Empire leads them to become soldiers. The Defence Force is not meant for the classes from which soldiers are ordinarily recruited. It is meant for the gentry the *bladri lok* or the *suphed* *posh* classes. But the army has long ceased to offer them a career. What Kaye and Mallett wrote in their *History of the Sepoy Mutiny* about the conditions existing more than half a century ago, is still true today.

As the degradation of the native officer was accomplished the whole character of the Sepoy army was thus changed. It ceased to be a profession in which men of high position accustomed to comfort and easy life aspired to and expended the resources of their families. All distinctions were effaced native service of the Company came down to -



level of common soldiering, and rising from the ranks a painfully slow process to merely nominal There was employment for the many there was no longer a career for the few Thenceforth, therefore, we dug out the materials of our army from lower strata of society,

The gentry of the land having been long unaccustomed to think of the army as a career, have ceased to have soldierly inclinations and have largely taken to other fields of work There remains, then, the question of enthusiasm The Government resolution refers to the British territorial working under the same conditions of pay, &c, as the common British soldier But the British Empire does not mean the same thing to Britishers and Indians The former are masters and citizens of the Empire, whereas the latter are its servants and subjects The hope held out that we may in some dim and distant future become partners in the Empire is not likely to arouse prospective or anticipatory enthusiasm to any very large extent or high degree But we have written so often and so much on this and allied subjects, that it would be sufficient to draw our readers' attention to some of our previous notes and articles. Vide note on "Bengalis and Soldiership", October, 1916, on "Recruiting in Bengal", December, 1916, on "Man power and the Franchise", January, 1917, article on the Nemesis of Distrust", March, 1917, notes on "the Defence of India Force," "Political Status and Man power," "We Welcome the Defence Force Idea," "Indian Cadets, etc, March, 1917, and the note on "Indian Commandants for Indian Troops," April, 1917

In conclusion may we venture to add that people cannot be scolded into offering their lives for the Empire?

Dr Indu Madhab Mallick

Dr Indu Madhab Mallick, M.A., B.L., M.D., whose untimely death is announced in the papers, was one of the leading physicians of Calcutta and a student with a remarkable academic career He took his M.A. degree in five subjects successively, and was, besides, a Bachelor in Law, and an M.D. Study was with him a passion He had travelled extensively both in the East and the West, and the accounts of his travels in Bengal found eager readers He was a sincere and enthusiastic social reformer He took considerable interest in the welfare of students, and did much to draw the attention of the public to the

conditions of life which affected the health of the student population of Calcutta He was known to the public as the inventor of the "Ice Mic Cooker"

### Students and Politics

The Madras circular ordering students not to have anything to do with political movements, meetings, discussions, etc, goes much further than the Risley circular. New India has printed the two, side by side, as follows

#### THE LATEST CIRCULAR

The disciplinary regulations of the Madras Educational Rules already contain certain directions on the subject. It has, however, been represented to the Government that the directions in this chapter are insufficient to meet the present situation and that it is necessary to supplement them by further instructions. The Government therefore have directed that no under graduate student in any college and no pupil in any school shall be permitted to take part in public political discussion, to attend political meetings to join any political association or to take part in any movement with which it is in the opinion of the educational authorities undesirable that persons still in statu pupillari shall be associated. The Government have desired heads of Colleges and Schools, whether under public management or otherwise, to strictly enforce these directions. In doing so they should have regard not merely to the declared purpose of a meeting, but also to the speakers who will address it

#### THE RISLEY CIRCULAR

(1) Graduate and under graduate students on the rolls of the colleges under public management are forbidden to take an active part in political agitation directed against the authority of the Government. Principals may further at their discretion forbid students to engage prominently in any public movement with which it seems undesirable that persons in statu pupillari should be associated

(2) If students of such colleges attend political meetings and there conduct themselves in any manner which is forbidden or unbecoming or engage in political agitation in such a way as to interfere with the corporate life and educational work of the college, the Principal of the college may suspend or expel them or refuse the grant of term certificates for a specified period and may also report their case to the University with the view of their being dealt with under Regulation 96 of the University Regulations

[These rules applied only to Colleges under public, i.e., Government management and only indirectly to other Colleges]

Mere school boys need not attend political meetings, though we do not think that it does them any harm to be present at meetings and hear speeches which are allowed by the law. As for college students, it is a part of their education to be acquainted with the trend of all movements, political, social, &c, just as it is necessary for them to study history. Contemporary and other movements are his

making. It is necessary for

just as it is for British students to be equipped for their future work by acquiring direct personal knowledge of contemporary movements as far as they can without detriment to their studies which constitute their chief work. We want our students to have as much to do with politics as British students have. We do not of course want them to take active part in political agitation or propaganda. But though they do not and ought not to attend the congress the conferences &c. as delegates they may certainly attend as listeners. Their work as volunteers at these gatherings is a valuable training in patriotic service.

That an atmosphere of pure study should be created for students is an absurd doctrine. And if bureaucrats are really sincere in their desire for such an atmosphere why has not a single one of them ever attempted to create such an atmosphere in England? Surely they do not love their own sons less than they do ours. And this desire for an atmosphere of pure study is concerned only with the killing of political germs. Has any bureaucrat ever spoken against students attending the Indian theatres where the actresses are women of ill fame? In his last council speech Lord Pentland referred to this subject and spoke of time wasted opportunities lost &c. by students. But we who know far more of the habits of our young men than he can tell him that they spend much more time in attending theatres, races, cinema shows &c. and watching games of foot ball, cricket and hockey than in listening to speeches in political or other meetings. Why does not His Excellency or any other sincere better wisher of our sons than ourselves try to prevent students from spending their time in *any* and *all* of these ways? It is strange that the sons of our public men may spend their leisure in all possible ways except in listening to the speeches particularly the political speeches of their fathers and their fathers' colleagues. Lord Pentland says —

Students remain as free as heretofore in the role sure to acquaint themselves in their college debating societies and by such means with the political and public affairs of the world which they are about to enter.

But if in their leisure they can attend their debating societies and hear their own and their comrades' voices what harm is there if in their leisure they listen to the

wiser and better informed voice of say Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya? Alas for the sophistry of such arguments. Is it usual or allowable for Principals of Government and other colleges to permit and encourage the discussion of politics in college debating societies? Among the other such means is a study of news papers and periodicals. Do not high officials know of the various means adopted to prevent students from reading some of the best journals in the country? Lord Pentland would have us believe that

These orders have been issued in justice to the students and to the rights as students in order to secure to the student the full opportunities for study for the equipment for life for the development and for an official character before entering upon the life work. Thus these orders are intended to do justice to the students to secure to them the rights as students and the same opportunities as are enjoyed by students in other countries — rights and opportunities which no separate and no true lover of his country will grudge or deny to this generation.

What a fascinating picture of a benevolent paternalism! The leaders of India are enticing away her young sons bent on ruining their future prospects thus encroaching on their rights as students. Some other agency must save them from such disaster! Lord Pentland ought not to have assumed that we do not know what opportunities are enjoyed by students in other countries. Whatever Lord Pentland may say fact is fact and his Government is not securing to Indian students the same opportunities as are enjoyed by students in other countries but on the contrary are depriving them of some of the valued opportunities and rights of British students.

The circular empowers heads of schools and colleges to ban not only political meetings but speakers as well. For instance if some well known politician or lawyer who is obnoxious to the official world delivers a lecture on the fourth dimension students may be forbidden to hear him. Thus are pedagogues empowered to create a new caste of untouchables — the unbearable, the unseeable and what not. No one ought to possess such powers of indirectly throwing aspersions on a man's personality. That cannot be a system of education which thus encourages a disrespectful attitude towards many of the leading men of the country.

**The Situation in Champaran**  
Some nine years ago we wrote a note

on Agrarian Discontent in Champaran  
(The Modern Review for December 1908  
p 534) We said

There is grave discontent among the agriculturists in parts of District Champaran. The ruyats complain that the terms of contract which the European indigo and sugar planters are seeking to force on them, would if accepted prove their ruin. They sent a well reasoned and respectful representation to the Government. So far as we know no enquiry into their grievances has been made. But additional police have been drafted into the subdivision of Motihari & considerable number of men have been arrested there. Meetings of agriculturists have been forbidden under section 144 of the Criminal Procedure Code (though there has not been any disturbance of the peace or any likelihood thereof) and punitive police have been imposed on the inhabitants of the villages of Gurwala, Bilua, Nautan, Bajahi, Mathia, Dumra, Lakanpur, Kalan, Barwa, Barwa, Gannuh and Chand Barwa &c &c.

Unsatisfactory relations still prevail between the planters and the ruyats. The Pioneer has suggested a commission with possibly a non official element. (How generous that possibly.) We have little faith in commissions. We have faith in Mr Gandhi and his mission and we are sure he will not leave the district of his own accord until his work shall have been finished. Commission or no commission the Bihar ruyats must have advice, help and encouragement and Mr Gandhi is the man for it. He and his party are expected to raise them from the slough of despond. Therefore commission or no commission the work of Mr Gandhi and his friends must go on and the Government will we hope stand firm and do even handed justice.

### Lord Pentland on the Home Rule Agitation

In his last council speech Lord Pentland spoke on the Home Rule movement as a candid friend as he called himself. He began by saying that self government is the salt and strength of the British Empire. It stands or falls on self government and you know well how it is standing now for justice and freedom all the world over, etc and ended by saying on behalf of my Government I call upon all who hear

me or read these words for their support in any action which the Government may be forced to take to discourage these unwelcome and dangerous methods and the extravagant aims which they are designed to further. How beautifully the end harmonises with the beginning! The extravagant aims are nothing more or less than to secure that self government for India which is the salt and strength of the British Empire and without which it is destined to decay. As the British Empire stands for justice and freedom all the world over and as India is a part of the world we are sure it is not a dangerous method to request our rulers to stand for justice and freedom in India too. Lord Pentland repeated the stock phrases about fitness and range of practical politics. Indian men with a true sense of responsibility being opposed to Home Rule the best brains of England being focussed upon the immediate tasks of the war &c &c. So far as bureaucrats are connected it is useless to refute these objections again and again for they are determined not to be convinced. In His Excellency's opinion the reforms which will be officially proposed for India at the end of the war will fall far short of the proposals made by Home Rulers. Therefore it is obvious that this situation contains the elements of misunderstanding of difficulty and possibly of friction. For any such difficulties the leaders of this agitation and all who support and sympathise with them will be directly responsible. This does not seem to us to be good logic. There are two parties the Home Rulers and the Bureaucrats. The former want to move forward and move forward at a very rapid pace if you will the latter do not want to move at all or to move very very slowly. If under the circumstances any difficulty arises is it absolutely certain that it is the former who are to blame? The bureaucrats are advancing a claim to infallibility and unselfish benevolence which nobody but themselves and those who share a privileged position with them can admit.

Certainly nobody will give up the right to consider our to secure Home Rule either to oblige Lord Pentland or because he has chosen to use threatening language. But it should be ascertained if possible whether he spoke on his own responsibility or as the mouthpiece of any higher authority.

or authorities. In any case, the movement must go on. Lord Pentland is clearly out of date and out of place. The Mussulmans of Russia are not a more advanced section of mankind than the Mussulmans and Hindus of India. As Reuter has telegraphed that "the Congress of Mussulman delegates from all parts of Russia passed a resolution by 110 votes to 271 in favour of a federal republic in Russia," Lord Pentland may obtain some idea of the desire, capacity and fitness of Asiatic peoples for self-government if he spends some time in Russian Turkestan and other Mussulman regions of Russia.

### Home Rule for Bagdad.

On the fall of Bagdad into British hands, General Sir Stanley Maude issued a proclamation to the people of that place, promising them political institutions which are equivalent to Home Rule. This furnished the occasion for Mr. Devlin, M.P., to wittily ask the Prime Minister: "Whether his attention has been called to the proclamation stating that the people of Bagdad are not to understand that it is the wish of the British Government to impose upon them alien institutions, and whether the Government are prepared to do immediately for Ireland what Sir Stanley Maude has been authorised to proclaim they are resolved to do for the people of Bagdad and the whole Arab race."

Some passages in Mr. Devlin's question appear to have been omitted by the Speaker, among which was one "in which the people of Bagdad were begged to remember that for twenty-six generations they had 'suffered under a strange tyranny which had endeavoured to set one Arab against another in order to profit by their dissensions.'" Very strange tyranny indeed! And yet the Turks cannot be credited with any originality in using this method.

Mr. MacVeagh, in a question addressed to the Prime Minister, asked whether the Cabinet had censured Sir Stanley Maude for the Proclamation issued at Bagdad: whether the War Cabinet was aware that he proposed in the Proclamation, on behalf of Great Britain and the Allies, to force Home Rule on the Arabs without regard to the views of such homogeneous com-

munities amongst the Arabs as might desire to remain under Turkish rule; whether the Arabs had agreed amongst themselves as to the form of government they desired and, if so, how their views had been ascertained; whether Sir Stanley Maude's action in preaching to the Arabs the evil results of alien rule in promising that alien institutions would not be established amongst them, and in urging them to remain a united nation north, south, east, and west, had the sanction of the War Cabinet; and, if not, what action the Cabinet proposed to take?

Mr. Bonar Law: I cannot add anything to what I said in reply to a similar question yesterday by the Hon. Member for West Belfast.

Mr. MacVeagh: Might I ask whether the Right Hon. Gentleman is aware that four vilayets of North-East Arabia strongly object to being taken out of Turkish rule, and is he going to force Home Rule upon an unwilling community? (laughter.)

Mr. Bonar Law: I do not know the source of the Hon. Member's information, but we have received no similar information.

The point of Mr. MacVeagh's wit lay in the fact that the Prime Minister had declared that he could not force Home Rule on Ulster, and many British statesmen had said that Home Rule could not be granted to Ireland, because the Irish could not agree among themselves as to its form; &c.

If instead of being under the rule of the British people for more than a century, we had just fallen into their hands, some British General might have issued to us a Home Rule Proclamation; and then how we should have enjoyed the discomfiture of Lord Pentland, Sir Michael O'Dwyer, &c. Only, these rulers of men would not have been present at the fall of Madras, Lahore, &c. There would have been a variety entertainment, too. The editors of the *Indian Mirror*, *Justice*, &c., and some "natural leaders" of the people, would have protested that Home Rule ought not to be forced on them. Whether Bagdad will have Home Rule, or we should have had it under the circumstances imagined, is another matter.

THE  
MODERN REVIEW

Monthly Review and Miscellany

• Edited By  
**Ramananda Chatterjee**  

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Vol. XXI Numbers 1 to 6  
January to June, 1917.

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